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# THUCYDIDES

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

*WITH INTRODUCTION, MARGINAL ANALYSIS,  
NOTES, AND INDICES*

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VOL I, CONTAINING THE TEXT

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TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT SHERBROOKE,  
ONE OF THE  
BEST GREEK SCHOLARS IN ENGLAND,  
WHOSE  
GENUINE LOVE OF ANCIENT CLASSICAL LITERATURE  
(THOUGH SOMETIMES DISSEMBLED)  
IS AS WELL KNOWN TO HIS FRIENDS,  
AS THE KINDNESS OF HIS HEART,  
AND THE CHARM OF HIS CONVERSATION



## INTRODUCTION.

THE text which has been followed in this translation (except where a departure from it is indicated at the foot of the page) is that of the first smaller edition of Poppo (1843-1851), which adheres more closely to the authority of the MSS than the later edition begun by Poppo and continued by Stahl. It was originally intended that the work should contain a series of essays on subjects connected with Thucydides. But the accomplishment of this part of the design has been unavoidably delayed. The writer hopes to complete what is wanting in the course of a year or two.

He gratefully acknowledges the valuable help of more than one friend, first, and above all, of W. H. Forbes, Fellow of Balliol College, who during several years has been his unwearied and disinterested fellow-labourer in a long and necessarily tedious work. Few persons take as much conscientious pains about their own writings as he has taken about those of another. To his admirable scholarship is due mainly the degree of accuracy which the translator has been able to attain, and he is indebted to him for many excellent remarks and suggestions. The essay on Inscriptions in the

second volume has been in great measure compiled from data which he has collected and analysed. The translator will always reckon the days which they have passed together in the study of Thucydides to have been among the happiest and most useful of his life

To his friend Professor Campbell of St Andrews, besides many other obligations, his best thanks are due for the correction of several errors in the notes

The full and well-arranged index to the text is the work of Mr Matthew Knight, who has given an amount of thought and care to it rarely bestowed on such ungracious tasks

The translator has had the advantage of being anticipated by Mr Crawley, late Fellow of Worcester College, and in part by Mr Wilkins, Fellow of Merton College. He has not refrained from consulting their translations in several passages, and desires to express his gratitude for the assistance which he has received from them. He has also occasionally referred to the clear and elegant French translation of Bétant, but much more frequently to his invaluable lexicon. The old version of Hobbes, though bearing a famous name, is very rough and inaccurate, and has been sometimes praised a good deal beyond its real merits. An interest would attach to Dr Smith's translation, if it could be believed that Lord Chatham (who, it may be remembered, gave special instructions that his son William Pitt should read Thucydides at College) had contributed to the work 'the Funeral

Oration.' But the hand of the great Orator is nowhere discernible in the performance

The edition of Dr Arnold has given a powerful stimulus to the study of Thucydides in England. Himself inspired with the love of his author, he inspired the love of him in others. He certainly possessed that quality of a Commentator from which an ancient writer gains so much, the gift of intelligent appreciation. He first showed how Thucydides might be translated with elegance and accuracy. Though not a great philologist or a learned enquirer, and adding little to actual knowledge, he created an interest about geography and archaeology, and even about the interpretation of difficult passages, such as never existed before among his countrymen. His notes are often models of good English and good sense. It is to be regretted that, amid the variety of his pursuits, he never gained an intimate and idiomatic acquaintance with the language of Thucydides, and never formed a sound notion of textual criticism. He is frequently led away by fanciful comparisons of things Biblical and Classical, of Greek and English constructions, and of events ancient and modern. The influence of Niebuhr over him is perceptible in his speculations about ancient Greek races. But he had a true feeling for Greek history and life, and all students of Thucydides have reason to be thankful to him. When a great man undertakes the office of an interpreter he throws a light upon the page which the merely verbal critic is incapable of communicating, and it would

be ungrateful to scan too closely his deficiencies in scholarship

A new epoch in the knowledge of Thucydides was made by Poppo's edition, beginning in the year 1815 with '*Commentationes Criticae*,' and ending in the year 1856 with a '*Commentatio de Historia Thucydidis*.' The bulk of the work is contained in two volumes of prolegomena, and in eight volumes of text and scholia, and of annotations on them. This grand edition may be criticised on the grounds of old-fashioned scholarship, of imperfect judgment of the MSS, of deficiency in historical imagination, and of immoderate prolixity. But Poppo has the great merit of being almost always right. There is no trace of the mind and genius of Arnold to be discovered in his pages, they are not written in a form either attractive or suggestive to the student of history. Yet the true scholar will look with respect and admiration on the twelve volumes, not merely as a vast thesaurus in which nearly everything illustrative of Thucydides has been accumulated, but because the editor manifests a real insight into the meaning of his author. For Poppo was the first who saw that the language of Thucydides had a law of its own, and was not merely to be judged of by the precepts of grammarians, whether ancient or modern. Taking the accusations of Dionysius of Halicarnassus as his basis, he proceeds to show that the supposed irregularities of Thucydides, the confusions of persons, genders, numbers, voices, moods, tenses, are not

real confusions or irregularities, but are attributable to an imperfect or unfixed state of grammar or language, and have a principle underlying them. Either they follow some analogy or verbal association, or they obey the sequence of thought rather than the rules of grammar, or they are due to some attraction of sound or sense, or they blend the language of poetry and prose at a time when the two were not yet accurately distinguished. Of two legitimate usages, that which afterwards fell into disuse, and which therefore appears to be irregular, is sometimes preferred. Many of the so-called solecisms are at variance, not so much with grammar, as with the practice of later Greek, or, if they are ungrammatical, we must enlarge our notions of grammar that we may be able to embrace them. At the same time it would be maintained by Poppo that Thucydides has rarely, if ever, allowed himself liberties not to be found somewhere in other writers. These principles he bases upon a large induction of examples, and partially succeeds by the help of them in emancipating himself and his author from grammatical superstitions.

Poppo's edition is eminently distinguished by sobriety of judgment. Trained in the school of Hermann (although the Master in later life forgot his own lesson), he had been early warned against the licence of conjectural emendation; and his familiar acquaintance with the language of Thucydides enabled him to see that conjecture is unnecessary, where a scholar of a more general type



would have pronounced against the genuineness of the text. It must be admitted that he has not the gift of clear exposition or of exhibiting the parts of an argument in their true relation to one another, and in winding through the long notes of the larger edition we have sometimes a difficulty in separating his own view from that of others whom he is confuting. But though his meaning is not always apparent on the surface, there is to be found at the bottom good sense and true philological tact. The life-time devoted by him to the study of Thucydides was by no means wasted, for he restored to a great writer natural principles of interpretation.

Later editors have added comparatively little to him, and would probably have done better if they had followed more closely in his footsteps. The most distinguished of his successors, Classen, while equalling, or perhaps exceeding him, in subtle analysis of the language, falls very far short in soundness of judgment. The translator is nevertheless bound to acknowledge that he is under considerable obligations to his work, as well as to the useful edition of Bohme. Some valuable contributions to the study of Thucydides have been made by the minute learning of Krüger of these he has also availed himself

The language of Thucydides presents a curious and interesting problem, because it belongs to a period when the uses of words and constructions were not yet fixed, and an original writer had much greater freedom in varying them than was possible

in the Alexandrian times As centuries went on, 'the individual withered' and 'the world' of language 'was more and more.' There was no force of mind seeking expression for itself, trying experiments, or struggling against the conventionalities which were imposed upon it The daily practice of oratory, the precepts of a thousand grammarians, reduced the mighty genius of Hellas to the level of a later generation Men instead of wrestling with language and logic, fell under the dominion of them. No one in the age of Aristotle would have dared to write like Æschylus or Thucydides ; as no one in our own day would attempt to imitate Shakespeare Poetry sooner submitted to the yoke than prose, which had hitherto been used only in the current *εἰρομένη λέξις*, and was incapable of expressing the higher thoughts of men, in the age when the heaven of abstractions,

'Won from the void and formless infinite,'

was just beginning to appear Thucydides came under the influence of that new intellectual world which broke upon the Greek in the fifth century before Christ, and which is never sufficiently appreciated by us because we have inherited it and habitually live in it But not at once was language adequate to receive or take up into itself the ideas which were asking for expression. The forms of speech and writing were slowly adjusted to the mental movement of the age Words had to be distinguished from things, arguments from fallacies. The grammatical construction and the logical con-

nection of clauses and sentences were still clumsy and irregular, especially in Attic, though the sense of art was not wanting, and the sophist was busy elaborating his new rules and formulas, which had a remarkable fascination for the minds of the Athenians

Hence we see in the same writer the perfection of art and the greatest want of art, good taste and errors of taste, the meagre and false artificiality of the Sophist combined with an antique beauty and masterly power in the delineation of facts. The speeches of Thucydides everywhere exhibit the antitheses, the climaxes, the plays of words, the point which is no point, of the rhetorician, yet retain amid these defects of form a weight of thought to which succeeding historians can scarcely show the like. The narrative on the other hand is natural and simple, in the highest degree picturesque and dramatic, often deeply pathetic by its very severity, generally intelligible, and only getting into a tangle when attempting to express political and philosophical reflections, as in the Corcyraean sedition. He who considers that Thucydides was a great genius writing in an ante-grammatical age, when logic was just beginning to be cultivated, who had thoughts far beyond his contemporaries, and who had great difficulty in the arrangement and expression of them, who is anxious but not always able to escape tautology, will not be surprised at his personifications, at his confusion of negatives and affirmatives, of consequents and antecedents, at his imperfect antitheses

and involved parentheses, at his employment of the participle to express abstract ideas in the making, at his substitution of one construction for another, at his repetition of a word, or unmeaning alteration of it for the sake of variety, at his over-logical form, at his forgetfulness of the beginning of a sentence before he arrives at the end of it. The solecisms or barbarisms of which he is supposed to be guilty are the natural phenomena of a language in a time of transition, and though not always, as Poppo maintains, common to other Greek writers, yet having some analogy by which they may be defended. They are also to be ascribed to a strong individuality, which subtilizes, which rationalizes, which concentrates, which crowds the use of words, which thinks more than it can express (*ψελλιζομένῳ γὰρ ἔοικε*). Dionysius of Halicarnassus is right in attributing the obscurity of Thucydides to himself as well as to his age, for his contemporaries Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Xenophon are far from obscure.

It is a commonplace, but one which cannot be too often repeated, that we must interpret an ancient writer by himself and by his own age, and not by modern notions. We must not add on to him our mysteries and moralities, or translate his confused modes of thought into our more distinct ones (more distinct at least to us). Neither must we measure him by our standards of right and wrong. His range of view may be limited, but we cannot safely enlarge it. Nor can we argue from his inconsistencies or omission of details, nor draw inferences from his

precise words, because we cannot expect him to use legal accuracy. The whole manner of ancient writing was different from our own, we do not know whether the words or sentences of Thucydides were written down as soon as they occurred to the mind, or were long preserved in the treasure-house of memory. At what time the successive portions of his history were completed must for ever remain uncertain to us. The sources from which the ancient historian gathered his narrative are very dissimilar to those which are at the disposal of the modern, the first meagre and oral, the latter often overwhelming the compiler by the very mass of his written and printed materials. A few ancient inscriptions at Athens or Delphi, the brief narrative of a writer like Hellanicus (i 97), whom we can easily believe to have been 'inaccurate in his chronology,' or of Antiochus the Syracusan (though there is no evidence that he was acquainted with the latter), the witness to events which was afforded by statues and buildings, such as the 'columns taken from sepulchres' which were inserted in the walls of Athens, the decrees of the senate, people, and magistrates, the best old traditions (i 9 init)—these are about all the *subsida* which Thucydides had to use. Modern history is gathered out of a multitude of books. Thucydides drew his narrative fresh from the lips of men after hearing the different accounts of the contending parties (v 26 fin). Whether his views are true or false we can only determine by internal evidence, for it is useless to

balance them against the ever-diminishing truth and ever-increasing fiction of a later generation. Nor can we supplement the one by the other. Thucydides may possibly have been unjust to Cleon, but the suspicion is not confirmed by the statement of Marcellinus that Cleon was the proposer of the decree by which he was banished, for such an anecdote is more likely to be invented than not. When, as in modern histories of ancient Greece, the good cloth of Herodotus or Thucydides or Xenophon is patched with the transparent gauze of Diodorus and Plutarch, the whole garment becomes unequal and ragged. There is a special impropriety in combining the fictions of later writers with the narrative of Thucydides, who stands absolutely alone among the historians, not only of Hellas, but of the world, in his impartiality and love of truth.

We must accept ancient historians as they are, with their limited ideas and restricted means of knowledge, with their Hellenic conceptions of morality and of nature. They are disappointing, like the Elgin marbles, to those who expect to find in them modern sentimentalism or a modern political philosophy. But, like the Elgin marbles, to those who can appreciate their simplicity, their beauty, their originality, they will seem to be worth all the rest.

There have been many commentaries on the Classics both in ancient and modern times, and a kind of commentary on them is furnished by the ideas which the ancients themselves entertained about their great writers. But most of the ancient

commentaries, and some of the modern, rather interpret to us the age in which they were written than the author who is supposed to be illustrated by them. The treatise of Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the style of Thucydides, except in so far as it confirms the text in a multitude of passages, adds nothing to our knowledge of the book, but it throws a striking light on the narrow and feeble intelligence of the Graeco-Roman rhetorician and historian of the first century B.C., and of the world for which he wrote. Early criticism consists almost entirely in adapting the past to the present, in obtruding the notions of a later age upon an earlier one. And it is only by degrees that mankind have been able to exclude the subjective element which is always reappearing, and have learned to interpret an author from himself, or in the study of an age to confine themselves to the range of its ideas.

Hitherto each age seems to have required its own interpretation or adaptation of Scripture, or of the Classics, and to have been dissatisfied with that of any other. It may be asked whether, as philology progresses and words are understood to have a fixed meaning—not that ‘which we bring to them,’ but that which is contained in them—the art of interpretation must be always going on, like the labour of the Danaides, pouring into a sieve knowledge which is perpetually flowing out, and in every generation requiring to be replenished. Must we during every ten or twenty years have new Com-

mentaries on the Gospels and Epistles, new editions of Homer, Thucydides, Aristotle? No sooner does one appear than it begins to be forgotten, and another is with some anxiety expected. Such a perennial stream of interpretation tends to discredit itself, and may suggest the thought that it would be better to reprint old books instead of writing new ones. But there is really some answer to be made to the objection. In the first place, we have not so completely got rid of the 'subjective' element as we are sometimes inclined to imagine. And after all the pains and labour which have been bestowed upon them by German and English scholars, we cannot be said even now to have editions of the principal Classics in which nothing is superfluous and nothing wanting. The old failings of the commentator, want of proportion, ostentation of learning, love of emendation, perverse ingenuity, the habit of controversy, still cling to him. Secondly, although many old editions are better than most new ones, the subtle advance of philological criticism, even during the last thirty or forty years, does make the correction of old-fashioned opinions necessary, there is hardly any book written in this century which does not require such a purgation almost equally with those of preceding centuries. Little if anything can now be added to the sources of our knowledge, but there is a higher standard of evidence by which our materials have to be estimated, and more discrimination is needed in separating what is really certain from matters of opinion and conjecture. All



criticism requires to be criticised before we can make a nearer approach to the truth. The traditions of famous scholars have not unfrequently to be repudiated in the light of facts. The wheat has to be separated from the chaff, the voluminous learning of past ages to be recast in easier and more manageable forms. And if Greek literature is not to pass away, it seems to be necessary that in every age some one who has drunk deeply from the original fountain should renew the love of it in the world, and once more present that old life, with its great ideas and great actions, its creations in politics and in art, like the distant remembrance of youth, before the delighted eyes of mankind.

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## NOTE.

In referring to the dates placed in the margin of the English text, it must be remembered that Thucydides' 'year' or the 'year of the war' begins about three months after the corresponding year B.C., and about three months before the corresponding Olympic year. For example, the attempt on Potidaea of iv 135 belongs to 422, not to 423 B.C., and the treaty of v 47 to Ol. 89 4, not to Ol. 90 1.

*For the list of Corrigenda see end of Volume II*

# THUCYDIDES.

## BOOK I

THUCYDIDES, an Athenian, wrote the history of the I. 1.  
war in which the Peloponnesians and the Athenians  
fought against one another. He began to write when  
they first took up arms, believing that it would be great  
and memorable above any previous war For he argued Greatness  
of the  
war  
that both states were then at the full height of their  
military power, and he saw the rest of the Hellenes  
either siding or intending to side with one or other  
of them. No movement ever stirred Hellas more  
deeply than this, it was shared by many of the Bar-  
barians, and might be said even to affect the world at  
large The character of the events which preceded,  
whether immediately or in more remote antiquity,  
owing to the lapse of time cannot be made out with  
certainty <sup>a</sup> But, judging from the evidence which I  
am able to trust after most careful enquiry<sup>a</sup>, I should  
imagine that former ages were not great either in their  
wars or in anything else.

The country which is now called Hellas was not 2.  
regularly settled <sup>b</sup> in ancient times<sup>b</sup>. The people were Early con-  
dition of  
Hellas

<sup>a</sup> Or, connecting *ὅν* with *μακρότατον* 'But after carrying the enquiry to the furthest point at which any trustworthy evidence can be obtained'

<sup>b</sup> Or, taking *ὡς πάλαι* closely together 'until recent times.'

I. migratory, and readily left their homes whenever they were overpowered by numbers. There was no commerce, and they could not safely hold intercourse with one another either by land or sea. The several tribes cultivated their own soil just enough to obtain a maintenance from it. But they had no accumulations of wealth, and did not plant the ground, for, being without walls, they were never sure that an invader might not come and despoil them. Living in this manner and knowing that they could anywhere obtain a bare subsistence, they were always ready to migrate, so that they had neither great cities nor any considerable resources. The richest districts were most constantly changing their inhabitants; for example, the countries which are now called Thessaly and Boeotia, the greater part of the Peloponnesus with the exception of Arcadia, and all the best parts of Hellas. For the productiveness of the land <sup>a</sup> increased the power of individuals, this in turn was a source of quarrels by which communities<sup>a</sup> were ruined, while at the same time they were more exposed to attacks from without. Certainly Attica, of which the soil was poor and thin, enjoyed a long freedom from civil strife, and therefore retained its original inhabitants. And a striking confirmation of my argument is afforded by the fact <sup>b</sup> that Attica through immigration increased in population more than any other region. For the leading men of Hellas<sup>b</sup>, when driven out of their own country by war or revolution, sought an asylum at Athens, and from the very earliest times, being admitted to rights of citizenship, so greatly increased

readiness of the early tribes to migrate the richer districts the more unsettled, some of the poorer, like Attica, in reality the more prosperous.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'gave to some communities greater power; this was a source of quarrels, by which they' etc

<sup>b</sup> Or, taking *ἐς τὰ ἄλλα* in another sense. 'that Attica through immigration increased in population quite out of proportion to her increase in other respects;' or, supplying *τὴν Ἑλλάδα* and taking *μετοικίας* in another sense. 'And here is a striking confirmation of my argument that the constant migrations were the cause which prevented the rest of Hellas from increasing equally with Attica. The leading men of Hellas,' etc.

the number of inhabitants that Attica became incapable of containing them, and was at last obliged to send out colonies to Ionia. I.

The feebleness of antiquity is further proved to me by the circumstance that there appears to have been no common action in Hellas before the Trojan War. And I am inclined to think that the very name was not as yet given to the whole country, and in fact did not exist at all before the time of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, the different tribes, of which the Pelasgian was the most widely spread, gave their own names to different districts. But when Hellen and his sons became powerful in Phthiotis, their aid was invoked by other cities, and those who associated with them gradually began to be called Hellenes, though a long time elapsed before the name prevailed over the whole country. Of this Homer affords the best evidence, for he, although he lived long after the Trojan War, nowhere uses this name collectively, but confines it to the followers of Achilles from Phthiotis, who were the original Hellenes, when speaking of the entire host he calls them Danaans, or Argives, or Achaeans. Neither is there any mention of Barbarians in his poems, clearly because there were as yet no Hellenes opposed to them by a common distinctive name. Thus <sup>a</sup>the several Hellenic tribes (and I mean by the term Hellenes those who, while forming separate communities, had a common language, and were afterwards called by a common name)<sup>a</sup>, owing to their weakness and isolation, were never united in any great enterprise before the Trojan War. And they only made the expedition against Troy after they had gained considerable experience of the sea. 3.

No unity among the early inhabitants no common name of Hellenes or Barbarians, or common action in Hellas before the Trojan War

Minos is the first to whom tradition ascribes the possession of a navy. He made himself master of a 4.

Beginnings of civilisation Minos

<sup>a</sup> Or, supplying *κληθέντες* with both clauses 'those who successively acquired the Hellenic name, which first spread among the several tribes speaking the same language, and afterwards became universal.'

I great part of what is now termed the Hellenic sea, he conquered the Cyclades, and was the first coloniser of most of them, expelling the Carians and appointing his own sons to govern in them. Lastly, it was he who, from a natural desire to protect his growing revenues, sought, as far as he was able, to clear the sea of pirates.

conquered  
the islands  
and cleared  
the sea of  
pirates.

5. For in ancient times both Hellenes and Barbarians, as well the inhabitants of the coast as of the islands, when they began to find their way to one another by sea had recourse to piracy. They were commanded by powerful chiefs, who took this means of increasing their wealth and providing for their poorer followers. They would fall upon the unwalled and straggling towns, or rather villages, which they plundered, and maintained themselves by the plunder of them; for, as yet, such an occupation was held to be honourable and not disgraceful. This is proved by the practice of certain tribes on the mainland who, to the present day, glory in piratical exploits, and by the witness of the ancient poets, in whose verses the question is invariably asked of newly-arrived voyagers, whether they are pirates<sup>a</sup>; which implies that neither those who are questioned disclaim, nor those who are interested in knowing censure the occupation. The land too was infested by robbers, and there are parts of Hellas in which the old practices still continue, as for example among the Ozolian Locrians, Actolians, Acarnanians, and the adjacent regions of the continent. The fashion of wearing arms among these continental tribes is a relic of their old predatory habits.

Old customs which are still existing in some parts of the country dress of Athenians and Spartans.

6. For in ancient times all Hellenes carried weapons because their homes were undefended and intercourse was unsafe, like the Barbarians they went armed in their every-day life. And the continuance of the custom in certain parts of the country proves that it once prevailed everywhere.

The Athenians were the first who laid aside arms and adopted an easier and more luxurious way of life. Quite recently the old-fashioned refinement of dress still

I. lingered among the elder men of their richer class, who wore under-garments of linen, and bound back their hair in a knot with golden clasps in the form of grasshoppers, and the same customs long survived among the elders of Ionia, having been derived from their Athenian ancestors. On the other hand, the simple dress which is now common was first worn at Sparta, and there, more than anywhere else, the life of the rich was assimilated to that of the people. The Lacedaemonians too were the first who in their athletic exercises stripped naked and rubbed themselves over with oil. But this was not the ancient custom, athletes formerly, even when they were contending at Olympia, wore girdles about their loins, a practice which lasted until quite lately, and still prevails among Barbarians, especially those of Asia, where the combatants at boxing and wrestling matches wear girdles. And many other customs which are now confined to the Barbarians might be shown to have existed formerly in Hellas.

7 In later times, when navigation had become general and wealth was beginning to accumulate, cities were built upon the sea-shore and fortified, peninsulas too were occupied and walled-off with a view to commerce and defence against the neighbouring tribes. But the older towns both in the islands and on the continent, in order to protect themselves against the piracy which so long prevailed, were built inland, and there they remain to this day. For the piratical tribes plundered, not only one another, but all those who, without being sailors, lived on the sea-coast.

Fortified towns begin to be built, at first inland, afterwards on the sea-shore.

8. The islanders were even more addicted to piracy than the inhabitants of the mainland. They were mostly Carian or Phoenician settlers. This is proved by the fact that when the Athenians purified Delos<sup>a</sup> during the Peloponnesian War and the tombs of the dead were opened, more than half of them were found to be Carians. They were known by the fashion of their

The pirates in the islands of Carian or Phoenician origin

<sup>a</sup> Cp iii. 104 mit.

- I. arms which were buried with them, and by their mode of burial, the same which is still practised among them

After Minos had established his navy, communication by sea became more general. For, he having expelled the pirates<sup>a</sup> when he colonised the greater part of the islands, the dwellers on the sea-coast began to grow richer and to live in a more settled manner, and some of them, finding their wealth increase beyond their expectations, surrounded their towns with walls. The love of gain made the weaker willing to serve the stronger,<sup>b</sup> and the command of wealth enabled the more powerful to subjugate the lesser cities<sup>b</sup>. This was the state of society which was beginning to prevail at the time of the Trojan War.

9. I am inclined to think that Agamemnon succeeded in collecting the expedition, not because the suitors of Helen had bound themselves by oath to Tyndareus, but because he was the most powerful king of his time.<sup>c</sup> Those Peloponnesians who possess the most accurate traditions say that<sup>c</sup> originally Pelops gained his power by the great wealth which he brought with him from Asia into a poor country, whereby he was enabled, although a stranger, to give his name to the Peloponnesus; and that still greater fortune attended his descendants after the death of Eurystheus, king of Mycenae, who was slain in Attica by the Heraclidae. For Atreus the son of Pelops was the maternal uncle of Eurystheus, who, when he went on the expedition, naturally committed to his charge the kingdom of Mycenae. Now Atreus had been banished by his father on account of the murder of Chrysippus. But Eurystheus never returned, and the Mycenaeans, dreading the Heraclidae, were ready to welcome Atreus, who was considered a powerful man and had ingratiated himself

Rise of the Pelopidae the wealth and power which Agamemnon inherited from Atreus and Eurystheus enabled him to assemble the chiefs who fought at Troy

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 4

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'and incited the more powerful, who now had wealth at their command, to subjugate the lesser cities'

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'Those who possess the most accurate traditions respecting the history of Peloponnesus say that' etc.

with the multitude. So he succeeded to the throne of Mycenæ and the other dominions of Eurystheus. Thus the house of Pelops prevailed over that of Perseus. I.

And it was, as I believe, because Agamemnon inherited this power and also because he was the greatest naval potentate of his time that he was able to assemble the expedition, and the other princes followed him, not from good-will, but from fear. Of the chiefs who came to Troy, he, if the witness of Homer be accepted, brought the greatest number of ships himself, besides supplying the Arcadians with them. In the 'Handing down of the Sceptre' he is described as 'The king of many islands, and of all Argos<sup>a</sup>.' But, living on the mainland, he could not have ruled over any except the adjacent islands (which would not be 'many') unless he had possessed a considerable navy. From this expedition we must form our conjectures about the character of still earlier times.

When it is said that Mycenæ was but a small place, or that any other city which existed in those days is inconsiderable in our own, this argument will hardly prove that the expedition was not as great as the poets relate and as is commonly imagined. Suppose the city of Sparta to be deserted, and nothing left but the temples and the ground-plan, distant ages would be very unwilling to believe that the power of the Lacedæmonians was at all equal to their fame. And yet they own two-fifths of the Peloponnesus, and are acknowledged leaders of the whole, as well as of numerous allies in the rest of Hellas. But their city is not regularly built, and has no splendid temples or other edifices; it rather resembles a straggling village like the ancient towns of Hellas, and would therefore make a poor show. Whereas, if the same fate befell the Athenians, the ruins of Athens would strike the eye, and we should infer their power to have been twice as great as it really is. We ought not then to be unduly

IO  
That the ancient greatness of Mycenæ, or of any other city, is not to be estimated by present appearances, proved from the comparison of Athens and Sparta.



I sceptical. The greatness of cities should be estimated by their real power and not by appearances. And we may fairly suppose the Trojan expedition to have been greater than any which preceded it, although according to Homer, if we may once more appeal to his testimony, not equal to those of our own day. He was a poet, and may therefore be expected to exaggerate, yet, even upon his showing, the expedition was comparatively small. For it numbered, as he tells us, twelve hundred ships, those of the Boeotians<sup>a</sup> carrying one hundred and twenty men each, those of Philoctetes<sup>b</sup> fifty, and by these numbers he may be presumed to indicate the largest and the smallest ships, else why in the catalogue is nothing said about the size of any others? That the crews were all fighting men as well as rowers he clearly implies when speaking of the ships of Philoctetes; for he tells us that all the oarsmen were likewise archers. And it is not to be supposed that many who were not sailors would accompany the expedition, except the kings and principal officers, for the troops had to cross the sea, bringing with them the materials of war, in vessels without decks, built after the old piratical fashion. Now if we take a mean between the crews, the invading forces will appear not to have been very numerous when we remember that they were drawn from the whole of Hellas.

II The cause of the inferiority was not so much the want of men as the want of money, the invading army was limited by the difficulty of obtaining supplies to such a number as might be expected to live on the country in which they were to fight. After their arrival at Troy, when they had won a battle (as they clearly did, for otherwise they could not have fortified their camp), even then they appear not to have used the whole of their force, but to have been driven by want of provisions to the cultivation of the Chersonese and to pillage. And in consequence of this dispersion of their forces, the Trojans were enabled to hold out against them during the whole

Homer's account of the number of the forces

Considerations respecting the Trojan War

<sup>a</sup> Il. ii. 509, 510.

<sup>b</sup> Il. ii. 719, 720.

ten years, being always a match for those who remained on the spot. Whereas if the besieging army had brought abundant supplies, and, instead of betaking themselves to agriculture or pillage, had carried on the war persistently with all their forces, they would easily have been masters of the field and have taken the city; since, even divided as they were, and with only a part of their army available at any one time, they held their ground. Or, again, they might have regularly invested Troy, and the place would have been captured in less time and with less trouble. Poverty was the real reason why the achievements of former ages were insignificant, and why the Trojan War, the most celebrated of them all, when brought to the test of facts, falls short of its fame and of the prevailing traditions to which the poets have given authority

Even in the age which followed the Trojan War, I 2  
Hellas was still in process of ferment and settlement, and had no time for peaceful growth. The return of the Hellenes from Troy after their long absence led to many changes. quarrels too arose in nearly every city, and those who were expelled by them went and founded other cities. Thus in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy, the Boeotian people, having been expelled from Arnè by the Thessalians, settled in the country formerly called Cadmeis, but now Boeotia a portion of the tribe already dwelt there, and some of these had joined in the Trojan expedition. In the eightieth year after the war, the Dorians led by the Heraclidæ conquered the Peloponnesus. A considerable time elapsed before Hellas became finally settled, after a while, however, she recovered tranquillity and began to send out colonies. The Athenians colonised Ionia and most of the islands; the Peloponnesians the greater part of Italy and Sicily, and various places in Hellas. These colonies were all founded after the Trojan War.

As Hellas grew more powerful and the acquisition of wealth became more and more rapid, the revenues of her

I 1.  
Southward movement in Hellas after the Trojan War, Boeotians descend out of Thessalia, Dorians occupation of the Peloponnesus, Ionian and Dorians colonies

I 3.  
Rise of navies in

## I.

Hellas  
Counth,  
Coreyra,  
Ionia,  
Samos,  
Phocaea

cities increased, and in most of them tyrannies were established, they had hitherto been ruled by hereditary kings, having fixed prerogatives. The Hellenes likewise began to build navies and to make the sea their element. The Corinthians are said to have first adopted something like the modern style of ship-building, and the oldest Hellenic timemes to have been constructed at Counth. A Corinthian ship-builder, Ameinocles, appears to have built four ships for the Samians; he went to Samos about three hundred years before the end of the Peloponnesian War. And the earliest naval engagement on record is that between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans which occurred about forty years later. Counth, being seated on an isthmus, was naturally from the first a centre of commerce, for the Hellenes within and without the Peloponnese in the old days, when they communicated chiefly by land, had to pass through her territory in order to reach one another. Her wealth too was a source of power, as the ancient poets testify, who speak of 'Corinth the rich<sup>a</sup>.' When navigation grew more common, the Corinthians, having already acquired a fleet, were able to put down piracy, they offered a market both by sea and land, and with the increase of riches the power of their city increased yet more. Later, in the time of Cyrus, the first Persian king, and of Cambyses his son, the Ionians had a large navy, they fought with Cyrus, and were for a time masters of the sea around their own coasts. Polycrates, too, who was tyrant of Samos in the reign of Cambyses, had a powerful navy and subdued several of the islands, among them Rhenea, which he dedicated to the Delian Apollo<sup>b</sup>. And the Phocaeans, when they were colonising Massalia, defeated the Carthaginians in a sea-fight.

B C 704  
Ol 19

B C 664  
Ol 29

B C 559-  
529  
Ol, 55, 2-  
624  
B C 529-  
521  
Ol 62, 4-  
64, 4

B C 546-  
538  
Ol 58, 3-  
60, 3

B C 600  
Ol 45

## 14.

Scarcity of  
timemes  
Smallness  
of the Athe-  
man and  
Aeginetan  
fleets

These were the most powerful navies, and even these, which came into existence many generations after the Trojan War, appear to have consisted chiefly of fifty-oared vessels and galleys of war, as in the days of Troy;

<sup>a</sup> Il ii 570

<sup>b</sup> Cp iii. 104 init.

B C 485  
Ol 73, 4

as yet triremes were not common. But a little before the Peisian War and the death of Darius, who succeeded Cambyses, the Sicilian tyrants and the Corcyraeans had them in considerable numbers. No other maritime powers of any consequence arose in Hellas before the expedition of Xerxes. The Aeginetans, Athenians, and a few more had small fleets, and these mostly consisted of fifty-oared galleys. <sup>a</sup>Even the ships which the Athenians built quite recently at the instigation of Themistocles, when they were at war with the Aeginetans and in expectation of the Barbarian, even these ships with which they fought at Salamis were not completely decked <sup>a</sup>.

I

So inconsiderable were the Hellenic navies in recent as well as in more ancient times. And yet those who applied their energies to the sea obtained a great accession of strength by the increase of their revenues and the extension of their dominion. For they attacked and subjugated the islands, especially when the pressure of population was felt by them. Whereas by land, no conflict of any kind which brought increase of power ever occurred, what wars they had were mere border feuds. Foreign and distant expeditions of conquest the Hellenes never undertook, they were not as yet ranged under the command of the great states, nor did they form voluntary leagues or make expeditions on an equal footing. Their wars were only the wars of the several neighbouring tribes with one another. It was in the ancient conflict between the Chalcidians and the Eretrians that the rest of Hellas was most divided and took the greatest part <sup>b</sup>.

15.

The chief power of Hellas maritime Wars by land inconsiderable

There were different impediments to the progress of the different states. The Ionians had attained great prosperity when Cyrus and the Persians, having over-

16.

Impediments to progress

Or, 'It was quite at a recent period, when the Athenians were at war with the Aeginetans and in expectation of the Barbarian, that Themistocles persuaded them to build the ships with which they fought at Salamis, and even these were not completely decked'

<sup>b</sup> Herod v 99

I. thrown Cioesus and subdued the countries between the river Halys and the sea, made war against them and enslaved the cities on the mainland. Some time afterwards, Darius, strong in the possession of the Phoenician fleet, conquered the islands also.

B C 546  
Ol 58, 3  
B C 493  
Ol 71, 4

(1) The rising power of the Persians

17. Nor again did the tyrants of the Hellenic cities extend their thoughts beyond their own interest, that is, the security of their persons, and the aggrandisement of themselves and their families. They were extremely cautious in the administration of their government, and nothing considerable was ever effected by them, they only fought with their neighbours, as in Sicily, where their power attained its greatest height. Thus for a long time everything conspired to prevent Hellas from uniting in any great action and to paralyse enterprise in the individual states.

(2) The petty aims and cautious natures of the tyrants

18. At length the tyrants of Athens and of the rest of Hellas (which had been under their dominion long before Athens), at least the greater number of them, and with the exception of the Sicilian the last who ever ruled, were put down by the Lacedaemonians. For although Lacedaemon, after the conquest<sup>a</sup> of the country by the Dorians who now inhabit it, remained long unsettled, and indeed longer than any country which we know, nevertheless she obtained good laws at an earlier period than any other, and has never been subject to tyrants, she has preserved the same form of government for rather more than four hundred years, reckoning to the end of the Peloponnesian War. It was the excellence of her constitution which gave her power, and thus enabled her to regulate the affairs of other states. Not long after the overthrow of the tyrants by the Lacedaemonians, the battle of Marathon was fought between the Athenians and the Persians, ten years later, the Barbarian returned with the vast armament which was to enslave Hellas. In the greatness of the impending danger, the Lacedaemonians, who were the most powerful state in Hellas,

They were at length overthrown by Sparta, which for four hundred years has been well governed

B C 510  
Ol 67, 3

B C 804-  
Ol 95

B C 490  
Ol 72, 3  
B C 480  
Ol 75

<sup>a</sup> Reading κτήσιον.

assumed the lead of the confederates. The Athenians, I  
 as the Persian host advanced, resolved to forsake their The Hel-  
 lenes, who  
 had been  
 united in  
 resisting the  
 Persian,  
 soon broke  
 up into two  
 confedera-  
 cies  
 city, broke up their homes, and, taking to their ships,  
 became sailors. The Barbarian was repelled by a com-  
 mon effort, but soon the Hellenes, <sup>a</sup> as well those who  
 had revolted from the King as those who formed the  
 original confederacy <sup>a</sup>, took different sides and became  
 the allies, either of the Athenians or of the Lacedae-  
 monians, for these were now the two leading powers,  
 the one strong by land and the other by sea. The  
 league between them was of short duration, they  
 speedily quarrelled and, with their respective allies,  
 went to war. Any of the other Hellenes who had  
 differences of their own now resorted to one or other  
 of them. So that from the Persian to the Peloponnesian  
 War, the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians were per-  
 petually fighting or making peace, either with one another  
 or with their own revolted allies, thus they attained mili-  
 tary efficiency, and learned experience in the school of  
 danger.

The Lacedaemonians did not make tributaries of I 9  
 those who acknowledged their leadership, but took Different  
 character  
 of the Athe-  
 nian and  
 Spartan  
 league  
 care that they should be governed by oligarchies in  
 the exclusive interest of Sparta. The Athenians, on  
 the other hand, after a time deprived the subject cities  
 of their ships and made all of them pay a fixed tri-  
 bute, except Chios and Lesbos <sup>b</sup>. And the single power  
<sup>c</sup> of Athens <sup>c</sup> at the beginning of this war was greater  
 than that of Athens and Sparta together at their great-  
 est, while the confederacy remained intact.

Such are the results of my enquiry into the early state 20.  
 of Hellas. <sup>d</sup> They will not readily be believed upon a Vulgar  
 errors

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'as well those who had revolted from the King, as those who  
 had joined with him.'

<sup>b</sup> Cp I 96, 99, III 39 init., VI 85 med; VII 57 init.

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'either of Athens or Sparta.'

<sup>d</sup> Or (1), 'They may not obtain entire credit, even when the  
 proofs of them are all set down in order.' Or (2), taking *τεκμηρίον*  
 immediately after *πιστεῦσαι*. 'Such are the results of my enquiries,

- I. bare recital of all the proofs of them <sup>a</sup> Men do not discriminate, and are too ready to receive ancient traditions about their own as well as about other countries. For example, most Athenians think that Hipparchus was actually tyrant when he was slain by Harmodius and Aristogeiton, they are not aware that Hippias was the eldest of the sons of Peisistratus, and succeeded him, and that Hipparchus and Thessalus were only his brothers <sup>a</sup>. At the last moment, Harmodius and Aristogeiton suddenly suspected that Hippias had been forewarned by some of their accomplices. They therefore abstained from attacking him, but, wishing to do something before they were seized, and not to risk their lives in vain, they slew Hipparchus, with whom they fell in near the temple called Leocorium as he was marshalling the Panathenaic procession. There are many other matters, not obscured by time, but contemporary, about which the other Hellenes are equally mistaken. For example, they imagine that the kings of Lacedaemon in their council have not one but two votes each <sup>b</sup>, and that in the army of the Lacedaemonians there is a division called the Pitane division <sup>c</sup>; whereas they never had anything of the sort. So little trouble do men take in the search after truth; so readily do they accept whatever comes first to hand.

21. Yet any one who upon the grounds which I have given arrives at some such conclusion as my own about those ancient times, would not be far wrong. He must not be misled by the exaggerated fancies of the poets, or by the tales of chroniclers who seek to please the ear rather than to speak the truth. Their accounts cannot be tested by him, and most of the facts in the lapse of ages have passed into the region of romance. At such a distance of time he must make up his mind to be satisfied with

Uncertainty  
of early  
history  
If esti-  
mated by  
facts the Pe-  
loponnesian  
greater than  
any preced-  
ing war

though the early history of Hellas is of a kind which forbids implicit reliance on every particular of the evidence.' Or (3), 'It is difficult to set down all the proofs in order, so as to make the account credible'

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi. 54 seqq

<sup>b</sup> Herod vi 57

<sup>c</sup> Herod ix 53.

B C 514  
OI 66, 3

conclusions resting upon the clearest evidence which can be had. And, though men will always judge any war in which they are actually fighting to be the greatest at the time, but, after it is over, revert to their admiration of some other which has preceded, still the Peloponnesian, if estimated by the actual facts, will certainly prove to have been the greatest ever known. I

As to the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavoured, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said. Of the events of the war I have not ventured to speak from any chance information, nor according to any notion of my own, I have described nothing but what I either saw myself, or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular enquiry. The task was a laborious one, because eye-witnesses of the same occurrences gave different accounts of them, as they remembered or were interested in the actions of one side or the other. And very likely the strictly historical character of my narrative may be disappointing to the ear. But if he who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things, shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then I shall be satisfied. My history is an everlasting possession, not a prize composition which is heard and forgotten. 22.

The speeches could not be exactly reported. Great pains taken to ascertain the truth about events.

The greatest achievement of former times was the Persian War; yet even this was speedily decided in two battles by sea and two by land. But the Peloponnesian War was a protracted struggle, and attended by calamities such as Hellas had never known within a like period of time. Never were so many cities captured and depopulated—some by Barbarians, others by Hellenes. 23.

Length of the war, which was attended by all sorts of calamities, ordinary and extraordinary. Among the



I. themselves fighting against one another, and several of them after their capture were recaptured by strangers. Never were exile and slaughter more frequent, whether in the war or brought about by civil strife. And rumours, of which the like had often been current before, but rarely verified by fact, now appeared to be well grounded. There were earthquakes unparalleled in their extent and fury, and eclipses of the sun more numerous than are recorded to have happened in any former age, there were also in some places great droughts causing famines, and lastly the plague which did immense harm and destroyed numbers of the people. All these calamities fell upon Hellas simultaneously with the war, which began when the Athenians and Peloponnesians violated the thirty years' truce concluded by them after the recapture of Euboea<sup>a</sup>. Why they broke it and what were the grounds of quarrel I will first set forth, that in time to come no man may be at a loss to know what was the origin of this great war. The real though unavowed cause I believe to have been the growth of the Athenian power, which terrified the Lacedaemonians and forced them into war, but the reasons publicly alleged on either side were as follows.

24. The city of Epidamnus is situated on the right hand as you sail up the Ionian Gulf. Near it dwelt the Taulantians, a barbarian tribe of the Illyrian race. The place was colonised by the Corcyraeans, but under the leadership of a Corinthian, Phalius, son of Eratocleides, who was of the lineage of Heracles, he was invited, according to ancient custom, from the mother city, and Corinthians and other Dorians joined in the colony. In process of time Epidamnus became great and populous, but there followed a long period of civil commotion, and the city is said to have been brought low in a war against the neighbouring barbarians, and to have lost her ancient power. At last, shortly before the Peloponnesian War, the notables were overthrown and driven out by the

latter might  
be enumerated  
earth-  
quakes,  
eclipses,  
droughts,  
and lastly,  
the plague

The story  
of Epi-  
damnus  
Civil strife  
and war  
with the  
barbarians

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1. 115, 146.

B C 435 or people; the exiles went over to the barbarians, and, I.

<sup>434</sup>  
Ol 86, 2 or uniting with them, plundered the remaining inhabitants  
3 both by sea and land. These, finding themselves hard pressed, sent an embassy to the mother-city Corcyra, begging the Corcyraeans not to leave them to their fate, but to reconcile them to the exiles and put down their barbarian enemies. The ambassadors came, and sitting as suppliants in the temple of Herè preferred their request, but the Corcyraeans would not listen to them, and they returned without success. The Epidamnians, finding that they had no hope of assistance from Corcyra, knew not what to do, and sending to Delphi enquired of the God whether they should deliver up the city to their original founders, the Corinthians, and endeavour to obtain aid from them. The God replied that they should, and bade them place themselves under the leadership of the Corinthians. So the Epidamnians went to Corinth, and informing the Corinthians of the answer which the oracle had given, delivered up the city to them. They reminded them that the original leader of the colony was a citizen of Corinth, and implored the Corinthians to come and help them, and not leave them to their fate. The Corinthians took up their cause, partly in vindication of their own rights (for they considered that Epidamnus belonged to them quite as much as to the Corcyraeans), partly too because they hated the Corcyraeans, who were their own colony but slighted them. In their common festivals they would not allow them the customary privileges of founders, and at their sacrifices denied to a Corinthian the right of receiving first the lock of hair cut from the head of the victim, an honour usually granted by colonies to a representative of the mother-country. In fact they despised the Corinthians, for they were more than a match for them in military strength, and as rich as any state then existing in Hellas. They would often boast that on the sea they were very far superior to them, and would appropriate to themselves the naval

The prayer of the Epidamnians for help is rejected by their mother-city Corcyra.

25.

They place themselves under the protection of Corinth

- I. renown of the Phaeacians, who were the ancient inhabitants of the island. Such feelings led them more and more to strengthen their navy, which was by no means despicable, for they had a hundred and twenty triremes when the war broke out.

26      Irritated by these causes of offence, the Corinthians were too happy to assist Epidamnus, accordingly they invited any one who was willing to settle there, and for the protection of the colonists dispatched with them Ambracian and Leucadian troops and a force of their own. All these they sent by land as far as Apollonia, which is a colony of theirs, fearing that if they went by sea the Corcyraeans might oppose their passage. Great was the rage of the Corcyraeans when they discovered that the settlers and the troops had entered Epidamnus and that the colony had been given up to the Corinthians. They immediately set sail with five and twenty ships, followed by a second fleet, and in insulting terms bade the Epidamnians receive the exiled oligarchs, who had gone to Corcyra and implored the Corcyraeans to restore them, appealing to the tie of kindred and pointing to the sepulchres of their common ancestors<sup>a</sup>. They also bade them send away the troops and the new settlers. But the Epidamnians would not listen to their demands. Whereupon the Corcyraeans attacked them with forty ships. They were accompanied by the exiles whom they were to restore, and had the assistance of the native Illyrian troops. They sat down before the city, and made proclamation that any Epidamnian who chose, and the foreigners, might depart in safety, but that all who remained would be treated as enemies. Being met by a refusal, the Corcyraeans proceeded to invest the city, which is built upon an isthmus.

27.      When the news reached the Corinthians that Epidamnus was besieged, they equipped an army and proclaimed that a colony was to be sent thither, all who wished might go and enjoy equal rights of citizen-

The Corinthians send troops and colonists to Epidamnus. The Corcyraeans demand their dismissal, on being refused they besiege the city.

The Corinthians prepare for war and proclaim a

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iii. 58 med., 59 init.

B C 435 or ship, but any one who was unwilling to sail at once I.  
<sup>434</sup>Ol 86, 2 or might remain at Corinth, and, if he made a deposit of colony to  
<sup>3</sup> fifty Corinthian drachmae, might still have a share in Epidamnus  
the colony<sup>a</sup>. Many sailed, and many deposited the Megara and other  
money. The Corinthians also sent and requested the friendly  
Megarians to furnish them with a convoy in case the cities fur-  
Corcyraeans should intercept the colonists on their nish a  
voyage. The Megarians accordingly provided eight convoy  
ships, and the Cephallenians of Palè four, the Epi-  
daurians, of whom they made a similar request, five,  
the Hermionians one, the Troezenians two, the Leu-  
cadians ten; and the Ambraciots eight. Of the Thebans  
and Phliasians they begged money, and of the Eleans  
money, and ships without crews. On their own account  
they equipped thirty ships and three thousand hoplites.

When the Corcyraeans heard of their preparations 28.  
they came to Corinth, taking with them Lacedaemonian  
and Sicyonian envoys, and summoned the Corinthians  
to withdraw the troops and the colonists, telling them  
that they had nothing to do with Epidamnus. If they  
made any claim to it, the Corcyraeans expressed them-  
selves willing to refer the cause for arbitration to such  
Peloponnesian states as both parties should agree upon,  
and their decision was to be final; or, they were willing  
to leave the matter in the hands of the Delphian oracle.  
But they deprecated war, and declared that, if war there  
must be, they would be compelled by the Corinthians  
in self-defence to discard their present friends and seek  
others whom they would rather not, for help they must  
have. The Corinthians replied that if the Corcyraeans  
would withdraw the ships and the barbarian troops they  
would consider the matter, but that it would not do for  
them to be litigating while Epidamnus and the colonists  
were in a state of siege. The Corcyraeans rejoined that  
they would consent to this proposal if the Corinthians on

colony to  
Epidamnus  
Megara  
and other  
friendly  
cities fur-  
nish a  
convoy  
The Cor-  
cyraeans  
propose ar-  
bitration,  
offering  
until a  
decision be  
given to  
withdraw  
their troops  
if the Corin-  
thians with-  
draw theirs,  
or to allow  
both to re-  
main at  
Epidamnus  
by agree-  
ment

<sup>a</sup> Fifty Corinthian drachmae are equivalent to eighty-three Attic drachmae. reckoning the Attic drachma at  $9\frac{2}{3}d$ , the sum would amount to  $3l\ 7s\ 6d$ .

- I their part would withdraw their forces from Epidamnus <sup>B C 435 or</sup>  
<sup>a</sup> or again, they were willing that both parties should <sup>434</sup>  
 remain<sup>a</sup> on the spot, and that a truce should be made <sup>Ol 86, 2 or</sup>  
 until the decision was given <sup>3</sup>

29. The Corinthians turned a deaf ear to all these over-  
 tures, and, when their vessels were manned and their  
 allies had arrived, they sent a herald before them to  
 declare war, and set sail for Epidamnus with seventy-  
 five ships and two thousand hoplites, intending to give  
 battle to the Corcyraeans. Their fleet was commanded  
 by Aristeus the son of Pellichus, Callicrates the son of  
 Callias, and Timanor the son of Timanthes, the land  
 forces by Archetimus the son of Eurytimus, and Isarchi-  
 das the son of Isarchus. When they arrived at Actium  
 in the territory of Anactorium, at the mouth of the  
 Ambracian gulf, where the temple of Apollo stands,  
 the Corcyraeans sent a herald to them in a small boat  
 forbidding them to come on. Meanwhile their crews  
 got on board, they had previously equipped their fleet,  
 strengthening the old ships with cross-timbers, so as to  
 make them serviceable. The herald brought back no  
 message of peace from the Corinthians. The Corcyraean  
 ships, numbering eighty (for forty out of the hundred  
 and twenty were engaged in the blockade of Epidamnus),  
 were now fully manned, these sailed out against the  
 Corinthians and, forming line, fought and won a complete  
 victory over them, and destroyed fifteen of their ships.  
 On the very same day the forces besieging Epidamnus  
 succeeded in compelling the city to capitulate, the terms  
 being that the Corinthians until their fate was deter-  
 mined should be imprisoned and the strangers sold

30 After the sea-fight the Corcyraeans raised a trophy  
 on Leucimmè, a promontory of Corcyra, and put to  
 death all their prisoners with the exception of the  
 Corinthians, whom they kept in chains. The defeated  
 Corinthians and their allies then returned home, and

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'or again, they would agree to arbitration on the condition  
 that both parties should remain' etc.

The Corn-  
 thians re-  
 fuse, and  
 declare war  
 Sailing to  
 Epidamnus  
 they are  
 met and  
 attacked by  
 the Corcy-  
 raeans and  
 completely  
 defeated  
 On the  
 same day  
 Epidamnus  
 surrenders

The Cor-  
 cyraeans,  
 having com-  
 mand of the  
 sea, plunder  
 the allies of  
 Cornth

BC 435 or the Corcyraeans (who were now masters of the Ionian I.  
<sup>434</sup> sea), sailing to Leucas, a Corinthian colony, devastated At length  
 Ol 86, 2 or the country. They also burnt Cyllenè, where the the Corin-  
 3 Eleans had their docks, because they had supplied the thians form  
 the Corinthians with money and ships And, during the a camp to  
 the greater part of the summer after the battle, they retained protect  
 the command of the sea and sailed about plundering the them  
 allies of the Corinthians But, before the season was  
 over, the Corinthians, perceiving that their allies were  
 suffering, sent out a fleet and formed a camp at Actium  
 and near the promontory of Cheimerium in Thesprotia,  
 that they might protect Leucas and other friendly places  
 The Corcyraeans with their fleet and army stationed  
 themselves on the opposite coast at Leucimmè. Neither  
 party attacked the other, but during the remainder of  
 the summer they maintained their respective positions,  
 and at the approach of winter returned home

BC 434, For the whole year after the battle, and for a year 31.  
<sup>433</sup> after that, the Corinthians, exasperated by their defeat, The Corin-  
 Ol 86, 3, 4 were busy in building ships They took the utmost thians pre-  
 pains to create a great navy rowers were collected pare to  
 from the Peloponnesus and from the rest of Hellas by renew the  
 the attraction of pay The Corcyraeans were alarmed war, and  
 at the report of their preparations The Corcyraeans in the Corcy-  
 they had not enrolled themselves in the league either raicans in  
 of the Athenians or of the Lacedaemonians, and that allies alarm send  
 in Hellas they had none. They determined to go to an embassy  
 Athens, join the Athenian alliance, and get what help to Athens,  
 they could from them The Corinthians, hearing of their whither  
 intentions, also sent ambassadors to Athens, fearing lest they are  
 the combination of the Athenian and Corcyraean navies followed by  
 might prevent them from bringing the war to a satisfac- Corinthian  
 tory termination. Accordingly an assembly was held at envoys  
 which both parties came forward to plead their respective  
 causes, and first the Corcyraeans spoke as follows.—

‘Men of Athens, those who, like ourselves, come to 32  
 others who are not their allies and to whom they have Speech of  
 never rendered any considerable service and ask help the Corcy-  
 raicans

- I. of them, are bound to show, in the first place, that the granting of their request is expedient, or at any rate not inexpedient, and, secondly, that their gratitude will be lasting. If they fulfil neither requirement they have no right to complain of a refusal. Now the Corcyraeans, when they sent us hither to ask for an alliance, were confident that they could establish to your satisfaction both these points. But, unfortunately, we have had a practice alike inconsistent with the request which we are about to make and contrary to our own interest at the present moment —Inconsistent, for hitherto we have never, if we could avoid it, been the allies of others, and now we come and ask you to enter into an alliance with us —Contrary to our interest, for through this practice we find ourselves isolated in our war with the Corinthians. The policy of not making alliances lest they should endanger us at another's bidding, instead of being wisdom, as we once fancied, has now unmistakably proved to be weakness and folly. True, in the last naval engagement we repelled the Corinthians single-handed. But now they are on the point of attacking us with a much greater force which they have drawn together from the Peloponnesus and from all Hellas. We know that we are too weak to resist them unaided, and may expect the worst if we fall into their hands. We are therefore compelled to ask assistance of you and of all the world, and you must not be hard upon us if now, renouncing our indolent neutrality which was an error but not a crime, we dare to be inconsistent.
33. 'To you at this moment the request which we are making offers a glorious opportunity. In the first place, you will assist the oppressed and not the oppressors, secondly, you will admit us to your alliance at a time when our dearest interests are at stake, and will lay up a treasure of gratitude in our memories which will have the most abiding of all records. Lastly, we have a navy greater than any but your own. Reflect, what good fortune can be more extraordinary, what more annoying
- Our neutrality was a mistake, and has left us isolated at the mercy of the Corinthians and their allies
- We ask the aid of Athens, who will thus assist the oppressed, and gain our undying affection. She should not reject the offer of the Corcyraean navy
- B C 433  
Ol 86, 4

B C 433 to your enemies than the voluntary accession of a power I.  
 Ol 86, 4 for whose alliance you would have given any amount of  
 money and could never have been too thankful.<sup>2</sup> This  
 power now places herself at your disposal; you are to  
 incur no danger and no expense, and she brings you a  
 good name in the world, gratitude from those who seek  
 your aid, and an increase of your own strength. Few  
 have ever had all these advantages offered them at once,  
 equally few when they come asking an alliance are able  
 to give in the way of security and honour as much as  
 they hope to receive.

‘And if any one thinks that the war in which our services For war is imminent  
 may be needed will never arrive, he is mistaken. He does  
 not see that the Lacedaemonians, fearing the growth of  
 your empire, are eager to take up arms, and that the  
 Corinthians, who are your enemies, are all-powerful with  
 them. They begin with us, but they will go on to you,  
 that we may not stand united against them in the bond  
 of a common enmity; they will not miss the chance of  
 weakening us and strengthening themselves. And it is  
 our business to strike first, we offering and you accepting  
 our alliance, and to forestall their designs instead of  
 waiting to counteract them.

‘If they say that we are their colony and that therefore 34  
 you have no right to receive us, they should be made to True, we are a colony of the Corinthians, but that is no reason why we should be wronged by them  
 understand that all colonies honour their mother-city  
 when she treats them well, but are estranged from her  
 by injustice. For colonists are not meant to be the  
 servants but the equals of those who remain at home  
 And the injustice of their conduct to us is manifest for  
 we proposed an arbitration in the matter of Epidamnus,  
 but they insisted on prosecuting their quarrel by arms  
 and would not hear of a legal trial<sup>a</sup>. When you see how  
 they treat us who are their own kinsmen, take warning  
 if they try deception, do not be misled by them, and if  
 they make a direct request of you, refuse. For he passes  
 through life most securely who has least reason to re-  
 proach himself with complaisance to his enemies

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 29 mit



I. 'But again, you will not break the treaty with the Lacedaemonians<sup>a</sup> by receiving us for we are not allies either of you or of them What says the treaty?—'Any Hellenic city which is the ally of no one may join whichever league it pleases.' And how monstrous, that they should man their ships, not only from their own confederacy, but from Hellas in general, nay, even from your subjects, while they would debar us from the alliance which naturally offers and from every other, and will denounce it as a crime if you accede to our request. With far better reason shall we complain of you if you refuse For you will be thrusting away us who are not your enemies and are in peril, and, far from restraining the enemy and the aggressor, you will be allowing him to gather fresh forces out of your own dominions How unjust is this! Surely if you would be impartial you should either prevent the Corinthians from hiring soldiers in your dominions, or send to us also such help as you can be induced to send, but it would be best of all if you would openly receive and assist us Many, as we have already intimated, are the advantages which we offer Above all, our enemies are your enemies, which is the best guarantee of fidelity in an ally, and they are not weak but well able to injure those who secede from them Again, when the proffered alliance is that of a maritime and not of an inland power, it is a far more serious matter to refuse You should, if possible, allow no one to have a fleet but yourselves; or, if this is impossible, whoever is strongest at sea, make him your friend

B C 433  
Ol 86, 4

35.  
Reasons  
why the  
Athenians  
should re-  
ceive the  
Corcyrae-  
ans into  
alliance  
They will  
not break  
the treaty

36 'Some one may think that the course which we recommend is expedient, but he may be afraid that if he is convinced by our arguments he will break the treaty. To him we reply, that if he will only strengthen himself he may make a present of his fears to the enemy, but that if he reject the alliance he will be weak, and then his confidence, however reassuring to himself, will be anything but terrifying to enemies who are strong. It

They can-  
no. afford  
to be  
scrupulous,  
Corcyra is  
on the way  
to Sicily,  
and is one  
of the three  
great mari-  
time powers  
of Hellas

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 115 mit.

B C 433  
Ol 86, 4

is Athens about which he is advising, and not Corcyra I.  
will he be providing for her best interests if, when war is imminent and almost at the door, he is so anxious about the chances of the hour that he hesitates to attach to him a state which cannot be made a friend or enemy without momentous consequences? Corcyra, besides offering many other advantages, is conveniently situated for the coast voyage to Italy and Sicily, it stands in the way of any fleet coming from thence to the Peloponnesus, and can also protect a fleet on its way to Sicily. One word more, which is the sum of all we have to say, and should convince you that you must not abandon us. Hellas has only three considerable navies —there is ours, and there is yours, and there is the Corinthian. Now, if the Corinthians get hold of ours, and you allow the two to become one, you will have to fight against the united navies of Corcyra and the Peloponnesus. But, if you make us your allies, you will have our navy in addition to your own ranged at your side in the impending conflict’

Thus spoke the Corcyraeans. the Corinthians replied as follows —

‘Since these Corcyraeans have chosen to speak, not 37.  
only of their reception into your alliance, but of our misdoings and of the unjust war which has been forced upon them by us, we too must touch on these two points before we proceed to our main argument, that you may be better prepared to appreciate our claim upon you, and may have a good reason for rejecting their petition. They pretend that they have hitherto refused to make alliances from a wise moderation, but they really adopted this policy from a mean and not from a high motive. They did not want to have an ally who might go and tell of their crimes, and who would put them to the blush whenever they called him in. Their insular position makes them judges of their own offences against others, and they can therefore afford to dispense with judges appointed under treaties, for they hardly ever

The neutrality of the Corcyraeans a pretence by which they conceal their crimes

- I. visit their neighbours, but foreign ships are constantly driven to their shores by stress of weather And all the time they screen themselves under the specious name of neutrality, making believe that they are unwilling to be the accomplices of other men's crimes. But the truth is that they wish to keep their own criminal courses to themselves where they are strong, to oppress, where they cannot be found out, to defraud; and whatever they may contrive to appropriate, never to be ashamed. If they were really upright men, as they profess to be, the greater their immunity from attack the more clearly they might have made their honesty appear by a willingness to submit differences to arbitration

B C. 433  
OI 86, 4

38.

We go to war with them because they have wronged and insulted us

'But such they have not shown themselves either towards us or towards others Although they are our colony they have always stood aloof from us, and now they are fighting against us on the plea that they were not sent out to be ill used To which we rejoin that we did not send them out to be insulted by them, but that we might be recognised as their leaders and receive proper respect. At any rate our other colonies honour us; no city is more beloved by her colonies than Corinth. That we are popular with the majority proves that the Corcyraeans have no reason to dislike us, <sup>a</sup>and, if it seems extraordinary that we should go to war with them, our defence is that the injury which they are doing us is unexampled<sup>a</sup>. Even if we had been misled by passion, it would have been honourable in them to make allowance for us, and dishonourable in us to use violence when they showed moderation But they have wronged us over and over again in their insolence and pride of wealth, and now there is our colony of Epidamnus which they would not acknowledge in her distress, but when we came to her rescue, they seized and are now holding by force.

39.

'They pretend that they first offered to have the matter

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'and there is nothing extraordinary in our going to war with them, for they are doing us an unexampled injury'

B C 433  
Ol 86, 4

decided by arbitration. The appeal to justice might have some meaning in the mouth of one <sup>a</sup>who before he had recourse to arms acted honourably, as he now talks fairly <sup>a</sup>, but not when it is made from a position of security and advantage. Whereas these men began by laying siege to Epidamnus, and not until they feared our vengeance did they put forward their specious offer of arbitration. And as if the wrong which they have themselves done at Epidamnus were not enough, they now come hither and ask you to be, not their allies, but their accomplices in crime, and would have you receive them when they are at enmity with us. But they ought to have come when they were out of all danger, not at a time when we are smarting under an injury and they have good reason to be afraid. You have never derived any benefit from their power, but they will now be benefited by yours, and, although innocent of their crimes, you will equally be held responsible by us. If you were to have shared the consequences with them, they ought long ago to have shared the power with you <sup>b</sup>.

I  
The Corcyraeans propose arbitration and request your help only when they are in danger

‘We have shown that our complaints are justified and that our adversaries are tyrannical and dishonest; we will now prove to you that you have no right to receive them. Admitting that the treaty allows any unenrolled cities to join either league, this provision does not apply to those who have in view the injury of others, but only to him who is in need of protection,—certainly not to one who forsakes his allegiance and who will bring war instead of peace to those who receive him, or rather, if they are wise, will not receive him on such terms. And war the Corcyraeans will bring to you if you listen to them and not to us. For if you become the allies of the

40.  
You will break the treaty by receiving them, and will compel us to betray our enemies

<sup>a</sup> Or, ‘whose actions corresponded to his professions, before he entered on the struggle.’

<sup>b</sup> The last words of the chapter are omitted by Poppo on the authority of several of the best MSS, they may perhaps be a gloss. If they are retained they may be translated ‘But you ought not to share all the consequences of their crimes, while in the crimes, and in them alone, you have no part.’

- I. Corcyraeans you will be no longer at peace with us, but <sup>BC 433</sup> will be converted into enemies, and we must, if you take <sup>Ol 86, 4</sup> their part, in defending ourselves against them, defend ourselves against you. But you ought in common justice to stand aloof from both, or, if you must join either, you should join us and go to war with them, to Corinth you are at all events bound by treaty, but with Corcyra you never even entered into a temporary negotiation.

We did not encourage your rebellious subjects, and you should not receive ours

And do not set the precedent of receiving the rebellious subjects of others. At the revolt of Samos<sup>a</sup>, when the <sup>BC 440</sup> other Peloponnesians were divided upon the question of <sup>Ol 85</sup> giving aid to the rebels, we voted in your favour and expressly maintained 'that every one should be allowed to chastise his own allies.' If you mean to receive and assist evil-doers, we shall assuredly gain as many allies of yours as you will of ours, and you will establish a principle which will tell against yourselves more than against us

41.

We lent you twentyships in the Aeginetan war

'Such are the grounds of right which we urge, and they are sufficient according to Hellenic law. And may we venture to recall to your minds an obligation of which we claim the repayment in our present need, we and you being not enemies who seek one another's hurt, nor yet friends who freely give and take? There was a time <sup>BC 491</sup> before the Persian invasion when you were in want of <sup>Ol 72, 2</sup> ships for the Aeginetan war, and we Corinthians lent you twenty the service which we then rendered to you gave you the victory over the Aeginetans<sup>b</sup>, as the other, which prevented the Peloponnesians from aiding the Samians, enabled you to punish Samos. Both benefits were conferred on one of those critical occasions when men in the act of attacking their enemies are utterly regardless of everything but victory, and deem him who assists them a friend though he may have previously been a foe, him who opposes them a foe, even though he may happen to be a friend; nay, they will often neglect their own interests in the excitement of the struggle.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. 1 115

<sup>b</sup> Cp. Herod vi. 89

B C 433  
Ol 86, 4

‘Think of these things, let the younger be informed of them by their elders, and resolve all of you to render like for like. Do not say to yourselves that this is just, but that in the event of war something else is expedient, for the true path of expediency is the path of right. The war with which the Corcyraeans would frighten you into doing wrong is distant, and may never come, is it worth while to be so carried away by the prospect of it, that you bring upon yourselves the hatred of the Corinthians which is both near and certain? Would you not be wiser in seeking to mitigate the ill-feeling which your treatment of the Megarians has already inspired? The later kindness done in season, though small in comparison, may cancel a greater previous wrong. And do not be attracted by their offer of a great naval alliance, for to do no wrong to a neighbour is a surer source of strength than to gain a perilous advantage under the influence of a momentary illusion

To do no  
wrong is  
better than a  
great naval  
alliance

‘We are now ourselves in the same situation in which you were, when we declared at Sparta that every one so placed should be allowed to chastise his own allies, and we claim to receive the same measure at your hands. You were profited by our vote, and we ought not to be injured by yours. Pay what you owe, knowing that this is our time of need, in which a man’s best friend is he who does him a service, he who opposes him, his worst enemy. Do not receive these Corcyraeans into alliance in despite of us, and do not support them in injustice. In acting thus you will act rightly, and will consult your own true interests.’

Such were the words of the Corinthians.

The Athenians heard both sides, and they held two assemblies, in the first of them they were more influenced by the words of the Corinthians, but in the second they changed their minds and inclined towards the Corcyraeans. They would not go so far as to make an alliance both offensive and defensive with them, for

The Athenians after some hesitation enter into a defensive alliance with Corcyra

\* Cp. i. 67 fin.

- I. then, if the Corcyraeans had required them to join in an expedition against Corinth, the treaty with the Peloponnesians would have been broken. But they concluded a defensive league, by which the two states promised to aid each other if an attack were made on the territory or on the allies of either. For they knew that in any case the war with Peloponnesus was inevitable, and they had no mind to let Corcyra and her navy fall into the hands of the Corinthians. Their plan was to embroil them more and more with one another, and then, when the war came, the Corinthians and the other naval powers would be weaker. They also considered that Corcyra was conveniently situated for the coast voyage to Italy and Sicily.

Motives of  
the Athenians

B.C. 432  
Oli 87

45. Under the influence of these feelings, they received the Corcyraeans into alliance, the Corinthians departed, and the Athenians now despatched to Corcyra ten ships commanded by Lacedaemonius the son of Cimon, Diotimus the son of Stiomachus, and Poteas the son of Epicles. The commanders received orders not to engage with the Corinthians unless they sailed against Corcyra or to any place belonging to the Corcyraeans, and attempted to land there, in which case they were to resist them to the utmost. These orders were intended to prevent a breach of the treaty<sup>a</sup>.

They send  
ten ships to  
Corcyra,  
giving them  
orders to  
act on the  
defensive

46. The Corinthians, when their preparations were completed, sailed against Corcyra with a hundred and fifty ships,—ten Elean, twelve Megarian, ten Leucadian, twenty-seven Ambraciot, one from Anactorium, and ninety of their own. The contingents of the several cities were commanded by their own generals. The Corinthian commander was Xenocleides the son of Euthycles, with four others. The fleet sailed from Leucas, and, arriving at the mainland opposite Corcyra, came to anchor at Cheimerium in the country of Thesprotia.  
<sup>b</sup>Cheimerium is a harbour<sup>b</sup>, above it, at some distance

The Corinthian fleet  
sails against  
Corcyra

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 40 mit.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'Here there is a harbour.'

B C 43<sup>a</sup>  
Ol 87

from the sea, in that part of Thesprotia called Eleatis, I.  
lies the city of Ephyre, near which the Acherusian lake finds a way into the sea, the river Acheron, whence the name is derived, flows through Thesprotia and falls into the lake. Another river, the Thyamis, forms the boundary of Thesprotia and Cestrinè, and the promontory of Cheimerium runs out between these two rivers. Here the Corinthians anchored and encamped.

The Corcyraeans, observing their approach, manned 47  
a hundred and ten ships. These, which were placed Disposition of the forces  
under the command of Meiciades, Aesimides, and Eurybatus, took up a position off one of the islands called Sybota, the ten Athenian ships accompanied them. The land forces occupied the promontory of Leucimmè, whither a thousand Zacynthians had come to the aid of Corcyra. The Corinthians on their part were supported by a large force of barbarians, which collected on the mainland; for the inhabitants of this region have always been well disposed towards them.

The Corinthians had now made their preparations, and, 48.  
taking with them three days' provisions, put off by night from Cheimerium, intending to give battle at break of day they descried the Corcyraean fleet, which had also put out to sea and was sailing to meet them. As soon as they saw one another, they ranged themselves in order of battle. On the right Corcyraean wing were the Athenian ships. The Corcyraeans themselves occupied the centre and the left wing, and were drawn up in three divisions, each under the command of one of the generals. On the right wing of the Corinthians were the Megarian and Ambraciot ships, in the centre the contingents of their other allies, they themselves with their swiftest vessels formed the left wing, which was opposed to the Athenians and to the right division of the Corcyraeans.

The standards were now raised on both sides, and the 49.  
two fleets met and fought. The decks of both were Character of the engagement  
crowded with heavy infantry, with archers and with javelin men; for their naval arrangements were still of the



- I. old clumsy sort The engagement was obstinate, but more courage than skill was displayed, and it had almost the appearance of a battle by land. When two ships once charged one another it was hardly possible to part company, for the throng of vessels was dense, and the hopes of victory lay chiefly in the heavy-armed, who maintained a steady fight upon the decks, the ships meanwhile remaining motionless. There were no attempts to break the enemy's line. Brute force and rage made up for the want of tactics. Everywhere the battle was a scene of tumult and confusion. At any point where they saw the Corcyraeans distressed, the Athenians appeared and kept the enemy in check, but the generals, who were afraid of disobeying their instructions, would not begin the attack themselves.

Partial success of the Corcyraeans on the left wing and their complete defeat on the right

The Corinthians suffered most on their right wing. For the Corcyraeans with twenty ships routed them, drove them in disorder to the shore, and sailed right up to their encampment, there landing, they plundered and burnt the deserted tents. In this part of the battle the Corinthians and their allies were woisted, and the Corcyraeans prevailed. But the left wing of the Corinthians, where their own ships were stationed, had greatly the advantage, because the Corcyraeans, whose numbers were originally inferior, had now twenty vessels detached in the pursuit. When the Athenians saw the distress of the Corcyraeans, they began to assist them more openly. At first they had abstained from actual collision, but when the Corcyraeans fled outright and the Corinthians pressed them hard, then every man fell to work, all distinctions were forgotten,—the time had arrived when Corinthian and Athenian were driven to attack one another.

The Athenians share in the engagement

50. The Corinthians, having put to flight their enemies, never stopped to take in tow the hulls of the vessels which they had disabled, but fell upon the men, they towed up and down and slew them, giving no quarter, and unintentionally killing their own friends, for they were not aware that their right wing had been defeated.

B C 432  
Ol 87

B C 43<sup>a</sup> There were so many ships on one side and on the other, I.  
Ol 87 and they covered so great an extent of water, that, when the engagement had once begun, it was hard among conquerors and conquered to distinguish friend from foe. For never before had two Hellenic navies so numerous met in battle

When the Corinthians had chased the Corcyraeans to the shore, they turned their attention to their own wrecks and dead bodies. Most of these were recovered by them and conveyed to Sybota, a desert harbour of Thesprotia, whither their barbarian allies had come to support them. They then formed afresh and once more made a movement towards the Corcyraeans, who, taking such vessels as had not been disabled, and any others which they had in their docks, together with the Athenian ships, put out to meet them, dreading a descent upon Corcyra. It was now late in the day and the Paean had been already sounded for the onset, when the Corinthians suddenly began to row astern. They had descried sailing towards them twenty vessels which the Athenians had sent to reinforce the former ten, fearing what had actually happened, that the Corcyraeans would be defeated, and that the original squadron would be insufficient to protect them.

The Corinthians, who had the first view of these vessels, 51.  
suspecting that they were Athenian and that there were more of them than they saw, were beginning to retreat. The Corcyraeans, owing to their position, could not see them, and they wondered why the Corinthians rowed astern. At length some one who spied the advancing fleet exclaimed, 'Yonder are ships coming;' and then the Corcyraeans, as it was getting dark, likewise retired, and the Corinthians turned about and sailed away. Thus the two fleets separated after a battle which lasted until nightfall. The twenty ships which came from Athens under the command of Glaucôn the son of Leagrus, and Andocides the son of Leogoras, made their way through the wrecks and corpses and sailed into the Corcyraean

I station at Leucimmè almost as soon as they were sighted <sup>P C 432</sup>  
 At first in the darkness the Corcyraeans feared that they <sup>C1 87</sup>  
 were enemies, but they soon recognised them and the  
 Athenian vessels came to anchor

52. On the next day the thirty Athenian and all the  
 The Corin-  
 thians want  
 to return  
 home Corcyracan ships which were fit for service, wanting to  
 ascertain whether the Corinthians would fight, sailed to  
 the harbour at Sybota where their fleet lay The Corin-  
 thians, putting out into deep water, drew up their ships  
 in line and so remained, but they did not intend to begin  
 the battle For they saw that fresh ships, which had re-  
 ceived no damage in the action, had arrived from Athens,  
 and their own position was one of great difficulty They  
 had to guard the prisoners in their vessels, and there were  
 no means of refitting in such a desert place They were  
 more disposed to consider how they should get home  
 than to fight For they feared that the Athenians, deem-  
 ing the peace, now that blows had been exchanged, to be  
 already broken, would intercept their return

53. They therefore determined to send a few men in a boat  
 They hold  
 a parley  
 with the  
 Athenians without a flag of truce to the Athenians, and so test their  
 intentions The men were to deliver the following mes-  
 sage. 'You do wrong, Athenians, to begin war and  
 violate the treaty. We were only chastising our enemies,  
 and you come with a hostile force and place yourselves  
 between us and them. If it is your intention to hinder  
 us from sailing to Corcyra, or whithersoever we choose,  
 and you are going to break the treaty, take us first and  
 deal with us as enemies.' Whereupon all the Corcyraeans  
 who were within hearing cried out 'Take and kill them.'  
 But the Athenians replied 'Men of Peloponnesus, we are  
 not beginning war, and we are not violating the treaty;  
 we are only aiding the Corcyraeans, who are our allies.  
 If you mean to sail against Corcyra or any place belong-  
 ing to the Corcyraeans, we will do our utmost to prevent  
 you, but, if you want to go anywhere else, you may.'

54. Reassured by this reply, the Corinthians prepared to  
 The Corin-  
 thians re- sail home, first setting up a trophy at the Sybota which

B C 432 is on the mainland The Corcyraeans took up the wrecks I  
 Ol 87 / and dead bodies which were carried towards them, the turn home,  
 current and the wind which had risen during the night capturing  
 having scattered them in all directions. They then set Anactorium  
 up a rival trophy on the island of Sybota. Both parties on the  
 claimed the victory, but on different grounds voyage  
 The Corinthians had retained the advantage in the sea-fight  
 until nightfall, and had thus secured a greater number of  
 wrecks and dead bodies, they had taken not less than a  
 thousand prisoners and had disabled about seventy ships.  
 The Corcyraeans, on the other hand, had destroyed  
 some thirty sail, and when reinforced by the Athenians  
 had taken up the wrecks and dead bodies which had  
 drifted in their direction, whereas the enemy on the  
 evening of the battle had rowed astern at sight of the  
 Athenian ships, and after their arrival had not come out  
 against them from Sybota Upon these grounds both  
 sides raised trophies and claimed the victory. On their 55.  
 homeward voyage the Corinthians took by stratagem  
 Anactorium, a town situated at the mouth of the Am-  
 bracian Gulf, which they and the Corcyraeans held in  
 common; there they placed colonists of their own, and  
 returned to Corinth Of their Corcyraean captives eight  
 hundred who were slaves they sold, but two hundred and  
 fifty they detained in prison, treating them with much  
 consideration, in the hope that, when they returned, they  
 would win over Corcyra to the Corinthian interests\* it  
 so happened that the majority of them were among the  
 most influential men of the state. Thus the war ended  
 to the advantage of Corcyra, and the Athenian fleet re-  
 turned home. This was the first among the causes of  
 the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthians alleging that the  
 Athenian fleet had taken part with the Corcyraeans and  
 had fought against them in defiance of the treaty

There soon arose another cause of quarrel between the 56.  
 Athenians and Peloponnesians Potidaea, which is situ- Affair of  
 ated on the isthmus of Pallene, was originally a Corinthian Potidaea  
 The Athe-

\* Cp iii 70.

I. colony, although at this time the tributary and ally of Athens. Now the Corinthians were forming plans of vengeance, and the Athenians, who suspected their intentions, commanded the Potidaeans to raze their walls and to give hostages on the side of Pallènè and give hostages; also to send away and not to receive for the future the magistrates whom the Corinthians annually sent to them. For they were afraid lest the Potidaeans might be persuaded by the Corinthians and Perdicas to revolt, and might induce the rest of Chalcidicè to follow their example

57  
Perdicas quarrels with the Athenians and tries to stir up war between Peloponnesus and Athens

These measures of precaution were taken by the Athenians immediately after the sea-fight off Corcyra. The hostility of the Corinthians was no longer doubtful, and Perdicas, king of Macedon, the son of Alexander, hitherto the friend and ally of Athens, had now become an enemy. He had quarrelled with the Athenians because they had made an alliance with his brother Philip and with Derdas, who were leagued against him. Alarmed by their attitude, he sent envoys to Sparta and did all he could to stir up a war between Athens and the Peloponnesians. He also sought the alliance of Corinth, for he had an eye to the revolt of Potidaea, and he proposed to the Chalcidians and to the Bottiaeans that they should join in the revolt, thinking, that if he had the assistance of the neighbouring peoples, the difficulties of the war would be diminished. The Athenians became aware of his designs and resolved to forestall the revolt of the cities. They were already intending to send against Perdicas thirty ships and a thousand hoplites under the command of Archestratus the son of Lycomedes, and ten others, and they told their admirals to take hostages from the Potidaeans and to demolish their wall. They were also to keep a watch over the towns in the neighbourhood and prevent any attempt at rebellion.

58. Meanwhile the Potidaeans sent envoys to the Athenians in the hope of persuading them to take no strong measures; but at the same time other envoys of theirs accompanied a Corinthian embassy to Lacedaemon and exerted

The Potidaeans send envoys to Athens and Sparta

B.C. 432.  
Oli 87

B C 432  
O I 87

themselves to procure assistance in case of need. A long I  
negotiation was carried on at Athens which ended in  
nothing, and made no difference, the ships destined for  
Macedonia were also sent against Potidaea. But at Lacedaemon they were promised by the magistrates that if  
the Athenians attacked Potidaea they would invade Attica. So they seized the opportunity and revolted: the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans swore alliance with them and joined in the revolt. Perdiccas persuaded the Chalcidians to abandon and pull down their towns on the sea-coast, and settling at Olynthus inland, there to form one strong city. On their removal he gave them part of his own territory of Mygdonia about the lake Bolbè to cultivate while the contest lasted. So, dismantling their cities, they settled up the country and made preparation for war.

They receive promises of assistance from Sparta

The Athenians, when the thirty ships arrived in Chalcidicè, found that Potidaea and the other cities had already revolted. Whereupon the generals, thinking that they were not strong enough without more troops to act against the rebels as well as against Perdiccas, directed their attention to Macedonia, which was their original destination, and there carried on a regular campaign in concert with Philip and the brothers of Derdas, who had invaded the country from the interior.

59  
The Athenians under Archestratus arrive in Chalcidicè. They first attack Macedonia

Now that Potidaea had revolted and the Athenian 60.  
ships were on the coast of Macedonia, the Corinthians grew anxious about the town, they felt that the danger came home to them, and dispatched thither volunteers of their own and other troops whom they attracted by pay from various parts of the Peloponnese, numbering in all sixteen hundred hoplites and four hundred light-armed. Their commander was Aristeus the son of Adeimantus, who had always been a great friend of the Potidaeans, it was mainly out of regard for him that most of the Corinthian soldiers volunteered on the expedition. They arrived in Chalcidicè forty days after the revolt of Potidaea.

The Corinthians send troops to the aid of Potidaea under the command of Aristeus

The news of the revolt in Chalcidicè quickly reached 61.

I. Athens, and the Athenians, when they heard that Aristeus had come with reinforcements, sent against the revolted towns forty ships and two thousand of their own hoplites under the command of Callias the son of Calliades, and four others. The expedition, sailing first of all to Macedonia, found that the former thousand had just taken Therme and were blockading Pydna, they joined in the siege themselves, but before long the Athenian army were constrained to come to an understanding and make an alliance with Perdiccas. For Potidaea, now that Aristeus had arrived, urgently demanded their presence, so they prepared to quit Macedonia. They first marched out of their way to Beroea, which they attempted to take without success. Returning to their route, they moved on by land towards Potidaea with three thousand hoplites of their own and a large force of allies, they had also six hundred Macedonian horse, who fought under Philip and Pausanias, meanwhile their ships, in number seventy, sailed along the coast. Proceeding by slow marches, they arrived on the third day at Gygonus and there encamped.

62 The Potidaeans and the Peloponnesian force under Aristeus had now taken up a position at the Isthmus on the side towards Olynthus, where they awaited the coming of the Athenians, they held their market outside the walls of Potidaea. The allies had chosen Aristeus general of all the infantry, and of the cavalry Perdiccas, for he had no sooner joined than he again deserted the Athenians and was now fighting on the side of the Potidaeans, having appointed Iolaus <sup>a</sup> to be his lieutenant at home <sup>a</sup>. The plan of Aristeus was as follows — His own army was to remain on the Isthmus and watch for the approach of the Athenians, while the Chalcidians, their allies from beyond the Isthmus, and the two hundred horse furnished by Perdiccas were stationed at Olynthus, and as soon as the Athenians attacked Aristeus and his army, they were to fall upon them in

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'to take his place with the expedition,' *cp infra, τὴν παρὰ Περδίκκου διακοσίαν ἵππων*

Athenian reinforcements under Callias arrive in Macedonia, the Athenians make a temporary peace with Perdiccas and move on to Potidaea

Engagement at the Isthmus of Pallene.

B.C. 432  
O1 87

B C 432  
Ol 87

I. the rear; thus the enemy would be assailed on both sides. But Callias the Athenian general and his colleagues sent the Macedonian horse and a few of the allied troops towards Olynthus that they might check any movement in that quarter, while they themselves, quitting their position, marched against Potidaea. When they had reached the Isthmus and saw the enemy preparing for battle, they did the same. The two armies soon closed. The wing led by Aristeus, which was composed of his Corinthian followers and other picked troops, routed their opponents and pursued them far away, but the rest of the army, both Potidaeans and Peloponnesians, were defeated by the Athenians and fled into the city.

Aristeus, when he returned from the pursuit and perceived that the other wing of his army was defeated, hesitated whether he should make for Olynthus or return to Potidaea. Both courses were hazardous, but at last he determined to contract his troops into the smallest compass and force his way at full speed into Potidaea. Harassed by the missiles of the enemy he pushed forward through the water<sup>a</sup> along the bank in front of the sea-wall, not without loss, but he contrived to save the greater part of his army. When the battle began, the allies of the Potidaeans in Olynthus, which is only about seven miles<sup>b</sup> distant, and is visible from Potidaea, seeing the standards raised, came out a little way to support their friends, and the Macedonian horse drew up in order of battle to oppose them. But victory quickly declared for the Athenians, and when the standards were torn down the Olynthian auxiliaries retired within the walls, and the Macedonians rejoined the Athenians: thus on neither side did the cavalry take any part in the action. The Athenians raised a trophy and granted the Potidaeans a truce for the burial of their dead. Of the Potidaeans

63.  
The army  
of Aristeus  
is partially  
defeated,  
he succeeds  
in making  
his way back  
to Potidaea

<sup>a</sup> Cp Herod. viii 129

<sup>b</sup> Sixty stadia, the stadium being reckoned at two hundred and two yards



- I. and their allies, there fell somewhat less than three hundred, of the Athenians, a hundred and fifty, and then general Callias. B.C. 432  
O1 87

64. The Athenians instantly blockaded the town on the side towards the Isthmus, raising a wall, which they guarded, but the side towards Pallènè was left open. They were conscious that they were too weak both to guard the Isthmus and, crossing over to Pallènè, there to build another wall, they feared that if they divided their forces, they would be attacked by the Potidaeans and their allies. Afterwards, when the Athenians at home heard that on the side towards Pallènè Potidaea was not invested, they sent out sixteen hundred hoplites of their own under the command of Phormio the son of Asopius. On his arrival in Pallènè he made Aphytis his head-quarters, and brought his army by slow marches up to Potidaea, wasting the country as he went along. No one came out to meet him, and so he built a wall towards Pallènè. Potidaea was now closely invested on both sides, while the Athenian ships, cruising about, cut off all communication from the sea.

65. Aristeus despaired of saving the place unless aid came from Peloponnesus or he was relieved in some unforeseen manner. Being anxious to husband provisions, he proposed to the garrison that they should avail themselves of the first favourable wind and sail away, leaving behind five hundred men, of whom he offered to be one. But they would not listen to him, so, wanting to do the best he could, and to further the Peloponnesian interests beyond the walls, he sailed out undiscovered by the Athenian guard-ships. He did not leave the country, but assisted the Chalcidians in carrying on the war. He succeeded in cutting off a large force of Semylians by an ambuscade which he laid near their city, he also exerted himself to obtain aid from Peloponnesus. Phormio with his sixteen hundred hoplites, now that Potidaea was invested, ravaged Chalcidicè and Botticè, and captured several places.

The Athenians blockade Potidaea at first only on the side towards the Isthmus, afterwards, by the help of reinforcements under Phormio, on the side towards Pallènè

Aristeus leaves Potidaea and carries on the war outside the walls

B C 432  
Ol 87

Such were the causes of ill-feeling which at this time I. 66.  
existed between the Athenians and Peloponnesians the Corinthians complaining that the Athenians were blockading their colony of Potidaea, which was occupied by a Corinthian and Peloponnesian garrison, the Athenians rejoining that the Peloponnesians had excited to revolt a state which was an ally and tributary of theirs, and that they had now openly joined the Potidaeans, and were fighting on their side. The Peloponnesian war, however, had not yet broken out, the peace still continued, for thus far the Corinthians had acted alone.

But now, seeing Potidaea besieged, they bestirred themselves in earnest. 67  
Corinthian troops were shut up within the walls, and they were afraid of losing the town, so without delay they invited the allies to meet at Sparta. There they inveighed against the Athenians, whom they affirmed to have broken the treaty and to have wronged the Peloponnesians. The Aeginetans did not venture to send envoys openly, but secretly they acted with the Corinthians, and were among the chief instigators of the war, declaring that they had been robbed of the independence which the treaty guaranteed them. The Lacedaemonians themselves then <sup>a</sup>proceeded to summon any of the allies who had similar charges <sup>a</sup> to bring against the Athenians, and calling their own ordinary assembly told them to speak. Several of them came forward and stated their wrongs. The Megarians alleged, among other grounds of complaint, that they were excluded from all harbours within the Athenian dominion and from the Athenian market, contrary to the treaty. The Corinthians waited until the other allies had stirred up the Lacedaemonians; at length they came forward, and, last of all, spoke as follows —

‘The spirit of trust, Lacedaemonians, which animates 68.

<sup>a</sup> Or, adopting the inferior reading τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ εἴ τις ‘proceeded to summon any of their own allies, and any one else, who had similar charges,’ etc

Excitement  
of the Co-  
rinthians  
Grievances  
of the Aegi-  
netans and  
Megarians

I your own political and social life, <sup>a</sup> makes you distrust B C 132  
Ol 87  
The Corinthians complain of the delays of the Spartans,
others who, like ourselves, have something unpleasant to say <sup>a</sup>, and this temper of mind, though favourable to moderation, too often leaves you in ignorance of what is going on outside your own country. Time after time we have warned you of the mischief which the Athenians would do to us, but instead of taking our words to heart, you chose to suspect that we only spoke from interested motives. And this is the reason why you have brought the allies to Sparta too late, not before but after the injury has been inflicted, and when they are smarting under the sense of it. Which of them all has a better right to speak than ourselves, who have the heaviest accusations to make, outraged as we are by the Athenians, and neglected by you? If the crimes which they are committing against Hellas were being done in a corner, then you might be ignorant, and we should have to inform you of them: but now, what need of many words? Some of us, as you see, have been already enslaved, they are at this moment intriguing against others, notably against allies of ours, and long ago they had made all their preparations in expectation of war. Else why did they seduce from her allegiance Corcyra, which they still hold in defiance of us, and why are they blockading Potidæa, the latter a most advantageous post for the command of the Thracian peninsula, the former a great naval power which might have assisted the Peloponnesians?

69. 'And the blame of all this rests on you, for you  
who have enslaved Hellas by not preventing her enslavement
originally allowed them to fortify their city after the Persian War<sup>b</sup>, and afterwards to build their Long Walls<sup>c</sup>, and to this hour you have gone on defrauding of liberty their unfortunate subjects, and are now beginning to take it away from your own allies. For the true enslaver of a people is he who can put an end to their slavery but has no care about it, and all the more, if he be reputed the champion of liberty in Hellas—And so we have met

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'makes you distrustful of us when we bring a charge against others'

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1 90-92

<sup>c</sup> Cp 1 107

B C 432. at last, but with what difficulty! and even now we have I.  
Ol 87 no definite object

By this time we ought to have been considering, not whether we are wronged, but how we are to be revenged. The aggressor is not now threatening, but advancing, he has made up his mind, while we are resolved about nothing. And we know too well how by slow degrees and with stealthy steps the Athenians encroach upon their neighbours. While they think that you are too dull to observe them, they are more careful, but, when they know that you wilfully overlook their aggressions, they will strike and not spare. Of all Hellenes, Lacedaemonians, you are the only people who never do anything on the approach of an enemy you are content to defend yourselves against him, not by acts, but by intentions, and seek to overthrow him, not in the infancy but in the fulness of his strength. How came you to be considered safe? That reputation of yours was never justified by facts. We all know that the Persian made his way from the ends of the earth against Peloponnesus before you encountered him in a worthy manner; and now you are blind to the doings of the Athenians, who are not at a distance as he was, but close at hand. Instead of attacking your enemy, you wait to be attacked, and take the chances of a struggle which has been deferred until his power is doubled. And you know that the Barbarian miscarried chiefly through his own errors, and that we have oftener been delivered from these very Athenians by blunders of their own, than by any aid from you. Some have already been ruined by the hopes which you inspired in them, for so entirely did they trust you that they took no precautions themselves. These things we say in no accusing or hostile spirit—let that be understood—but by way of expostulation. For men expostulate with erring friends, they bring accusation against enemies who have done them a wrong.

‘And surely we have a right to find fault with our 70  
neighbours, if any one ever had. There are important  
interests at stake to which, as far as we can see, Contrast of  
the Athe-  
nian and

I. you are insensible. And you have never considered <sup>B C 132</sup>  
 what manner of men are these Athenians<sup>a</sup> with whom <sup>Ol 87</sup>  
 you will have to fight, and how utterly unlike yourselves. They are revolutionary, equally quick in the conception and in the execution of every new plan, while you are conservative—careful only to keep what you have, originating nothing, and not acting even when action is most necessary. They are bold beyond their strength, they run risks which prudence would condemn; and in the midst of misfortune they are full of hope. Whereas it is your nature, though strong, to act feebly, when your plans are most prudent, to distrust them, and when calamities come upon you, to think that you will never be delivered from them. They are impetuous, and you are dilatory, they are always abroad, and you are always at home. For they hope to gain something by leaving their homes; but you are afraid that any new enterprise may imperil what you have already. When conquerors, they pursue their victory to the utmost, when defeated, they fall back the least. Their bodies they devote to their country as though they belonged to other men, their true self is their mind, which is most truly their own when employed in her service. When they do not carry out an intention which they have formed, they seem to have sustained a personal bereavement; when an enterprise succeeds, they have gained a mere instalment of what is to come, but if they fail, they at once conceive new hopes and so fill up the void. With them alone to hope is to have, for they lose not a moment in the execution of an idea. This is the lifelong task, full of danger and toil, which they are always imposing upon themselves. None enjoy their good things less, because they are always seeking for more. To do their duty is their only holiday, and they deem the quiet of inaction to be as disagreeable as the most tiresome business. If a man should say of them, in a word, that

<sup>a</sup> For descriptions of Athenian character, cp. ii. 37 ff; iii. 38, 42, 43; vi. 76; 87.

B C 432. they were born neither to have peace themselves nor to I.  
Ol 87 allow peace to other men, he would simply speak the truth.

‘In the face of such an enemy, Lacedaemonians, you  
persist in doing nothing You do not see that peace is 71.  
best secured by those who use their strength justly, but The Lacedaemonians  
whose attitude shows that they have no intention of sub- must lay  
mitting to wrong Justice with you seems to consist in aside their  
giving no annoyance to others and <sup>a</sup>in defending your- policy of  
selves only against positive injury<sup>a</sup> But this policy inaction  
would hardly be successful, even if your neighbours were  
like yourselves, and in the present case, as we pointed  
out just now, your ways compared with theirs are old-  
fashioned. And, as in the arts, so also in politics, the  
new must always prevail over the old In settled times  
the traditions of government should be observed. but  
when circumstances are changing and men are compelled  
to meet them, much originality is required The Athe-  
nians have had a wider experience, and therefore the  
administration of their state has improved faster than  
yours But here let your procrastination end, send an  
army at once into Attica and assist your allies, espe-  
cially the Potidaeans, to whom your word is pledged<sup>b</sup>.  
Do not allow friends and kindred to fall into the hands  
of their worst enemies, or drive us in despair to seek  
the alliance of others, in taking such a course we  
should be doing nothing wrong either before the Gods  
who are the witnesses of our oaths, or before men whose  
eyes are upon us For the true breakers of treaties<sup>c</sup> are  
not those who, when forsaken, turn to others, but those  
who forsake allies whom they have sworn to defend We  
will remain your friends if you choose to bestir yourselves,  
for we should be guilty of an impiety if we deserted you  
without cause, and we shall not easily find allies equally  
congenial to us Take heed then you have inherited  
from your fathers the leadership of Peloponnesus, see  
that her greatness suffers no diminution at your hands.’

<sup>a</sup> Or, ‘in running no risk even in self-defence’ <sup>b</sup> Cp 1 58 med

<sup>c</sup> Cp 1. 123 fin.

I. Thus spoke the Corinthians Now there happened to B.C. 432  
O1 87  
 72. be staying at Lacedaemon an Athenian embassy which

Some Athenian envoys who happen to be at Sparta desire to address the assembly

had come on other business, and when the envoys heard what the Corinthians had said, they felt bound to go before the Lacedaemonian assembly, not with the view of answering the accusations brought against them by the cities, but they wanted to put before the Lacedaemonians the whole question, and make them understand that they should take time to deliberate and not be rash. They also desired to set forth the greatness of their city, reminding the elder men of what they knew, and informing the younger of what lay beyond their experience. They thought that their words would sway the Lacedaemonians in the direction of peace. So they came and said that, if they might be allowed, they too would like to address the people. The Lacedaemonians invited them to come forward, and they spoke as follows —

73. ‘We were not sent here to argue with your allies, but on a special mission, observing, however, that no small outcry has arisen against us, we have come forward, not to answer the accusations which they bring (for you are not judges before whom either we or they have to plead), but to prevent you from lending too ready an ear to their bad advice and so deciding wrongly about a very serious question. We propose also, in reply to the wider charges which are raised against us, to show that what we have acquired we hold rightfully and that our city is not to be despised.

They recall the memory of their services in the Persian War

‘Of the ancient deeds handed down by tradition and which no eye of any one who hears us ever saw, why should we speak? But of the Persian War, and other events which you yourselves remember, speak we must, although we have brought them forward so often that the repetition of them is disagreeable to us<sup>a</sup>. When we faced those perils we did so for the common benefit in the solid good you shared, and of the glory, whatever

<sup>a</sup> Or, ‘although it may be disagreeable to you to hear what we are always bringing forward.’

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good there may be in that, we would not be wholly deprived. Our words are not designed to deprecate hostility, but to set forth in evidence the character of the city with which, unless you are very careful, you will soon be involved in war. We tell you that we, first and alone, dared to engage with the Barbarian at Marathon, and that, when he came again, being too weak to defend ourselves by land, we and our whole people embarked on shipboard and shared with the other Hellenes in the victory of Salamis. Thereby he was prevented from sailing to the Peloponnesus and ravaging city after city; for against so mighty a fleet how could you have helped one another? He himself is the best witness of our words, for when he was once defeated at sea, he felt that his power was gone and quickly retreated with the greater part of his army.

I.

‘The event proved undeniably that the fate of Hellas depended on her navy. And the three chief elements of success were contributed by us, namely, the greatest number of ships, the ablest general, the most devoted patriotism. The ships in all numbered four hundred<sup>a</sup>, and of these, our own contingent amounted to nearly two-thirds. To the influence of Themistocles our general it was chiefly due that we fought in the strait, which was confessedly our salvation, and for this service you yourselves honoured him above any stranger who ever visited you. Thirdly, we displayed the most extraordinary courage and devotion, there was no one to help us by land, for up to our frontier those who lay in the enemy’s path were already slaves, so we determined to leave our city and sacrifice our homes. Even in that extremity we did not choose to desert the cause of the allies who still resisted, and by dispersing ourselves to become useless to them, but we embarked and fought, taking no offence at your failure to assist us sooner. We maintain then that we rendered you a service at least as great as you rendered us. The cities from which you came to

74.

<sup>a</sup> Reading with the great majority of MSS. τετρακοσίας.



- I. help us were still inhabited and you might hope to re-<sup>B C 432</sup>  
 turn to them, your concern was for yourselves and not<sup>Ol 87</sup>  
 for us, at any rate you remained at a distance while we  
 had anything to lose. But we went forth from a city  
 which was no more, and fought for one of which there  
 was small hope, and yet we saved ourselves, and bore  
 our part in saving you. If, in order to preserve our land,  
 like other states, we had gone over to the Persians at  
 first, or afterwards had not ventured to embark because  
 our ruin was already complete, it would have been use-  
 less for you with your weak navy to fight at sea, but  
 everything would have gone quietly just as the Persian  
 desired.

75. 'Considering, Lacedaemonians, the energy and sagacity  
 which we then displayed, do we deserve to be so bitterly  
 hated by the other Hellenes merely because we have an  
 empire? That empire was not acquired by force, but  
 you would not stay and make an end of the Barbarian,  
 and the allies came of their own accord and asked us to  
 be their leaders. The subsequent development of our  
 power was originally forced upon us by circumstances,  
 fear was our first motive, afterwards ambition, and then  
 interest stepped in. And when we had incurred the  
 hatred of most of our allies, when some of them had  
 already revolted and been subjugated, and you were no  
 longer the friends to us which you once had been, but  
 suspicious and ill-disposed, how could we without great  
 risk relax our hold? For the cities as fast as they fell  
 away from us would have gone over to you. And no  
 man is to be reproached who seizes every possible ad-  
 vantage when the danger is so great

76. 'At all events, Lacedaemonians, we may retort that you,  
 in the exercise of your supremacy, manage the cities of  
 Peloponnesus to suit your own views, and that if you,  
 and not we, had persevered in the command of the allies  
 long enough to be hated, you would have been quite as  
 intolerable to them as we are, and would have been com-  
 pelled, for the sake of your own safety, to rule with a

Why should  
 they be  
 hated for  
 having  
 saved Hel-  
 las? Their  
 empire was  
 not an usur-  
 pation, but  
 the growth  
 of circum-  
 stances

The Lace-  
 daemonians  
 would have  
 been worse  
 than they  
 were

B C 432  
Ol 87

strong hand An empire was offered to us can you wonder that, acting as human nature always will, we accepted it and refused to give it up again, constrained by three all-powerful motives, ambition, fear, interest We are not the first who have aspired to rule, the world has ever held that the weaker must be kept down by the stronger. And we think that we are worthy of power; and there was a time when you thought so too, but now, when you mean expediency you talk about justice Did justice ever deter any one from taking by force whatever he could? Men who indulge the natural ambition of empire deserve credit if they are in any degree more careful of justice than they need be How moderate we are would speedily appear if others took our place, indeed our very moderation, which should be our glory, has been unjustly converted into a reproach

‘For because in our suits with our allies, regulated by treaty, we do not even stand upon our rights, but have instituted the practice of deciding them at Athens and by Athenian law, we are supposed to be litigious None of our opponents observe why others, who exercise dominion elsewhere and are less moderate than we are in their dealings with their subjects, escape this reproach Why is it? Because men who practise violence have no longer any need of law But we are in the habit of meeting our allies on terms of equality, and, therefore, if through some legal decision of ours, or exercise of our imperial power, contrary to their own ideas of right, they suffer ever so little, they are not grateful for our moderation in leaving them so much, but are far more offended at their trifling loss than if we had from the first plundered them in the face of day, laying aside all thought of law For then they would themselves have admitted that the weaker must give way to the stronger Mankind resent injustice more than violence, because the one seems to be an unfair advantage taken by an equal, the other is the irresistible force of a superior They were patient under the yoke of the Persian, who inflicted on

I.

77

They were thought to be litigious, because they allowed their subjects a law other than the law of the stronger

I them far more grievous wrongs, but now our dominion is odious in their eyes. And no wonder: the ruler of the day is always unpopular. And should you empire supplant ours, may not you lose the good-will which you owe to the fear of us? Lose it you certainly will, if you mean again to exhibit the temper of which you gave a specimen when, for a short time, you led the confederacy against the Persian. For the institutions under which you live are incompatible with those of foreign states; and further, when any of you goes abroad, he respects neither these nor any other Hellenic laws<sup>a</sup>.

78. 'Do not then be hasty in deciding a question which is serious; and do not, by listening to the misrepresentations and complaints of others, bring trouble upon yourselves. Realise, while there is time, the inscrutable nature of war, and how when protracted it generally ends in becoming a mere matter of chance, over which neither of us can have any control, the event being equally unknown and equally hazardous to both. The misfortune is that in their hurry to go to war, men begin with blows, and when a reverse comes upon them, then have recourse to words. But neither you, nor we, have as yet committed this mistake, and therefore while both of us can still choose the prudent part, we tell you not to break the peace or violate your oaths. Let our differences be determined by arbitration, according to the treaty. If you refuse we call to witness the Gods, by whom you have sworn, that you are the authors of the war, and we will do our best to strike in return.'

79. When the Lacedaemonians had heard the charges brought by the allies against the Athenians, and their rejoinder, they ordered everybody but themselves to withdraw, and deliberated alone. The majority were agreed that there was now a clear case against the Athenians, and that they must fight at once. But Archidamus their king, who was held to be both an

<sup>a</sup> For the misconduct of Spartan officers abroad, cp. i. 95, i. 130, iii. 32, iii. 93 fin., viii. 84 init. Contrast Brasidas, iv. 81.

B C 432 able and a prudent man, came forward and spoke as I.  
OL 87 follows —

‘At my age, Lacedaemonians, I have had experience 80.  
of many wars, and I see several of you who are as old as I am, and who will not, as men too often do, desire war because they have never known it, or in the belief that it is either a good or a safe thing Any one who calmly reflects will find that the war about which you are now deliberating is likely to be a very great one When we encounter our neighbours in the Peloponnese, their forces are like our forces, and they are all within a short march. But when we have to do with men whose country is a long way off, and who are most skilful seamen and thoroughly provided with the means of war,—having wealth, private and public, ships, horses, infantry, and a population larger than is to be found in any single Hellenic territory, not to speak of the numerous allies who pay them tribute,—is this a people against whom we can lightly take up arms or plunge into a contest unprepared? To what do we trust? To our navy? There we are inferior, and to exercise and train ourselves until we are a match for them, will take time To our money? Nay, but in that we are weaker still, we have none in our treasury, and we are never willing to contribute out of our private means.

‘Perhaps some one may be encouraged by the superior 81.  
quality and numbers of our infantry, which will enable us regularly to invade and ravage their lands But their empire extends to distant countries, and they will be able to introduce supplies by sea. Or, again, we may try to stir up revolts among their allies But these are mostly islanders, and we shall have to employ a fleet in their defence, as well as in our own. How then shall we carry on the war? For if we can neither defeat them at sea, nor deprive them of the revenues by which their navy is maintained, we shall get the worst of it And having gone so far, we shall no longer be able even to make peace with honour, especially if we are believed to

We are no match for the Athenians

We have more hoplites, but their empire extends to distant countries, by which their navy is supported, and to ravage their land is useless

I have begun the quarrel. We must not for one moment flatter ourselves that if we do but ravage their country the war will be at an end. Nay, I fear that we shall bequeath it to our children, for the Athenians with their high spirit will never barter their liberty to save their land, or be terrified like novices at the sight of war.

82. 'Not that I would have you shut your eyes to their designs and abstain from unmasking them, or tamely suffer them to injure our allies. But do not take up arms yet. Let us first send and remonstrate with them: we need not let them know positively whether we intend to go to war or not. In the meantime our own preparations may be going forward, we may seek for allies wherever we can find them, whether in Hellas or among the Barbarians, who will supply our deficiencies in ships and money. Those who, like ourselves, are exposed to Athenian intrigue cannot be blamed if in self-defence they seek the aid not of Hellenes only, but of Barbarians. And we must develop our own resources to the utmost. If they listen to our ambassadors, well and good; but, if not, in two or three years' time we shall be in a stronger position, should we then determine to attack them. Perhaps too when they begin to see that we are getting ready,<sup>a</sup> and that our words are to be interpreted by our actions<sup>a</sup>, they may be more likely to yield, for their fields will be still untouched and their goods undespoiled, and it will be in their power to save them by their decision. Think of their land simply in the light of a hostage, all the more valuable in proportion as it is better cultivated; you should spare it as long as you can, and not by reducing them to despair make their resistance more obstinate. For if we allow ourselves to be stung into premature action by the reproaches of our allies, and waste their country before we are ready, we shall only involve Peloponnesus in more and more difficulty and disgrace. Charges brought by cities or persons against one another can be satisfactorily arranged, but

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'and that our words too sound a note of war.'

B C 432  
Ol 87

when a great confederacy, in order to satisfy private I.  
grudges, undertakes a war of which no man can foresee  
the issue, it is not easy to terminate it with honour.

And let no one think that there is any want of courage 83.  
in cities so numerous hesitating to attack a single one  
The allies of the Athenians are not less numerous ; they  
pay them tribute too , and war is not an affair of arms,  
but of money which gives to arms their use, and which  
is needed above all things when a continental is fighting  
against a maritime power let us find money first, and  
then we may safely allow our minds to be excited by the  
speeches of our allies We, on whom the future respon-  
sibility, whether for good or evil, will chiefly fall, should  
calmly reflect on the consequences which may follow

There is no  
cowardice  
in hesita-  
tion , we are  
fighting  
not against  
Athens, but  
against the  
great Athe-  
nian em-  
pire

‘Do not be ashamed of the slowness and procrastina- 84.  
tion with which they are so fond of charging you , if you  
begin the war in haste, you will end it at your leisure,  
because you took up arms without sufficient preparation  
Remember that we have always been citizens of a free  
and most illustrious state, and that for us the policy  
which they condemn may well be the truest good sense  
and discretion. It is a policy which has saved us from  
growing insolent in prosperity or giving way under  
adversity, like other men We are not stimulated by  
the allurements of flattery into dangerous courses of  
which we disapprove , nor are we goaded by offensive  
charges into compliance with any man’s wishes Our  
habits of discipline make us both brave and wise, brave,  
because the spirit of loyalty quickens the sense of honour,  
and the sense of honour inspires courage , wise, because  
we are not so highly educated that we have learned to  
despise the laws, and are too severely trained and of too  
loyal a spirit to disobey them We have not acquired  
that useless over-intelligence which makes a man an  
excellent critic of an enemy’s plans, but paralyses him  
in the moment of action We think that the wits of our  
enemies are as good as our own, and that the element of  
fortune cannot be forecast in words Let us assume that

Too much  
haste, too  
little speed  
Our discre-  
tion and  
discipline  
are the se-  
cret of our  
greatness  
We must  
not under-  
value our  
enemies,  
and we  
must not  
rely on for-  
tune

I they have common prudence, and let our preparations be, <sup>B.C. 432</sup>  
 not words, but deeds Our hopes ought not to rest on <sup>Ol. 87</sup>  
 the probability of their making mistakes, but on our own  
 caution and foresight We should remember that one  
 man is much the same as another, and that he is best  
 who is trained in the severest school

85 'These are principles which our fathers have handed  
 down to us, and we maintain to our lasting benefit, we  
 must not lose sight of them, and when many lives and  
 much wealth, many cities and a great name are at stake,  
 we must not be hasty, or make up our minds in a few  
 short hours, we must take time. We can afford to wait,  
 when others cannot, because we are strong And now,  
 send to the Athenians and remonstrate with them  
 both about Potidaea, and about the other wrongs of  
 which your allies complain. They say that they are  
 willing to have the matter tried, and against one who  
 offers to submit to justice you must not proceed as  
 against a criminal until his cause has been heard In  
 the meantime prepare for war This decision will be  
 the best for yourselves and the most formidable to your  
 enemies'

Thus spoke Archidamus Last of all, Sthenelaidas, at  
 that time one of the Ephors, came forward and addressed  
 the Lacedaemonians as follows:—

86. 'I do not know what the long speeches of the Athenians  
 mean They have been loud in their own praise, but  
 they do not pretend to say that they are dealing honestly  
 with our allies and with the Peloponnesus If they be-  
 haved well in the Persian War and are now behaving  
 badly to us they ought to be punished twice over, because  
 they were once good men and have become bad But  
 we are the same now as we were then, and we shall not  
 do our duty if we allow our allies to be ill-used, and put  
 off helping them, for they cannot put off their troubles.  
 Others may have money and ships and horses, but we  
 have brave allies and we must not betray them to the  
 Athenians. If they were suffering in word only, by words

We can af-  
 ford to wait,  
 and should  
 try arbitra-  
 tion first

We must  
 stand by our  
 allies

BC 432 and legal processes their wrongs might be redressed, but I  
 Ol 87 now there is not a moment to be lost, and we must help them with all our might. Let no one tell us that we should take time to think when we are suffering injustice. Nay, we reply, those who mean to do injustice should take a long time to think. Wherefore, Lacedaemonians, prepare for war as the honour of Sparta demands. Withstand the advancing power of Athens. Do not let us betray our allies, but, with the Gods on our side, let us attack the evil-doer.

When Sthenelaidas had thus spoken he, being Ephor, 87  
 himself put the question to the Lacedaemonian assembly. Their custom is to signify their decision by cries and not by voting. But he professed himself unable to tell on which side was the louder cry, and wishing to call forth a demonstration which might encourage the warlike spirit, he said, 'Whoever of you, Lacedaemonians, thinks that the treaty has been broken and that the Athenians are in the wrong, let him rise and go yonder' (pointing to a particular spot), 'and those who think otherwise to the other side.' So the assembly rose and divided, and it was determined by a large majority that the treaty had been broken. The Lacedaemonians then recalled the allies and told them that in their judgment the Athenians were guilty, but that they wished to hold a general assembly of the allies and take a vote from them all, then the war, if they approved of it, might be undertaken by common consent. Having accomplished their purpose, the Peloponnesians returned home, and the Athenian envoys, when their errand was done, returned likewise. Thirteen years of the thirty years' peace which was concluded after the recovery of Euboea had elapsed and the fourteenth year had begun when the Lacedaemonian assembly decided that the treaty had been broken.

The Lacedaemonians, influenced chiefly by the fear of the Athenians, resolve to go to war.

BC 445 In arriving at this decision and resolving to go to war, 88.  
 Ol 83, 4 the Lacedaemonians were influenced, not so much by the speeches of their allies, as by the fear of the Athenians



I and of their increasing power<sup>a</sup>. For they saw the greater part of Hellas already subject to them

89. How the Athenians attained the position in which B.C. 479  
O1 75. 2

The Athenians after the retreat of the Persians continue the war

they rose to greatness I will now proceed to describe. When the Persians, defeated both by sea and land, had retreated from Europe, and the remnant of the fleet, which had escaped to Mycalè, had there perished, Leotychides, the Lacedaemonian king, who had commanded the Hellenes in the battle, returned home with the allies from Peloponnesus. But the Athenians and their allies from Ionia and the Hellespont, who had recently revolted from the king, persevered and besieged Sestos, at that time still in the hands of the Persians. Remaining there through the winter they took the place which the Barbarians deserted. The allies then sailed back from the Hellespont to their respective homes. Meanwhile the Athenian people, now quit of the Barbarians, fetched their wives, their children, and the remains of their property from the places in which they had been deposited, and set to work, rebuilding the city and the walls. Of the old line of wall but a small part was left standing. Most of the houses were in ruins, a few only remaining in which the chief men of the Persians had lodged.

90. The Lacedaemonians knew what would happen and sent an embassy to Athens. They would rather themselves have seen neither the Athenians nor any one else protected by a wall, but their main motive was the importunity of their allies, who dreaded not only the Athenian navy, which had until lately been quite small, but also the spirit which had animated them in the Persian War. So the Lacedaemonians requested them not to restore their walls<sup>b</sup>, but on the contrary to join with them in razing the fortifications of other towns outside the Peloponnesus which had them standing. They did not reveal their real wishes or the suspicion which they entertained of the Athenians, but argued that the Barbarian, if he again attacked them, would then have no

The Lacedaemonians at the instigation of their allies try to prevent the Athenians from rebuilding their walls

<sup>a</sup> Cp. 1. 23 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1 69 init.

B C 479-  
478  
Ol 75, 2, 3

strong place which he could make his head-quarters as I.  
he had lately made Thebes Peloponnesus would be a  
sufficient retreat for all Hellas and a good base of opera-  
tions To this the Athenians, by the advice of Themis-  
tocles, replied, that they would send an embassy of their  
own to discuss the matter, and so got rid of the Spartan  
envoys He then proposed that he should himself start  
at once for Sparta, and that they should give him col-  
leagues who were not to go immediately, but were to  
wait until the wall reached the lowest height which could  
possibly be defended The whole people, men, women,  
and children, should join in the work, and they must spare  
no building private or public, which could be of use, but  
demolish them all. Having given these instructions and  
intimated that he would manage affairs at Sparta, he de-  
parted On his arrival he did not at once present him-  
self officially to the magistrates, but delayed and made  
excuses, and when any of them asked him 'why he did  
not appear before the assembly,' he said 'that he was  
waiting for his colleagues, who had been detained by  
some engagement, he was daily expecting them, and  
wondered that they had not appeared'

The friendship of the Lacedaemonian magistrates for 91.  
Themistocles induced them to believe him, but when  
everybody who came from Athens declared positively  
that the wall was building and had already reached a  
considerable height, they knew not what to think. He,  
aware of their suspicions, desired them not to be misled  
by reports, but to send to Athens men whom they could  
trust out of their own number who would see for them-  
selves and bring back word They agreed, and he at the  
same time privately instructed the Athenians to detain  
the envoys as quietly as they could, and not let them go  
until he and his colleagues had got safely home For  
by this time Habronichus the son of Lysicles, and Anis-  
tides the son of Lysimachus, who were joined with him  
in the embassy, had arrived, bringing the news that the  
wall was of sufficient height, and he was afraid that the

The Lacedaemonians  
are out-  
witted by  
Themistocles

- I. Lacedaemonians, when they heard the truth might not allow them to return. So the Athenians detained the envoys, and Themistocles, coming before the Lacedaemonians, at length declared in so many words that Athens was now provided with walls and could protect her citizens, henceforward, if the Lacedaemonians or their allies wished at any time to negotiate, they must deal with the Athenians as with men who knew quite well what was for their own and the common good. When they boldly resolved to leave their city and go on board ship, they did not first ask the advice of the Lacedaemonians, and, when the two states met in council, their own judgment had been as good as that of any one. And now they had arrived at an independent opinion that it was better far, and would be more advantageous both for themselves and for the whole body of the allies, that their city should have a wall, when any member of a confederacy had not equal military advantages, his counsel could not be of equal weight or worth. Either all the allies should pull down their walls, or they should acknowledge that the Athenians were in the right.

92 On hearing these words the Lacedaemonians did not openly quarrel with the Athenians, for they professed that the embassy had been designed, not to interfere with them, but to offer a suggestion for the public good, besides at that time the patriotism which the Athenians had displayed in the Persian War had created a warm feeling of friendliness between the two cities. They were annoyed at the failure of their purpose, but they did not show it. And the envoys on either side returned home without any formal complaint.

But appearances are maintained, and there is no open quarrel

93. In such hurried fashion did the Athenians rebuild the walls of their city. To this day the structure shows evidence of haste. The foundations are made up of all sorts of stones, in some places unwrought, and laid just as each worker brought them, there were many columns too, taken from sepulchres, and many old stones already cut, inserted in the work. The circuit of the city was

B C 479-  
478  
Ol 75, 2, 3

B C 478 or extended in every direction, and the citizens, in their I  
 477  
 Ol 75, 3 or ardour to complete the design, spared nothing

75, 4 Themistocles also persuaded the Athenians to finish Construction of the Piraeus, and foundation of the maritime empire of Athens  
 B C 481 ? the Piraeus, of which he had made a beginning in his  
 Ol 74, 4 ? year of office as Archon The situation of the place, which had three natural havens, was excellent, and now that the Athenians had become sailors, he thought that a good harbour would greatly contribute to the extension of their power For he first dared to say that 'they must make the sea their domain,' and he lost no time in laying the foundations of their empire By his advice, they built the wall of such a width that two waggons carrying the stones could meet and pass on the top, this width may still be traced at the Piraeus, inside there was no rubble or mortar, but the whole wall was made up of large stones hewn square, which were clamped on the outer face with iron and lead The height was not more than half what he had originally intended, he had hoped by the very dimensions of the wall to paralyse the designs of an enemy, and he thought that a handful of the least efficient citizens would suffice for its defence, while the rest might man the fleet His mind was turned in this direction, as I conceive, from observing that the Persians had met with fewer obstacles by sea than by land The Piraeus appeared to him to be of more real consequence than the upper city He was fond of telling the Athenians that if they were hard pressed they should go down to the Piraeus and fight the world at sea

Thus the Athenians built their walls and restored their city immediately after the retreat of the Persians

Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus was now sent from 94  
 Peloponnesus with twenty ships in command of the Hel- Cyprus and Byzantium taken  
 lenic forces, thirty Athenian ships and a number of the Tyranny and unpopularity of Pausanias  
 allies sailed with him They first made an expedition against Cyprus, of which they subdued the greater part, and afterwards against Byzantium, which was in the hands of the Persians, and was taken while he was still in command.

1. He had already begun to be oppressive, and the allies <sup>B C 477 or</sup> were offended with him, especially the Ionians and others <sup>476</sup> <sup>Ol 75, 4 or</sup> who had been recently emancipated from the king. So <sup>76</sup> they had recourse to their kinsmen the Athenians and begged them to be their leaders, and to protect them against Pausanias, if he attempted to oppress them. The Athenians took the matter up and prepared to interfere, being fully resolved to manage the confederacy in their own way. In the meantime the Lacedaemonians summoned Pausanias to Sparta, intending to investigate certain reports which had reached them, for he was accused of numerous crimes by Hellenes returning from the Hellespont, and appeared to exercise his command more after the fashion of a tyrant than of a general. His recall occurred at the very time when the hatred which he inspired had induced the allies, with the exception of the Peloponnesians, to transfer themselves to the Athenians. On arriving at Lacedaemon he was punished for the wrongs which he had done to particular persons, but he had been also accused of conspiring with the Persians, and of this, which was the principal charge and was generally believed to be proven, he was acquitted. The government however did not continue him in his command, but sent in his place Dorcis and certain others with a small force. To these the allies refused allegiance, and Dorcis, seeing the state of affairs, returned home. Henceforth the Lacedaemonians sent out no more commanders, for they were afraid that those whom they appointed would be corrupted, as they had found to be the case with Pausanias, they had had enough of the Persian War, and they thought that the Athenians were fully able to lead, and at that time believed them to be their friends.
95. <sup>The allies transfer themselves to the Athenians</sup> Thus the Athenians by the good-will of the allies, who <sup>96</sup> <sup>Confederacy of Delos</sup> detested Pausanias, obtained the leadership. They immediately fixed which of the cities should supply money and which of them ships for the war against the Barbarians, the avowed object being to compensate themselves and the allies for their losses by devastating the

B C 477 or King's country Then was first instituted at Athens I.  
 476 the office of Hellenic treasurers (Helleno-Tamiai), who  
 Ol 75, 4 or received the tribute, for so the impost was termed The  
 76 amount was originally fixed at 460 talents<sup>a</sup> The island  
 of Delos was the treasury, and the meetings of the allies  
 were held in the temple

At first the allies were independent and deliberated in 97.  
 a common assembly under the leadership of Athens The inter-  
 But in the interval between the Persian and the Pelo- val between  
 ponnesian Wars, by their military success and by policy the Persian  
 in dealing with the Barbarian, with their own rebellious and Pelo-  
 allies and with the Peloponnesians who came across their ponnesian  
 path from time to time, the Athenians made immense Wars omit-  
 strides in power. I have gone out of my way to speak ted in most  
 of this period because the writers who have preceded histories  
 me treat either of Hellenic affairs previous to the Persian  
 invasion or of that invasion itself, the intervening portion  
 of history has been omitted by all of them, with the ex-  
 ception of Hellanicus, and he, where he has touched  
 upon it in his Attic history, is very brief, and inaccurate  
 in his chronology The narrative will also serve to ex-  
 plain how the Athenian empire grew up.

B C 476- First of all under the leadership of Cimon, the son of 98  
 466 Miltiades, the Athenians besieged and took from the The Athe-  
 Ol 76-78, 3 Persians Eion upon the Strymon, and sold the inhabit- nians sub-  
 ject Eion,  
 Scyros,  
 Carystus,  
 Naxos  
 ants into slavery. The same fate befell Scyros, an island  
 in the Aegean inhabited by Dolopes, this they colonised  
 themselves They also carried on a war with the Cary-  
 stians of Euboea, who, after a time, capitulated, the other  
 Euboeans took no part in the war Then the Naxians  
 revolted, and the Athenians made war against them and  
 reduced them by blockade This was the first of the  
 allied cities which was enslaved contrary to Hellenic law;  
 the turn of the others came later.

The causes which led to the defections of the allies 99.  
 were of different kinds, the principal being their neglect Most of the  
 to pay the tribute or to furnish ships, and, in some cases, allies con-  
 tribute money

<sup>a</sup> About £110,400

I. failure of military service For the Athenians were ex- B C 476-  
 acting and oppressive, using coercive measures towards <sup>466</sup>  
 ships Ol 76-78, 3  
 men who were neither willing nor accustomed to work  
 hard And for various reasons they soon began to prove  
 less agreeable leaders than at first They no longer fought  
 upon an equality with the rest of the confederates, and  
 they had no difficulty in reducing them when they re-  
 volted Now the allies brought all this upon themselves,  
 for the majority of them disliked military service and  
 absence from home, and so they agreed to contribute a  
 regular sum of money instead of ships Whereby the  
 Athenian navy was proportionally increased, while they  
 themselves were always untrained and unprepared for  
 war when they revolted.

100. A little later the Athenians and their allies fought two B C 466  
 battles, one by land and the other by sea, against the Ol 78, 3  
 Persians, at the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. The  
 Athenians, under the command of Cimon the son of  
 Miltiades, on the same day conquered in both, and took  
 and destroyed Phoenician vessels numbering in all two  
 hundred After a while the Thasians revolted, a quarrel B C 465  
 had arisen between them and the Athenians about the Ol 78, 4  
 Thracian market and the mine on the Thracian coast  
 opposite, of which the Thasians received the profits. The  
 Athenians sailed to Thasos and, gaining a victory at sea,  
 landed upon the island. About the same time they sent  
 ten thousand of their own people and of their allies to  
 the Strymon, intending to colonise the place then called  
 the Nine Ways and now Amphipolis They gained  
 possession of the Nine Ways, which were inhabited by  
 the Edoni, but, advancing into the interior of Thrace,  
 they <sup>a</sup>were destroyed at Drabescus in Edonia by the  
 united Thracians<sup>a</sup>, whose country was threatened by the  
 new settlement.

101. The Thasians, now defeated and blockaded, had re-  
 course to the Lacedaemonians and entreated them to

<sup>a</sup> Or, reading *σύμπαρτες*, as Poppo is inclined to do, 'were destroyed to a man by the Thracians.'

instead of  
ships  
As they  
grow weaker  
the Athe-  
nians be-  
come more  
oppressive

The Athe-  
nians con-  
quer in a  
sea and land  
fight at the  
river Eury-  
medon  
Revolt of  
Thasos  
Attempted  
colonisation  
of Amphipolis

B C 464 invade Attica Unknown to the Athenians they agreed, I  
 Ol 79 and were on the point of setting out when the great Revolt of  
 earthquake occurred and was immediately followed by the Helots,  
 the revolt of the Helots and the Perioeci of Thuria and who seize  
 Aethaea, who seized Ithomè. These Helots were mostly Ithomè  
 the descendants of the Messenians who had been en-  
 slaved in ancient times, and hence all the insurgents were  
 called Messenians

B C 463 While the Lacedaemonians were thus engaged, the  
 Ol 79, 2 Thasians, who had now been blockaded for more than  
 two years, came to terms with the Athenians, they  
 pulled down their walls and surrendered their ships, they  
 also agreed to pay what was required of them whether  
 in the shape of immediate indemnity or of tribute for the  
 future, and they gave up their claim to the mainland  
 and to the mine

B C 463- The siege of Ithomè proved tedious, and the Lacedae- IO2.  
 46x monians called in, among other allies, the Athenians, The Athe-  
 Ol 79, 2-4 who sent to their aid a considerable force under Cimon nians come  
 The Athenians were specially invited because they were to the as-  
 reputed to be skilful in siege operations, and the length sistance of  
 of the blockade proved to the Lacedaemonians their own the Lace-  
 deficiency in that sort of warfare, else why had they daemoni-  
 not taken the place by assault? This expedition of the ans, but  
 Athenians led to the first open quarrel between them being sus-  
 and the Lacedaemonians. For the Lacedaemonians, not pected by  
 succeeding in storming the place, took alarm at the bold them, they  
 and original spirit of the Athenians They reflected that are dismiss-  
 they were aliens in race, and fearing that, if they were ed and go  
 allowed to remain, they might be tempted by the Helots away in a  
 in Ithomè to change sides, they dismissed them, while rage  
 they retained the other allies But they concealed their  
 mistrust, and merely said that they no longer needed  
 their services Now the Athenians saw that their dis-  
 missal was due to some suspicion which had arisen and  
 not to the less offensive reason which was openly avowed,  
 they felt keenly that such a slight ought not to have been  
 offered them by the Lacedaemonians, and so, on their



I      return home, they forthwith abandoned the alliance which <sup>B C 463-</sup>  
 they had made with them against the Peisians and went <sup>461</sup>  
 over to their Argive enemies. At the same time both <sup>Ol 79, 2-</sup>  
<sup>79, 4</sup> Argos and Athens bound themselves to Thessaly by a  
 common oath of alliance

103.      In the tenth year of the siege the defenders of Ithomè <sup>B C 455</sup>  
 were unable to hold out any longer, and capitulated to <sup>Ol 81, 2</sup>  
 the Lacedaemonians. The terms were as follows. They  
 were to leave Peloponnesus under a safe-conduct, and  
 were never again to return; if any of them were taken  
 on Peloponnesian soil, he was to be the slave of his  
 captor. Now an ancient oracle of Delphi was current  
 among the Lacedaemonians, bidding them let the sup-  
 pliant of Ithomæan Zeus go free. So the Messenians  
 left Ithomè with their wives and children, and the  
 Athenians, who were now the avowed enemies of Sparta,  
 gave them a home at Naupactus, a place which they had  
 just taken from the Ozolian Locrians

Athens  
 gains the  
 alliance of  
 Megara, as  
 well as of  
 Argos and  
 Thessaly.

The Athenians obtained the alliance of the Megarians, <sup>B C 461-</sup>  
 who revolted from the Lacedaemonians because the Co- <sup>460</sup>  
 rinthians were pressing them hard in a war arising out of <sup>Ol 79, 4-</sup>  
<sup>80</sup> a question of frontiers. Thus they gained both Megara  
 and Pegae; and they built for the Megarians the long  
 walls, extending from the city to the port of Nisaea,  
 which they garrisoned themselves. This was the original  
 and the main cause of the intense hatred which the  
 Corinthians entertained towards the Athenians

104.  
 Egyptian  
 revolt

Meanwhile Inaros the son of Psammetichus, king of <sup>B C 460</sup>  
 the Libyans who border on Egypt, had induced the <sup>Ol 80</sup>  
 greater part of Egypt to revolt from Aitaxerxes the  
 King. He began the rebellion at Mareia, a city opposite  
 the island of Pharos, and, having made himself ruler of  
 the country, called in the Athenians. They were just  
 then carrying on war against Cyprus with two hundred  
 ships of their own and of their allies, and, quitting the  
 island, they went to his aid. They sailed from the sea  
 into the Nile, and, getting possession of two-thirds of  
 Memphis, proceeded to attack the remaining part called

B C 460- the White Castle, in which the Persians and Medes had I.  
<sup>457</sup> Ol 80, 1- taken refuge, and with them such Egyptians as had not  
 4 joined in the revolt.

An Athenian fleet made a descent upon Halieis, where 105.  
 a battle took place against some Corinthian and Epidau- The Athe-  
 rian troops, the Athenians gained the victory. Soon nians defeat  
 afterwards the Athenians fought at sea off Cecryphaleia the Aegine-  
 with a Peloponnesian fleet, which they defeated tans, cap-  
 next broke out between the Aeginetans and the Athe- ture seventy  
 mians, and a great battle was fought off the coast of ships, and  
 Aegina, in which the allies of both parties joined, the besiege  
 Athenians were victorious, and captured seventy of the Aegina  
 enemy's ships, they then landed on Aegina and, under The Conn-  
 the command of Leocrates the son of Strocbus, besieged thians in-  
 the town. Thereupon the Peloponnesians sent over to vade Me-  
 the assistance of the Aeginetans three hundred hoplites gara  
 who had previously been assisting the Corinthians and  
 Epidaurians. The Corinthians seized <sup>a</sup> on the heights of  
 Geraneia, and thence made a descent with their allies  
 into the Megarian territory, thinking that the Athenians,  
 who had so large a force absent in Aegina and in Egypt,  
 would be unable to assist the Megarians, or, if they did,  
 would be obliged to raise the siege of Aegina. But the  
 Athenians, without moving their army from Aegina,  
 sent to Megara under the command of Myronides a  
 force consisting of their oldest and youngest men, who  
 had remained at home. A battle was fought, which  
 hung equally in the balance, and when the two armies  
 separated, they both thought that they had gained the  
 victory. The Athenians, who did however get rather  
 the better, on the departure of the Corinthians erected  
 a trophy. And then the Corinthians, irritated by the re-  
 proaches of the aged men in the city, after twelve days'  
 preparation came out again, and, claiming the victory,  
 raised another trophy. Hereupon the Athenians sallied  
 out of Megara, killed those who were erecting the trophy,  
 and charged and defeated the rest of the army

<sup>a</sup> Omitting the stop after *κατέλαβον*.

I. The Corinthians now retreated, but a considerable B C 460-

106. number of them were hard pressed, and missing their <sup>457</sup>  
Ol 80, 1-4

They suffer  
great loss  
in their  
retreat

way got into an enclosure belonging to a private person, which was surrounded by a great ditch and had no exit. The Athenians, perceiving their situation, closed the entrance in front with heavy-armed troops and, placing their light troops in a circle round, stoned all who had entered the enclosure. This was a great blow to the Corinthians, but still the main body of their army returned home.

107. About this time the Athenians began to build their

The Athenians build  
their long  
walls  
Battle of  
Tanagra

long walls extending to the sea, one to the harbour of Phalerum, and the other to the Piræus. The Phocians made an expedition against the Dorians, who inhabit Boeum, Citinium, and Erineum, and are the mother people of the Lacedaemonians, one of these towns they took. Thereupon the Lacedaemonians under the command of Nicomedes the son of Cleombrotus, who was general in the place of the king Pleistoanax the son of Pausanias (he being at that time a minor), came to the assistance of the Dorians with fifteen hundred hoplites of their own, and, of their allies, ten thousand, and compelled the Phocians to make terms and to restore the town. They then thought of returning, but there were difficulties. Either they might go by sea across the Crisaean Gulf, in which case the Athenian fleet would be sure to sail round and intercept them or they might march over Mount Geraneia, but this seemed dangerous when the Athenians were holding Megara and Pegae. The pass was not easy, and was always guarded by the Athenians, who were obviously intending to stop them by that route also. So they determined to remain in Boeotia and consider how they could best get home. They had another motive.—Certain Athenians were privately making overtures to them, in the hope that they would put an end to the democracy and the building of the long walls. But the Athenians were aware of their embarrassment, and they also suspected their design against the democracy.

B C 457  
Ol 80, 4

BC 457  
Ol 80, 4 So they went out to meet them with their whole force, I.  
including a thousand Aigives and contingents from the  
other allies, they numbered in all fourteen thousand men.  
Among them were some Thessalian cavalry, who came  
to their aid in accordance with the treaty<sup>a</sup>, but these  
deserted to the Lacedaemonians during the engagement.

The battle was fought at Tanagra in Boeotia, and the 108.  
Lacedaemonians and their allies, after great slaughter on  
both sides, gained the victory They then marched into Battle of  
the Megarian territory, and, cutting down the fruit-trees, Oenophyta  
returned home by way of Geraneia and the Isthmus Surrender  
of Aegina

BC 456  
Ol 81 But on the sixty-second day after the battle, the Athe-  
nians made another expedition into Boeotia under the  
command of Myronides, and there was a battle at Oeno-  
phyta, in which they defeated the Boeotians and became  
masters of Boeotia and Phocis They pulled down the  
walls of Tanagra and took as hostages from the Opuntian  
Locrians a hundred of their richest citizens They then  
completed their own long walls Soon afterwards the  
Aeginetans came to terms with the Athenians, dis-  
mantling their walls, surrendering their ships, and agree-  
ing to pay tribute for the future. The Athenians, under  
the command of Tolmides the son of Tolmaeus, sailed  
round Peloponnesus and burnt the Lacedaemonian dock-  
yard<sup>b</sup> They also took the Corinthian town of Chalcis,  
and, making a descent upon Sicyon, defeated a Sicyonian  
force

The Athenians and their allies were still in Egypt, 109  
where they carried on the war with varying fortune At  
first they were masters of the country The King sent to After an in-  
Lacedaemon Megabazus a Persian, who was well supplied effectual  
with money, in the hope that he might persuade the attempt to  
Peloponnesians to invade Attica, and so draw off the obtain as-  
Athenians from Egypt. He had no success; the money sistance  
was being spent and nothing done, so, with what re- from Lace-  
mained of it, he found his way back to Asia daemon,  
The King the Persian  
then sent into Egypt Megabyzus the son of Zopyrus, a King at  
length suc-  
ceeds in  
driving the  
Athenians  
out of  
Memphis

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 102 fin

<sup>b</sup> 1 ē Gythium

I Persian, who marched overland with a large army and defeated the Egyptians and their allies. He drove the Hellenes out of Memphis, and finally shut them up in the island of Prosopitis, where he blockaded them during eighteen months. At length he drained the canal and diverted the water, thus leaving their ships high and dry and joining nearly the whole island to the mainland. He then crossed over with a land force, and took the island.

110 Thus, after six years' fighting, the cause of the Hellenes in Egypt was lost. A few survivors of their great army found their way through Libya to Cyrenè, by far the larger number perished. Egypt again submitted to the Persian yoke, although Amyrtaeus, the king in the fens, still held out. He escaped capture owing to the extent of the fens and the bravery of their inhabitants, who are the most warlike of all the Egyptians. Inais the king of Libya, the chief author of the revolt, was betrayed and impaled. Fifty additional triremes, which had been sent by the Athenians and their allies to relieve their other forces, in ignorance of what had happened, sailed into the Mendesian mouth of the Nile. But they were at once attacked both from the land and from the sea, and the greater part of them destroyed by the Phœnician fleet, a few ships only escaping. Thus ended the great Egyptian expedition of the Athenians and their allies.

111. About this time Orestes, the exiled son of the Thessalian king Echekratides, persuaded the Athenians to restore him. Taking with them a force of the Boeotians and Phocians, who were now their allies, they marched against Pharsalus in Thessaly. They made themselves masters of the country in the neighbourhood of their camp, but the Thessalian cavalry stopped any further advance. They could not take the place, and none of their plans succeeded, so they returned and brought back Orestes.

The Athenians under A short time afterwards a thousand Athenians, under

Nearly the whole of the expedition to Egypt, including a reinforcement of fifty triremes, is destroyed

B C 455.  
Ol 81, 2

Attempted restoration of Orestes, the Thessalian exile

BC 454 the command of Pericles the son of Xanthippus, em- I.  
 Ol 81, 3 barking on board the fleet which they had at Pegae, Pericles defeat the Sicyonians  
 now in their possession, coasted along to Sicyon, and  
 there landing, defeated the Sicyonians who came out  
 to meet them. With the least possible delay taking on  
 board Achaean troops and sailing to the opposite coast,  
 they attacked and besieged Oeniadae, a town of Acar-  
 nania, but failing to reduce it, they returned home.

BC 450 After an interval of three years a five years' truce was I 12.  
 Ol 82, 3 concluded between the Peloponnesians and Athenians Truce for five years  
 The Athenians now abstained from war in Hellas itself, Expedition to Cyprus  
 but made an expedition to Cyprus with two hundred More ships sent to Egypt  
 ships of their own and of their allies, under the com- Death of Cimon  
 mand of Cimon. Sixty ships were detached from the Battles at Salamis in Cyprus  
 armament and sailed to Egypt, at the request of Amyr-  
 taeus the king in the fens, the remainder proceeded to  
 blockade Citium. Here Cimon died, and a famine arose  
 in the country, so the fleet quitted Citium. Arriving off  
 Salamis in Cyprus they fought at sea and also on land  
 with Phoenician and Cilician forces. Gaining a victory  
 in both engagements, they returned home, accompanied  
 by the ships which had gone out with them and had now  
 come back from Egypt. After this the Lacedaemonians  
 engaged in the so-called Sacred War and took posses-  
 sion of the temple of Delphi, which they handed over to  
 the Delphians. But no sooner had they retired than the  
 Athenians sent an expedition and recovered the temple,  
 which they handed over to the Phocians.

BC 447 Some time afterwards the Athenians, under the com- I 13  
 Ol 83, 2 mand of Tolmides the son of Tolmaeus, with a thousand Defeat of the Athenians at Coronea  
 hoplites of their own and contingents of their allies, made Revolution in Boeotia  
 an expedition against Orchomenus, Chaeronea, and cer-  
 tain other places in Boeotia which were in the hands  
 of oligarchical exiles from different Boeotian towns, and  
 still remained hostile to them. They took Chaeronea,  
 and leaving a garrison there, departed. But while they  
 were on their march, the exiles who had occupied Orcho-  
 menus, some Locrians some Euboean exiles and others

- I. of the same party, set upon them at Coronea and defeated them, killing many and taking many prisoners. The Athenians then agreed to evacuate Boeotia upon condition that the prisoners should be restored. And so the Boeotian exiles returned to their homes, and all the Boeotians regained their independence. B C 447  
O I 83, 2

114 Not long afterwards Euboea revolted from Athens. B C 445  
O I 83, 4  
 Revolt of Euboea  
 Slaughter of the Athenian garrison at Megara  
 Invasion of Attica  
 Retirement of the Peloponnesians, and recovery of Euboea  
 Pericles had just arrived in the island with an Athenian army when the news came that Megara had likewise revolted, that the Peloponnesians were on the point of invading Attica, and that the Megarians had slaughtered the Athenian garrison, of whom a few only had escaped to Nisaea. The Megarians had introduced a force of Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Epidaurians into the city, and by their help had effected the revolt. Pericles in haste withdrew his army from Euboea. The Peloponnesians then invaded Attica under the command of Pleistoanax son of Pausanias, the Lacedaemonian king. They advanced as far as Eleusis and Thria but no further, and after ravaging the country, returned home. Thereupon the Athenians under the command of Pericles again crossed over to Euboea and reduced the whole country, the Hestiaeans they ejected from their homes and appropriated their territory, the rest of the island they settled by agreement.

115 Soon after their return from Euboea they made a truce for thirty years with the Lacedaemonians and their allies, restoring Nisaea, Pegae, Troezen and Achaia, which were the places held by them in Peloponnesus. Six years later the Samians and Milesians fell out about the possession of Prienè, and the Milesians, who were getting worsted in the war, came to Athens and complained loudly of the Samians. Some private citizens of Samos, who wanted to overthrow the government, supported their complaint. Whereupon the Athenians, sailing to Samos with forty ships, established a democracy, and taking as hostages fifty boys and fifty men whom they deposited at Lemnos, they returned leaving a garrison. But certain of the B C 440  
O I 85

The Athenians agree to restore the places held by them in Peloponnesus  
 Revolt of the Samians, who are assisted by the Byzantians

B.C. 440  
Oli 85

Samians who had quitted the island and fled to the mainland entered into an alliance with the principal oligarchs who remained in the city, and with Pissuthnes the son of Hystaspes, then governor of Sardis, and collecting troops to the number of seven hundred they crossed over by night to Samos. First of all they attacked the victorious populace and got most of them into their power, then they stole away the hostages from Lemnos, and finally revolted from Athens. The officers and garrison of the Athenians whom they captured were delivered by them into the hands of Pissuthnes. They at once prepared to make an expedition against Miletus. The Byzantians joined in their revolt.

I

When the Athenians heard of the insurrection they sailed to Samos with sixty ships. But of this number they sent away sixteen, some towards Caria to keep a look out for the Phœnician fleet, others to summon aid from Chios and Lesbos. With the remaining forty-four ships they fought at sea under the command of Pericles and nine others, near the island of Tragia, against seventy Samian vessels, all sailing from Miletus, of which twenty were transports, the Athenians gained the victory. After receiving a reinforcement of forty ships from Athens and of twenty-five from Chios and Lesbos they disembarked, and having the superiority on shore, invested the city with three walls, they also blockaded it by sea. At the same time Pericles took sixty ships of the blockading force and sailed hastily towards Caunus in Caria, news having arrived that a Phœnician fleet was approaching, Stesagoras and others had already gone with five ships from Samos to fetch it.

116

The Athenians defeat the Samians at sea

Meanwhile the Samians made a sudden sally, and attacking the naval station of the Athenians which was unprotected, destroyed the guard-ships and engaged and defeated the other vessels which put out to meet them. During some fourteen days they were masters of the sea about their own coasts, and carried in and out whatever they pleased. But when Pericles returned, they were

117

Temporary success and final subjection of the Samians



I again closely blockaded, and there soon arrived from B C 439  
Ol 85. 2  
 Athens forty additional ships under Thucydides, Hag-  
 non, and Phormio, twenty more under Tlepolemus and  
 Anticles, and thirty from Chios and Lesbos. The Sa-  
 mians made a feeble attempt at a sea-fight, but soon  
 they were unable to resist, and after nine months were  
 forced to surrender. The terms of capitulation were as  
 follows — They were to raze their walls, give hostages,  
 surrender their ships, and pay a full indemnity by regu-  
 lar instalments. The Byzantians too agreed to return to  
 their allegiance.

118. Not long afterwards occurred the affairs of Corcyra  
 and Potidaea, which have been already narrated, and the  
 various other circumstances which led to the Pelopon-  
 nesian War. Fifty years elapsed between the retreat of  
 Xeixes and the beginning of the war, during these years  
 took place all those operations of the Hellenes against  
 one another and against the Barbarian which I have  
 been describing. The Athenians acquired a firmer hold  
 over their empire and the city itself became a great  
 power. The Lacedaemonians saw what was going on,  
 but during most of the time they remained inactive and  
 hardly attempted to interfere. They had never been of  
 a temper prompt to make war unless they were com-  
 pelled, and they were in some degree embarrassed by  
 enemies near home. But the Athenians were growing  
 too great to be ignored and were laying hands on their  
 allies. They could now bear it no longer they made  
 up their minds that they must put out all their strength  
 and overthrow the Athenian power by force of arms.  
 And therefore they commenced the Peloponnesian War.  
 They had already voted in their own assembly that the  
 treaty had been broken and that the Athenians were  
 guilty<sup>a</sup>, they now sent to Delphi and asked the god if  
 it would be for their advantage to make war. He is  
 reported to have answered that, if they did their best,

The history  
 is resumed  
 from chap  
 88. The  
 Lacedae-  
 monians,  
 having de-  
 cided to go  
 to war, ob-  
 tain the  
 sanction  
 of the  
 Delphian  
 oracle

<sup>a</sup> But cp vii. 18 med

B C 432<sup>a</sup> they would be conquerors, and that he himself, invited I  
Ol 87 or uninvited, would take their part.

So they again summoned the allies, intending to put II 9  
to them the question of war or peace. When their representatives arrived, an assembly was held, and the allies Activity of the Corinthians in pressing on the war  
said what they had to say, most of them complaining of the Athenians and demanding that the war should proceed. The Corinthians had already gone the round of the cities and entreated them privately to vote for the war, they were afraid that they would be too late to save Potidaea. At the assembly they came forward last of all and spoke as follows —

‘Fellow allies, we can no longer find fault with the I 20  
Lacedaemonians, they have themselves resolved upon war and have brought us hither to confirm their decision. And they have done well, for the leaders of a No more fault to be found with the Lacedaemonians  
confederacy, while they do not neglect the interests of The Athenians are dangerous to all alike  
their own state, should look to the general weal as they are first in honour, they should be first in the fulfilment of their duties. Now those among us who have ever Men should be willing to fight, and they should be equally ready to cease from fighting  
had dealings with the Athenians, do not require to be warned against them, but such as live inland and not on any maritime highway should clearly understand that, if they do not protect the sea-board, they will not be able to carry their produce to the sea, or to receive in return the goods which the sea gives to the land. They should not lend a careless ear to our words, for they nearly concern them, they should remember that, if they desert the cities on the sea-shore, the danger may some day reach them, and that they are consulting for their own interests quite as much as for ours. And therefore let no one hesitate to accept war in exchange for peace. Wise men refuse to move until they are wronged, but brave men as soon as they are wronged go to war, and when there is a good opportunity make peace again. They are not intoxicated by military success; but neither will they tolerate injustice from a love of peace and ease. For he whom pleasure makes a coward will

I quickly lose, if he continues inactive, the delights of ease B C 432  
OI 87 which he is so unwilling to renounce, and he whose arrogance is stimulated by victory does not see how hollow is the confidence which elates him. Many schemes which were ill-advised have succeeded through the still greater folly which possessed the enemy, and yet more, which seemed to be wisely contrived, have ended in foul disaster. The execution of an enterprise is never equal<sup>a</sup> to the conception of it in the confident mind of its promoter, for men are safe while they are thinking, but, when the time of action comes, then they lose their presence of mind and fail.

121. 'We, however, do not make war upon the Athenians in a spirit of vain-gloriousness, but from a sense of wrong, there is ample justification, and when we obtain redress, we will put up the sword. For every reason we are likely to succeed. First, because we are superior in numbers and in military skill, secondly, because we all obey as one man the orders given to us. If they are strong at sea, we too will provide a navy, for which the means can be supplied partly by contributions from each state, partly out of the funds at Delphi and Olympia. A loan will be granted to us, and by the offer of higher pay we can draw away their foreign sailors. The Athenian power consists of mercenaries, and not of their own citizens, but our soldiers are not mercenaries, and therefore cannot so be bought, for we are strong in men if poor in money. Let them be beaten in a single naval engagement and they are probably conquered at once, but suppose they hold out, we shall then have more time in which to practise at sea. As soon as we have brought our skill up to the level of theirs our courage will surely give us the victory. For that is a natural gift which they cannot learn, but their superior skill is a thing acquired,<sup>b</sup> which we must attain by practice<sup>b</sup>.

But we must  
find money

'And the money which is required for the war, we will

<sup>a</sup> Reading *ῥῆσις*.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'which we must overcome by practice.'

B C 432  
Ol 87

provide by a contribution What<sup>1</sup> shall their allies never fail in paying the tribute which is to enslave them, and shall we refuse to give freely in order to save ourselves and be avenged on our enemies, or rather to prevent the money which we refused to give from being taken from us by them and used to our destruction?

I

‘These are some of the means by which the war may be carried on, but there are others We may induce their allies to revolt,—a sure mode of cutting off the revenues in which the strength of Athens consists, or we may plant a fort in their country, and there are many expedients which will hereafter suggest themselves For war, least of all things, conforms to prescribed rules, it strikes out a path for itself when the moment comes And therefore he who has his temper under control in warfare is safer far, but he who gets into a passion is, through his own fault, liable to the greater fall

I 22.

By gaming over their allies we may cut off their resources

‘If this were merely a quarrel between one of us and our neighbours about a boundary line it would not matter, but reflect the truth is that the Athenians are a match for us all, and much more than a match for any single city. And if we allow ourselves to be divided or are not united against them heart and soul—the whole confederacy and every nation and city in it—they will easily overpower us It may seem a hard saying, but you may be sure that defeat means nothing but downright slavery, and the bare mention of such a possibility is a disgrace to the Peloponnese—shall so many states suffer at the hands of one? Men will say, some that we deserve our fate, others that we are too cowardly to resist and we shall seem a degenerate race. For our fathers were the liberators of Hellas, but we cannot secure even our own liberty, and while we make a point of overthrowing the rule of a single man in this or that city, we allow a city which is a tyrant to be set up in the midst of us Are we not open to one of three most serious charges—folly, cowardice, or

If we quietly submit we shall deserve to be slaves

I carelessness<sup>d</sup> 'For you certainly do not escape such imputations by wrapping yourselves in that contemptuous wisdom which has so often<sup>a</sup> brought men to ruin, as in the end to be pronounced contemptible folly

BC 432  
OI 87

I 23 'But why should we dwell reproachfully upon the past, except in the interest of the present? We should rather, looking to the future, devote our energies to the task which we have immediately in hand. By labour to win virtue,—that is the lesson which we<sup>b</sup> have learnt from our fathers, and which you ought not to unlearn, because you chance to have some trifling advantage over them in wealth and power, for men should not lose in the time of their wealth what was gained by them in their time of want. There are many reasons why you may advance with confidence. The God has spoken and has promised to take our part himself. All Hellas will fight at our side, from motives either of fear or of interest. And you will not break the treaty,—the God in bidding you go to war pronounces it to have been already broken,—but you will avenge the violation of it. For those who attack others, not those who defend themselves, are the real violators of treaties<sup>c</sup>

In going to war you have the God and the feeling of Hellas on your side, and you will not break the treaty

I 24 'On every ground you will be right in going to war. it is our united advice, <sup>d</sup>and if you believe community of interests to be the surest ground of strength both to individuals and states, send speedy aid<sup>d</sup> to the Potidaeans, who are Dorians and now besieged by Ionians (for times have changed), and recover the liberties which the rest of the allies have lost. We cannot go on as we are for some of us are already suffering, and if it is known that we have met, but do not dare to defend ourselves, others will soon share their fate. Acknow-

We cannot go on as we are. War is the way to peace, but peace may be the way to war

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'For we cannot suppose that, having avoided these errors, you have wrapped yourselves in that contemptuous wisdom, which has so often' etc

<sup>b</sup> Reading ἡμῖν

<sup>c</sup> Cp 1 71 fin

<sup>d</sup> Reading ταῦτά or, with all the MSS retaining ταῦτα 'And as it is most certain that the policy which we recommend is for our advantage both as states and individuals, send speedy aid' etc.

B C 432<sup>2</sup> I.  
Ol 87<sup>1</sup> ledging then, allies, that there is no alternative, and that we are advising you for the best, vote for war, and be not afraid of the immediate danger, but fix your thoughts on the durable peace which will follow. For by war peace is assured, but to remain at peace when you should be going to war may be often very dangerous. The tyrant city which has been set up in Hellas is a standing menace to all alike, she rules over some of us already, and would fain rule over others. Let us attack and subdue her, that we may ourselves live safely for the future and deliver the Hellenes whom she has enslaved.

Such were the words of the Corinthians.

The Lacedaemonians, having heard the opinions of all the allies, put the question to them all, one after the other, great and small alike, and the majority voted for war. But, although they had come to this decision, they were not ready, and could not take up arms at once, so they determined to make the necessary preparations, each for themselves, with the least possible delay. Still nearly a whole year was passed in preparation before they invaded Attica and commenced open hostilities.

During this year they sent embassies to Athens and made various complaints that their grounds for going to war might be all the stronger in case the Athenians refused to listen. The first ambassadors desired the Athenians to drive out 'the curse of the Goddess.' The

B C 620<sup>2</sup>  
Ol 40<sup>1</sup> curse to which they referred was as follows — In the days of old there was an Athenian named Cylon, who had been an Olympic victor, he was powerful and of noble birth, and he had married the daughter of Theagenes, a Megarian who was at that time tyrant of Megara. In answer to an enquiry which Cylon made at Delphi, the God told him to seize the Acropolis of Athens at the greatest festival of Zeus. Thereupon he obtained forces from Theagenes, and, persuading his friends to join him, when the time of the Olympic festival in Peloponnesus came round, he took possession

125  
Nearly a  
year is spent  
in preparation

126  
The story of  
Cylon told  
in explanation  
of the  
curse of the  
Goddess

I of the Acropolis, intending to make himself tyrant. He thought that this was the greatest festival of Zeus, and, having been an Olympic victor, he seemed to have an interest in it. But whether the greatest festival spoken of was in Attica or in some other part of Hellas was a question which never entered into his mind, and the oracle said nothing about it. (For the Athenians also have a greatest festival of Zeus—the festival of Zeus<sup>a</sup> the Gracious, or Diasia, as it is called—this is held outside the city and the whole people sacrifice at it, some, ordinary victims, others, a kind of offering peculiar to the country.) However, Cylon thought that his interpretation was right, and made the attempt at the Olympic festival. The Athenians, when they saw what had happened, came in a body from the fields and invested the Acropolis. After a time they grew tired of the siege and most of them went away, committing the guard to the nine Archons, and giving them full powers to do what they thought best in the whole matter, for in those days public affairs were chiefly administered by the nine Archons<sup>b</sup>. Cylon and his companions were in great distress from want of food and water. So he and his brother made their escape, the rest, being hard pressed, and some of them ready to die of hunger, sat as suppliants at the altar which is in the Acropolis. When the Athenians, to whose charge the guard had been committed, saw them dying in the temple, they bade them rise, promising to do them no harm, and then led them away and put them to death. They even slew some of them in the very presence of the awful Goddesses at whose altars, in passing by, they had sought refuge. The murderers and their descendants are held to be accursed, and offenders against the Goddess. These accursed persons were banished by the Athenians, and Cleomenes, the Lacedaemonian king, again banished them from Athens in a time of civil

<sup>a</sup> Placing the comma before instead of after Διάσια.

<sup>b</sup> Cp Herod v 71.

strife by the help of the opposite faction, expelling the living and disinterring and casting forth the bones of the dead<sup>a</sup>. Nevertheless they afterwards returned, and to this day their race still survives in the city I.

The Lacedaemonians desired the Athenians to drive away this curse, as if the honour of the Gods were their first object, but in reality because they knew that the curse attached to Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, by his mother's side, and they thought that if he were banished they would find the Athenians more manageable. They did not really expect that he would be driven into exile, but hoped to discredit him with the citizens and make them believe that his misfortune was to a certain extent the cause of the war. For he was the leader of the state and the most powerful man of his day, and his policy was utterly opposed to the Lacedaemonians. He would not suffer the Athenians to give way, but was always urging upon them the necessity of war. 127.

This curse  
attached to  
Pericles

The Athenians retaliated by demanding that the Lacedaemonians should drive away the curse of Taenarus. They referred to the murder of certain Helots who had taken refuge in the temple of Poseidon at Taenarus, these the Lacedaemonians, having first raised by the hand, had then led away and slain. The Lacedaemonians themselves believe this act of theirs to have been the cause of the great earthquake which visited Sparta<sup>b</sup>. The Athenians also bade them drive out the curse of Athenè of the Brazen House. The story is as follows — When Pausanias the Lacedaemonian was originally summoned by the Spartans to give an account of his command at the Hellespont<sup>c</sup>, and had been tried and acquitted, he was no longer sent out in a public capacity, but he hired a trireme of Hermionè on his own account and sailed to the Hellespont, pretending that he had gone thither to fight in the cause of the Hellenes. In reality he wanted to prosecute an intrigue with the 128

The Athenians retaliate by desiring the Lacedaemonians to purge away other curses. The curse of the Goddess explained to be the murder of certain suppliant Helots, the curse of Athenè of the Brazen House was caused by the death of Pausanias in the precincts of her temple

B C 477  
Ol 75, 4

Cp Herod v 70, 72

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1 101, 102

<sup>c</sup> Cp 1 95



- I. King, by which he hoped to obtain the empire of Hellas. He had already taken the first steps after the retreat from Cyprius, when he captured Byzantium. The city <sup>B C 478 or</sup> was at that time held by the Persians and by certain <sup>477</sup> relatives and kinsmen of the King, who were taken <sup>Ol 75, 3 or</sup> <sup>4</sup> prisoners. These he restored to the King without the knowledge of the allies, to whom he declared that they had made their escape. This act was the beginning of the whole affair, and thereby he originally placed the King under an obligation to him. His accomplice was Gongylus the Eretrian, to whose care he had entrusted Byzantium and the captives. To this same Gongylus he also gave a letter addressed to the King, of which, as was afterwards discovered, the terms were as follows —

‘Pausanias, the Spartan commander, desiring to do you a service, sends you back these captives of his spear. And I propose, if you have no objection, to marry your daughter, and to bring Sparta and the rest of Hellas under your sway. I think that I can accomplish this if you and I take counsel together. Should you approve of my proposal, send a trusty person to the sea and through him we will negotiate.’ Thus far the letter

129. Xerxes was pleased, and sent Artabazus the son of Pharnaces to the sea, commanding him to assume the government of the satrapy of Dascylium in the room of Megabates. An answer was entrusted to him, which he was to send as quickly as possible to Pausanias at Byzantium, he was to show him at the same time the royal seal. If Pausanias gave him any order about his own affairs, he was to execute it with all diligence and fidelity. Artabazus came down to the sea, as he was desired, and transmitted the letter. The answer of the King was as follows :—

Intrigue of  
Pausanias  
with  
Xerxes

‘Thus saith Xerxes, the King, to Pausanias. The benefit which thou hast done me in saving the captives who were taken at Byzantium beyond the sea is recorded in my house for ever, and thy words please me. Let neither day nor night hinder thee from fulfilling diligently the

B C 477 or 476 ff  
OI 75, 4  
or 76 ff

promise which thou hast made to me, spare not gold or silver, and take as large an army as thou wilt, where-soever it may be required. I have sent to thee Artabazus, a good man, act with him for my honour and welfare, and for thine own, and be of good courage.' I.

Pausanias received the letter. He had already acquired a high reputation among the Hellenes when in command at Plataea, and now he was so great that he could no longer contain himself or live like other men. As he marched out of Byzantium he wore Persian apparel. On his way through Thrace he was attended by a body-guard of Medes and Egyptians, and he had his table served after the Persian fashion. He could not conceal his ambition, but indicated by little things the greater designs which he was meditating. He made himself difficult of access, and displayed such a violent temper towards everybody that no one could come near him, and this was one of the chief reasons why the confederacy transferred themselves to the Athenians. I 30.

The news of his behaviour soon reached the Lacedaemonians, who recalled him in the first instance on this ground<sup>a</sup>. And now, when he had sailed away in the ship of Hermione without leave, and was evidently carrying on the same practices, when he had been forced out of Byzantium and the gates had been shut against him by the Athenians, and when, instead of returning to Sparta, he settled at Coloniae in Troas, and was reported to the Ephors to be negotiating with the Barbarians, and to be staying there for no good purpose, then at last they made up their minds to act. They sent a herald to him with a despatch rolled on a scytalè, commanding him to follow the officer home, and saying that, if he refused, Sparta would declare war against him. He, being desirous as far as he could to avoid suspicion and believing that he could dispose of the accusations by bribery, returned for the second time to Sparta. On his return he was at once thrown into prison by the Ephors, who have the power I 31.

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 95 init

I to imprison the king himself But after a time he contrived to come out, and challenged any one who asserted his guilt to bring him to trial.

132. As yet however neither his enemies among the citizens nor the Spartan government had any trustworthy evidence such as would have justified them in inflicting punishment upon a member of the royal family holding royal office at the time For he was the guardian as well as cousin of the king, Pleistarchus son of Leonidas, who was still a minor. But his disregard of propriety and affectation of Barbarian fashions made them strongly suspect that he was dissatisfied with his position in the state They examined into any violation of established usage which they could find in his previous life, and they remembered among other things how in past times he had presumed on his own authority to inscribe on the tripod at Delphi, which the Hellenes dedicated as the firstfruits of their victory over the Persians, this elegiac couplet —

Sufficient evidence cannot be obtained At last his confidential servant opens a letter which he was to carry to the Persian satrap, and finding an order for his own death, turns informer

‘ Pausanias, captain of the Hellenes, having destroyed the Persian host,  
Made this offering to Phoebus for a memorial ’

The Lacedaemonians at once effaced the lines and inscribed on the tripod the names of the cities which had taken part in the overthrow of the Barbarian and in the dedication of the offering But still this act of Pausanias gave offence at the time, and now that he had again fallen under suspicion, seemed to receive a new light from his present designs. They were also informed that he was intriguing with the Helots, and this was true, for he had promised them emancipation and citizenship if they would join him in an insurrection and help to carry out his whole design. Still the magistrates would not take decided measures, they even refused to believe the distinct testimony which certain Helots brought against him, their habit having always been to be slow in taking an irrevocable decision against

a Spartan without incontestable proof At last a certain I.  
 man of Argilus, who had been a favourite and was still a  
 confidential servant of Pausanias, turned informer. He  
 had been commissioned by him to carry to Artabazus  
 the last letters for the King, but the thought struck him  
 that no previous messenger had ever returned, he took  
 alarm, and so, having counterfeited the seal of Pausanias  
 in order to avoid discovery if he were mistaken, or if  
 Pausanias, wanting to make some alteration, should ask  
 him for the letter, he opened it, and among the directions  
 given in it found written, as he had suspected, an order  
 for his own death

He showed the letter to the Ephors, who were now 133.  
 more inclined to believe, but still they wanted to hear  
 something from Pausanias' own mouth, and so, accord-  
 ing to a plan preconcerted with them, the man went to  
 Taenarus as a suppliant and there put up a hut divided  
 by a partition In the inner part of the hut he placed  
 some of the Ephors, and when Pausanias came to him  
 and asked him why he was a suppliant, the whole truth  
 was at once revealed to them. There was the man re-  
 proaching Pausanias with the directions which he had  
 found in the letter, and going into minute details about  
 the whole affair, he protested that never on any occa-  
 sion had he brought him into any trouble when sent on  
 his service in this matter to the King why then should  
 he share the fate of the other messengers, and be re-  
 warded with death? And there was Pausanias, admit-  
 ting the truth of his words, and telling him not to be  
 angry at what had happened, offering to raise him by  
 the hand that he might safely leave the temple, and  
 bidding him go about the business at once and not  
 make difficulties.

The Ephors, who had heard every word, went away 134.  
 for the present, intending, now that they had certain  
 knowledge, to take Pausanias in the city. It is said that  
 he was on the point of being arrested in the street, when  
 the face of one of them as they approached revealed to

His servant  
 takes sanc-  
 tuary at  
 Taenarus,  
 where he  
 conceals  
 some of  
 the Ephors  
 Pausanias  
 coming to  
 enquire the  
 reason re-  
 veals the  
 whole

The Ephors  
 attempt to  
 arrest  
 Pausanias  
 He flies to  
 the temple  
 of Athenè

I  
and is  
there shut  
in and  
starved  
to death

him their purpose, and another who was friendly warned him by a hardly perceptible nod. Whereupon he ran and fled to the temple of Athenè of the Brazen House and arrived before them, for the precinct was not far off. There, entering into a small house which belonged to the temple, that he might not suffer from exposure to the weather, he remained. When his pursuers, who had failed in overtaking him, came up, they unroofed the building, and having made sure that he was within and could not get out, they built up the doors, and, investing the place, starved him to death. He was on the point of expiring in the temple where he lay, when they, observing his condition, brought him out, he was still breathing, but as soon as he was brought out he died. The Spartans were going to cast his body into the Cacadas, a chasm into which they throw malefactors, but they changed their minds and buried him somewhere in the neighbourhood. The God of Delphi afterwards commanded them to transfer him to the place where he died, and he now lies in the entrance to the precinct, as the inscription on the column testifies. The oracle also told them that they had brought a curse upon themselves, and must offer two bodies for one to Athenè of the Brazen House. Whereupon they made two brazen statues, which they dedicated, intending them to be an expiation for Pausanias.

135. To this judgment of the God himself the Athenians referred when they retorted on the Lacedaemonians, telling them to banish the curse.

Themistocles is implicated in the plot, and officers are sent to take him

Now the evidence which proved that Pausanias was in league with Persia implicated Themistocles, and the Lacedaemonians sent ambassadors to the Athenians charging him likewise with treason, and demanding that he should receive the same punishment. The Athenians agreed, but having been ostracised he was living at the time in Argos, whence he used to visit other parts of the Peloponnese. The Lacedaemonians were very ready to join in the pursuit, so they and the

B C 471  
O1 77, 2

Athenians sent officers, who were told to arrest him I.  
wherever they should find him.

Themistocles received information of their purpose, 136.  
and fled from the Peloponnesus to the Corcyraeans, who  
were under an obligation to him The Corcyraeans said  
that they were afraid to keep him, lest they should incur  
the enmity of Athens and Lacedaemon, so they con-  
veyed him to the neighbouring continent, whither he was  
followed by the officers, who constantly enquired in which  
direction he had gone and pursued him everywhere  
Owing to an accident he was compelled to stop at the  
house of Admetus, king of the Molossians, who was not  
his friend He chanced to be absent from home, but  
Themistocles presented himself as a suppliant to his  
wife, and was instructed by her to take their child and  
sit at the hearth Admetus soon returned, and then  
Themistocles told him who he was, adding that if in  
past times he had opposed any request which Admetus  
had made to the Athenians, he ought not to retaliate on  
an exile He was now in such extremity that a far  
weaker adversary than he could do him a mischief, but  
a noble nature should not be revenged by taking at  
adisadvantage one as good as himself Themistocles  
further argued that he had opposed Admetus in some  
matter of business, and not when life was at stake;  
but that, if Admetus delivered him up, he would be  
consigning him to death At the same time he told  
him who his pursuers were and what was the charge  
against him

He seeks  
refuge  
among the  
Corcyrae-  
ans, they  
are afraid  
of Athens  
and Lacedaemon,  
and send  
him away  
to Epirus  
Coming to  
the house  
of Admetus,  
king of the  
Molossians,  
he sits as a  
suppliant  
at the  
hearth

Admetus, hearing his words, raised him up, together 137.  
with his own son, from the place where he sat holding  
the child in his arms, which was the most solemn form of  
supplication Not long afterwards the Athenians and  
Lacedaemonians came and pressed him to give up the  
fugitive, but he refused; and as Themistocles wanted to  
go to the King, sent him on foot across the country to the  
sea at Pydna (which was in the kingdom of Alexander)  
There he found a merchant vessel sailing to Ionia, in

Admetus  
gives him  
protection,  
and when  
the officers  
arrive in  
pursuit,  
sends him  
to Pydna,  
whence he  
sails to  
Ephesus

I which he embarked, it was driven, however, by a storm to the station of the Athenian fleet which was blockading Naxos. He was unknown to his fellow passengers, but, fearing what might happen, he told the captain who he was and why he fled, threatening if he did not save his life to say that he had been bribed to take him on board. The only hope was that no one should be allowed to leave the ship while they had to remain off Naxos, if he complied with his request, the obligation should be abundantly repaid. The captain agreed, and after anchoring in a rough sea for a day and a night off the Athenian station, he at length arrived at Ephesus. Themistocles rewarded him with a liberal present, for he received soon afterwards from his friends the property which he had deposited at Athens and Argos. He then went up the country with one of the Persians who dwelt on the coast, and sent a letter to Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes, who had just succeeded to the throne. The letter was in the following words — ‘I, Themistocles, have come to you, I who of all Hellenes did your house the greatest injuries so long as I was compelled to defend myself against your father, but still greater benefits when I was in safety and he in danger during his retreat. And there is a debt of gratitude due to me’ (here he noted how he had forewarned Xerxes at Salamis of the resolution of the Hellenes to withdraw<sup>a</sup>, and how through his influence, as he pretended, they had refrained from breaking down the bridges)<sup>b</sup>. ‘Now I am here, able to do you many other services, and persecuted by the Hellenes for your sake. Let me wait a year, and then I will myself explain why I have come.’

B C 466  
Ol 78, 3B C 465  
Ol 78, 4His letter  
to the King

138.

Going to  
the Court  
of Persia,  
he acquires  
the favour  
of the King  
and receives  
great ho-  
nour, but  
shortly after  
dies.

The King is said to have been astonished at the boldness of his character, and told him to wait a year as he proposed. In the interval he made himself acquainted, as far as he could, with the Persian language and the manners of the country. When the year was over, he arrived at the court and became a greater man there

<sup>a</sup> Cp. Herod. viii. 75<sup>b</sup> Cp. Herod. viii. 108.

than any Hellene had ever been before This was due partly to his previous reputation, and partly to the hope which he inspired in the King's mind that he would enslave Hellas to him; above all, his ability had been tried and not found wanting. For Themistocles was a man whose natural force was unmistakeable; this was the quality for which he was distinguished above all other men, from his own native acuteness, and without any study either before or at the time, he was the ablest judge of the course to be pursued in a sudden emergency, and could best divine what was likely to happen in the remotest future. Whatever he had in hand he had the power of explaining to others, and even where he had no experience he was quite competent to form a sufficient judgment, no one could foresee with equal clearness the good or evil event which was hidden in the future. In a word, Themistocles, by natural power of mind and with the least preparation, was of all men the best able to extemporise the right thing to be done. A sickness put an end to his life, although some say that he poisoned himself because he felt that he could not accomplish what he had promised to the King. There is a monument of him in the agora of the Asiatic Magnesia, where he was governor—the King assigning to him, for bicad, Magnesia, which produced a revenue of fifty talents<sup>a</sup> in the year; for wine, Lampsacus, which was considered to be the richest in wine of any district then known, and Myus for meat. His family say that his remains were carried home at his own request and buried in Attica, but secretly, for he had been accused of treason and had fled from his country, and he could not lawfully be interred there. Such was the end of Pausanias the Lacedaemonian, and Themistocles the Athenian, the two most famous Hellenes of their day.

Thus the demand for the banishment of the accursed made by the Lacedaemonians on the occasion of their first embassy was met by a counter demand on the

I  
The greatness of his character  
His natural acuteness and foresight his power of persuasion, his readiness in an emergency

I 39.  
The Lacedaemonians make a final demand for

<sup>a</sup> About £12,000



I. part of Athens. Later they came again and told the Athenians that they must raise the siege of Potidæa and restore Aegina to independence. Above all, and in the plainest terms, they insisted that if they wanted to avert war, they must rescind the decree which excluded the Megarians from the market of Athens and the harbours in the Athenian dominions. But the Athenians would not listen to them, nor rescind the decree, alleging in reply that the Megarians had tilled the holy ground and the neutral borderland, and had received their runaway slaves. Finally, there came from Sparta an embassy, consisting of Rhamphias, Melesippus, and Hegesander, who said nothing of all this, but only, 'The Lacedæmonians desire to maintain peace, and peace there may be if you will restore independence to the Hellenes'. Whereupon the Athenians called an assembly and held a discussion, it seemed best to them to make up their minds and to give a complete and final answer. Many came forward to speak, and much was said on both sides, some affirming that they ought to go to war, and others that this decree about the Megarians should be rescinded and not stand in the way of peace. At last Pericles the son of Xanthippus, who was the first man of his day at Athens, and the greatest orator and statesman, came forward and advised as follows —

140

I still give  
you my old  
advice,—  
Do not  
yield to  
the Peloponnesians

'Athenians, I say, as I always have said, that we must never yield to the Peloponnesians, although I know that men are persuaded to go to war in one temper of mind, and act when the time comes in another, and that their resolutions change with the changes of fortune. But I see that I must give you the same, or nearly the same, advice which I gave before, and I call upon those whom my words may convince to maintain our united determination, even if we should not escape disaster, or else, if our sagacity be justified by success, to claim no share of the credit'. The movement of events is often as wayward and incomprehensible as the course of human

\* Cp. ii 64 init.

B C 432 thought; and this is why we ascribe to chance whatever I.  
Ol 87 belies our calculation

‘For some time past the designs of the Lacedaemonians have been clear enough, and they are still clearer now. The treaty says that when differences arise, the two parties shall refer them to arbitration, and in the mean time both are to retain what they have. But for arbitration they never ask, and when it is offered by us, they refuse it. They want to redress their grievances by arms and not by argument, and now they come to us, using the language, no longer of expostulation, but of command. They tell us to quit Potidaea, to leave Aegina independent, and to rescind the decree respecting the Megarians. These last ambassadors go further still, and announce that we must give the Hellenes independence. I would have none of you imagine that he will be fighting for a small matter if we refuse to annul the Megarian decree, of which they make so much, telling us that its revocation would prevent the war. You should have no lingering uneasiness about this, you are not really going to war for a trifle. For in the seeming trifle is involved the trial and confirmation of your whole purpose. If you yield to them in a small matter, they will think that you are afraid, and will immediately dictate some more oppressive condition, but if you are firm, you will prove to them that they must treat you as their equals. Wherefore make up your minds once for all, either to give way while you are still unharmed, or, if we are going to war, as in my judgment is best, then on no plea small or great to give way at all, we will not condescend to possess our own in fear. Any claim, the smallest as well as the greatest, imposed on a neighbour and an equal when there has been no legal award, can mean nothing but slavery.

‘That our resources are equal to theirs, and that we shall be as strong in the war, I will now prove to you in detail. The Peloponnesians cultivate their own soil, and they have no wealth either public or private. Nor

The demands of the Lacedaemonians may seem trifling, but submission to them will only provoke fresh demands and implies the loss of our independence

141

Unless you mean to give way now, you must determine never to give way at all. Nor need you fear the result, for you have many advantages over the Peloponnesians, they are poor and

I. have they any experience of long wars in countries beyond the sea, their poverty prevents them from fighting, except in person against each other, and that for a short time only. Such men cannot be often manning fleets or sending out armies. They would be at a distance from their own properties, upon which they must nevertheless draw, and they will be kept off the sea by us. Now wars are supported out of accumulated wealth, and not out of forced contributions. And men who cultivate their own lands are more ready to serve with their persons than with their property<sup>a</sup>, they do not despair of their lives, but they soon grow anxious lest their money should all be spent, especially if the war in which they are engaged is protracted beyond their calculation, as may well be the case. In a single pitched battle the Peloponnesians and their allies are a match for all Hellas, but they are not able to maintain a war against a power different in kind from their own<sup>b</sup>, they have no regular general assembly, and therefore cannot execute their plans with speed and decision. The confederacy is made up of many races, all the representatives have equal votes, and press their several interests. There follows the usual result, that nothing is ever done properly. For some are all anxiety to be revenged on the enemy, while others only want to save their money. The members of such a confederacy are slow to meet, and when they do meet, they give little time to the consideration of any common interest, and a great deal to schemes which further the interest of their particular state. Every one fancies that his own neglect will do no harm, but that it is somebody else's business to keep a look-out for him, and this idea, cherished alike by each, is the secret ruin of all.

142. 'Their greatest difficulty will be want of money, which they can only provide slowly, delay will thus occur, and war waits for no man. Further, no fortified place which they can raise against us<sup>c</sup> is to be feared any more than

They cannot do you any real harm by building a rival city

<sup>a</sup> Cp. 1. 121 med.

<sup>b</sup> Cp viii 96 fin.

<sup>c</sup> Cp 1. 122 init.

B C 432 Ol 87 their navy As to the first, even in time of peace it would be hard for them to build a city able to compete with Athens, and how much more so when they are in an enemy's country, and our walls will be a menace to them quite as much as theirs to us! Or, again, if they simply raise a fort in our territory, they may do mischief to some part of our lands by sallies, and the slaves may desert to them, but that will not prevent us from sailing to the Peloponnese and there raising forts against them, and in other ways by the help of our navy, which is our strong arm, retaliating upon them. For we have gained more experience of fighting on land from warfare at sea than they of naval affairs from warfare on land. And they will not easily acquire nautical skill<sup>a</sup>, even you yourselves, who have been practising ever since the Persian War, are not yet perfect. How can they, who are not sailors, but tillers of the soil, do much? They will not even be permitted to practise, because a large fleet will constantly be lying in wait for them. If they were watched by a few ships only, they might run the risk, trusting to their numbers and forgetting their inexperience, but if they are kept off the sea by our superior strength, their want of practice will make them unskilful, and their want of skill timid. Maritime skill is like skill of other kinds, not a thing to be cultivated by the way or at chance times, it is jealous of any other pursuit which distracts the mind for an instant from itself.

'Suppose, again, that they lay hands on the treasures at Olympia and Delphi, and tempt our mercenary sailors with the offer of higher pay<sup>b</sup>, there might be serious danger, if we and our metics<sup>c</sup> embarking alone were not still a match for them. But we are a match for them and, best of all, our pilots are taken from our own citizens, while no sailors are to be found so good or so numerous as ours in all the rest of Hellas. No mercenary will choose to fight on their side for the sake of a few days' high pay, when he will not only be an

I  
or fortified  
posts in  
Attica  
nor can  
they, mere  
landsmen  
as they are,  
rival you at  
sea

143.  
Our foreign  
sailors will  
not be  
tempted by  
offers of  
high pay,  
and if they  
are, we can  
do without  
them

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1. 121 med

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1. 121 int.

<sup>c</sup> Cp III 16 int.

I. exile, but will incur greater danger, and will have less hope of victory B C 432  
Ol 87

We must guard the city and the sea, and not mind about our houses and lands in the country

‘Such I conceive to be the prospects of the Peloponnesians. But we ourselves are free from the defects which I have noted in them, and we have great advantages. If they attack our country by land, we shall attack them by sea, and the devastation, even of part of Peloponnesus, will be a very different thing from that of all Attica. For they, if they want fresh territory, must take it by arms, whereas we have abundance of land both in the islands and on the continent, such is the power which the empire of the sea gives. Reflect, if we were islanders, who would be more invulnerable? Let us imagine that we are, and acting in that spirit let us give up lands and houses, but keep a watch over the city and the sea. We should not under any imitation at the loss of our property give battle to the Peloponnesians, who far outnumber us. If we conquer, we shall have to fight over again with as many more, and if we fail, besides the defeat, our confederacy, which is our strength, will be lost to us, for our allies will rise in revolt when we are no longer capable of making war upon them. Mourn not for houses and lands, but for men; men may gain these, but these will not gain men. If I thought that you would listen to me, I would say to you, “Go yourselves and destroy them, and thereby prove to the Peloponnesians that none of these things will move you.”’

I 44. ‘I have many other reasons for believing that you will conquer, but you must not be extending your empire while you are at war, or run into unnecessary dangers. I am more afraid of our own mistakes than of our enemies’ designs. But of all this I will speak again when the time of action comes, for the present, let us send the ambassadors away, giving them this answer: “That we will not exclude the Megarians from our markets and harbours, if the Lacedaemonians will not exclude foreigners, whether ourselves or our allies, from Sparta; for the treaty no more forbids the one than the other.”’

Let our answer be: We will grant independence to our allies, if the Lacedaemonians will allow their subjects to choose their own form of government

B C 432  
Ol 87

That we will concede independence to the cities, if they were independent when we made the treaty, and as soon as the Lacedaemonians allow their subject states to be governed as they choose, not for the interest of Lacedaemon, but for their own. Also that we are willing to offer arbitration according to the treaty. And that we do not want to begin war, but intend to defend ourselves if attacked." This answer will be just, and befits the dignity of the city. We must be aware however that war will come, and the more willing we are to accept the situation, the less ready will our enemies be to lay hands upon us. Remember that where dangers are greatest, there the greatest honours are to be won by men and states. Our fathers, when they withstood the Persian, had no such empire as we have, what little they had they forsook not by good fortune but by wisdom, and not by power but by courage, they repelled the Barbarian and raised us to our present height of greatness. We must be worthy of them, and resist our enemies with all our might, that we may hand down our empire unimpaired to posterity.

I  
We do not  
want war,  
but offer  
arbitration  
Still, peace  
is hopeless,  
and we  
must pre-  
pare for  
war in a  
spirit  
worthy of  
our fathers

Such were the words of Pericles. The Athenians, approving, voted as he told them, and on his motion answered the Lacedaemonians in detail as he had suggested, and on the whole question to the effect 'that they would do nothing upon compulsion, but were ready to settle their differences by arbitration upon fair terms according to the treaty.' So the ambassadors went home and came no more.

145  
The Athe-  
nians adopt  
Pericles  
advice

These were the causes of offence alleged on either side before the war began. The quarrel arose immediately out of the affair of Epidamnus and Corcyra. But, although the contest was imminent, the contending parties still kept up intercourse and visited each other, without a herald, but not with entire confidence. For the situation was really an abrogation of the treaty, and might at any time lead to war.

146.  
War,  
though not  
formally  
proclaimed,  
is immi-  
nent

## BOOK II.

II. 1.  
 Outbreak  
 of the war
 

 AND now the war between the Athenians and  
 Peloponnesians and the allies of both actually began B C 431  
O1 87, 2  
 Henceforward the struggle was uninterrupted, and they  
 communicated with one another only by heralds. The  
 narrative is arranged according to summers and winters  
 and follows the order of events.

2  
 The The-  
 bans enter  
 Plataea by  
 night
 

 For fourteen years the thirty years' peace which was  
 concluded after the recovery of Euboea remained un-  
 broken. But in the fifteenth year, when Chrysis the  
 high-priestess of Argos was in the forty-eighth year of  
 her priesthood, Aenesias being Ephor at Sparta, and at  
 Athens Pythodorus having two months of his archon-  
 ship to run, in the sixth month after the engagement at  
 Potidaea and at the beginning of spring, about the first  
 watch of the night an armed force of somewhat more  
 than three hundred Thebans entered Plataea, a city of  
 Boeotia, which was an ally of Athens, under the com-  
 mand of two Boeotarchs, Pythangelus the son of Phy-  
 leides, and Diemporus the son of Onetorides. They  
 were invited by Naucleides, a Plataean, and his partisans,  
 who opened the gates to them. These men wanted to  
 kill certain citizens of the opposite faction and to make  
 over the city to the Thebans, in the hope of getting the  
 power into their own hands. The intrigue had been con-  
 ducted by Eurymachus the son of Leontiades, one of  
 the chief citizens of Thebes. There was an old quarrel  
 between the two cities, and the Thebans, seeing that war

B C 431  
Ol 87, 2

was inevitable, were anxious to surprise the place while the peace lasted and before hostilities had actually broken out. No watch had been set; and so they were enabled to enter the city unperceived. They grounded their arms in the Agora, but instead of going to work at once and making their way into the houses of their enemies as those who invited them suggested, they resolved to issue a conciliatory proclamation and try to make friends with the citizens. The herald announced that if any one wished to become their ally and return to the ancient constitution of Boeotia he should join their ranks. In this way they thought that the inhabitants would easily be induced to come over to them.

3.  
The Plataeans, when they found that the city had been surprised and taken and that the Thebans were within their walls, were panic-stricken. In the darkness they were unable to see them and greatly over-estimated their numbers. So they came to terms, and accepting the proposals which were made to them, remained quiet, the more readily since the Thebans offered violence to no one. But in the course of the negotiations they somehow discovered that their enemies were not so numerous as they had supposed, and concluded that they could easily attack and master them. They determined to make the attempt, for the Plataean people were strongly attached to the Athenian alliance. They began to collect inside the houses, breaking through the party-walls that they might not be seen going along the streets, they likewise raised barricades of waggons, unyoking the beasts which drew them, and took other measures suitable to the emergency. When they had done all which could be done under the circumstances, they sallied forth from their houses, choosing the time of night just before daybreak, lest, if they put off the attack until dawn, the enemy might be more confident and more a match for them. While darkness lasted they would be timid, and at a disadvantage, not knowing the streets so

The Plataeans, terrified by the sudden attack, come to terms. But afterwards, discovering the weakness of the enemy, they collect and fall upon the Thebans.



II. well as themselves So they fell upon them at once B C 431  
Ol 87, 2  
hand to hand

4 When the Thebans found that they had been deceived  
they closed their ranks and resisted their assailants on  
every side Two or three times they drove them back  
But when at last the Plataeans charged them with a great  
shout, and the women and slaves on the housetops  
screamed and yelled and pelted them with stones and  
tiles, the confusion being aggravated by the rain which  
had been falling heavily during the night, they turned and  
fled in terror through the city Hardly any of them knew  
the way out, and the streets were dark as well as muddy,  
for the affair happened at the end of the month when  
there was no moon, whereas their pursuers knew well  
enough how to prevent their escape, and thus many of  
them perished The gates by which they entered were  
the only ones open, and these a Plataean fastened with  
the spike of a javelin, which he thrust into the bar instead  
of the pin So this exit too was closed and they were  
chased up and down the city Some of them mounted  
upon the wall and cast themselves down into the open  
Most of these were killed Others got out by a deserted  
gate, cutting through the bar unperceived with an axe  
which a woman gave them, but only a few, for they  
were soon found out Others lost themselves in different  
parts of the city, and were put to death But the greater  
number kept together and took refuge in a large building  
abutting upon the wall, of which the doors on the near  
side chanced to be open, they thinking them to be the  
gates of the city and expecting to find a way through  
them into the country The Plataeans, seeing that they  
were in a trap, began to consider whether they should  
not set the building on fire, and burn them where they  
were At last they and the other Thebans who were  
still alive, and were wandering about the city, agreed to  
surrender themselves and their arms unconditionally  
Thus fared the Thebans in Plataea

5 The main body of the Theban army, which should

The The-  
bans, after  
some resist-  
ance, turn  
and fly  
Being igno-  
rant of the  
way, many  
are slain in  
the streets  
a few es-  
cape, the  
remainder  
surrender

B C 431  
Ol 87, 2

have come during the night to the support of the party entering the city in case of a reverse, having on their march heard of the disaster, were now hastening to the rescue. Plataea is about eight miles distant from Thebes, and the heavy rain which had fallen in the night delayed their arrival; for the river Asopus had swollen, and was not easily fordable. Marching in the rain, and with difficulty crossing the river, they came up too late, some of their friends being already slain and others captives. When the Thebans became aware of the state of affairs, they resolved to lay hands on the Plataeans who were outside the walls, for there were men and property left in the fields, as would naturally happen when a sudden blow was struck in time of peace. And they meant to keep any one whom they caught as a hostage and exchange him for one of their own men, if any of them were still alive. But before they had executed their plan, the Plataeans, suspecting their intentions, and fearing for their friends outside, sent a herald to the Thebans protesting against the crime of which they had been guilty in seizing their city during peace, and warning them not to touch anything which was outside the walls. If they persisted they threatened in return to kill the prisoners, but if they retired, they would give them up. This is the Theban account, and they add that the Plataeans took an oath. The Plataeans do not admit that they ever promised to restore the captives at once, but only if they could agree after negotiations, and they deny that they took an oath. However this may have been, the Thebans withdrew, leaving the Plataean territory unhurt, but the Plataeans had no sooner got in their property from the country than they put the prisoners to death. Those who were taken were a hundred and eighty in number, and Eurymachus, with whom the betrayers of the city had negotiated, was one of them.

When they had killed their prisoners, they sent a messenger to Athens and gave back the dead to the

II  
Reinforce-  
ments come  
from  
Thebes  
The Pla-  
taeans, sus-  
pecting  
that the  
Thebans  
intend to  
seize their  
citizens out-  
side the  
walls, send  
a herald,  
promising  
with an oath  
(according  
to the The-  
ban ac-  
count) to  
restore the  
prisoners  
if the The-  
bans re-  
tired  
The pri-  
soners are  
put to  
death

6.  
The Athe-  
nians know

II. Thebans under a flag of truce, they then took the necessary measures for the security of the city. The news had already reached Athens, and the Athenians had instantly seized any Boeotians who were in Attica, and sent a herald to Plataea bidding them do no violence to the Theban prisoners, but wait for instructions from Athens. The news of their death had not arrived. For the first messenger had gone out when the Thebans entered, and the second when they were just defeated and captured, but of what followed the Athenians knew nothing, they sent the message in ignorance, and the herald, when he arrived, found the prisoners dead. The Athenians next despatched an army to Plataea, and brought in the harvest. Then leaving a small force in the place they conveyed away the least serviceable of the citizens, together with the women and children.

7. The affair of Plataea was a glaring violation of the thirty years' truce, and the Athenians now made preparations for war. The Lacedaemonians and their allies made similar preparations. Both they and the Athenians meditated sending embassies to the King<sup>a</sup>, and to the other Barbarian potentates<sup>b</sup> from whom either party might hope to obtain aid, they likewise sought the alliance of independent cities outside their own dominion. The Lacedaemonians ordered their friends in Italy and Sicily, in addition to the ships which they had on the spot, to build others in number proportioned to the size of their cities, for they intended to raise the Peloponnesian navy to a total of five hundred. The cities were also required to furnish a fixed sum of money, they were not to receive more than a single Athenian ship, but were to take no further measures until these preparations had been completed. The Athenians reviewed their confederacy, and sent ambassadors to the places immediately adjacent to Peloponnesus—Corcyra, Cephalenia, Acarnania, and Zacynthus. They perceived that if they could only rely upon the friendship of these

<sup>a</sup> Cp ii 67 init, iv 50

Cp ii 29, 67.

ing only of  
the attempt  
on the city,  
bid the  
Plataeans  
spare their  
prisoners  
Learning  
the truth,  
they garri-  
son Plataea  
and remove  
the women  
and chil-  
dren

Both sides  
now pre-  
pare for the  
struggle

B C 43r  
Ol 87, 2

B C 43<sup>1</sup> states<sup>a</sup>, they might completely surround Peloponnesus II.  
Ol 87, 2 with war.

On neither side were there any mean thoughts, they 8  
were both full of enthusiasm and no wonder, for all men Excitement and enthusiasm in Hellas  
are energetic when they are making a beginning At  
that time the youth of Peloponnesus and the youth of  
Athens were numerous, they had never seen war, and  
were therefore very willing to take up arms All Hellas  
was excited by the coming conflict between her two chief  
cities Many were the prophecies circulated and many  
the oracles chanted by diviners, not only in the cities  
about to engage in the struggle, but throughout Hellas.  
Quite lately the island of Delos had been shaken by an  
earthquake for the first time within the memory of the  
Hellenes, this was interpreted and generally believed to  
be a sign of coming events. And everything of the sort  
which occurred was curiously noted

The feeling of mankind was strongly on the side of the Universal hatred and fear of the Athenians  
Lacedaemonians, for they professed to be the liberators  
of Hellas Cities and individuals were eager to assist  
them to the utmost, both by word and deed, and where  
a man could not hope to be present, there it seemed to  
him that all things were at a stand For the general  
indignation against the Athenians was intense, some  
were longing to be delivered from them, others fearful of  
falling under their sway

Such was the temper which animated the Hellenes, 9  
and such were the preparations made by the two powers  
for the war Their respective allies were as follows — List of the allies on either side,  
The Lacedaemonian confederacy included all the Peloponnesians with the exception of the Argives and the Achaeans—they were both neutral, only the Achaeans of Pellenè took part with the Lacedaemonians at first, afterwards all the Achaeans joined them<sup>b</sup> Beyond the borders of the Peloponnese, the Megarians, Phocians, Locrians, Boeotians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactonians

<sup>a</sup> Taking *βεβαιως* with *ἐι σφίσι φίλια πάντα εἴη*

<sup>b</sup> Cp v 82 mit

II were their allies. Of these the Corinthians, Megarians, <sup>B.C. 431</sup>  
 Sicyonians, Pelleneans, Elceans, Ambraciots, and Leuca- <sup>Ol. 87, 2</sup>  
 dians provided a navy, the Boeotians, Phocians, and  
 Locrians furnished cavalry, the other states only in-  
 fantry. The allies of the Athenians were Chios, Lesbos,  
 Plataea, the Messenians of Naupactus, the greater part  
 of Acaïania, Corcyra, Zacynthus, and cities in many  
 other countries which were their tributaries. There was  
 the maritime region of Caria, the adjacent Dorian  
 peoples, Ionia, the Hellespont, the Thracian coast, the  
 islands that lie to the east within the line of Pelopon-  
 nesus and Crete, including all the Cyclades with the  
 exception of Melos and Thera. Chios, Lesbos, and  
 Corcyra furnished a navy, the rest, land forces and  
 money. Thus much concerning the two confederacies,  
 and the character of their respective forces.

IO. Immediately after the affair at Plataea the Lacedae-  
 monians determined to invade Attica, and sent round  
 word to their Peloponnesian and other allies, bidding  
 them equip troops and provide all things necessary for  
 a foreign expedition. The various states made their  
 preparations as fast as they could, and at the appointed  
 time, with contingents numbering two-thirds of the forces  
 of each, met at the Isthmus. When the whole army was  
 assembled, Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians,  
 and the leader of the expedition, called together the  
 generals of the different states and their chief officers  
 and most distinguished men, and spoke as follows —

Speech of  
 Archida-  
 mus

II. 'Men of Peloponnesus, and you, allies, many are the  
 expeditions which our fathers made both within and  
 without the Peloponnese, and the veterans among our-  
 selves are experienced in war, and we never went forth  
 with a greater army than this. But then we should  
 remember that, whatever may be our numbers or our  
 valour, we are going against a most powerful city. And  
 we are bound to show ourselves worthy of our fathers,  
 and not wanting to our own reputation. For all Hellas  
 is stirred by our enterprise, and her eyes are fixed upon

We have  
 had great  
 experience  
 in war, and  
 our army  
 was never  
 finer. But  
 we must  
 beware of  
 haste, and  
 not hold our  
 enemy too  
 cheap.

us she is friendly and would have us succeed because II.  
 she hates the Athenians Now although some among  
 you, surveying this great host, may think that there is  
 very little risk of the enemy meeting us in the field,  
 we ought not on that account to advance heedlessly,  
 but the general and the soldier of every state should be  
 always expecting that his own division of the army will  
 be the one first in danger War is carried on in the  
 dark, attacks are generally sudden and furious, and often  
 the smaller army, animated by a proper fear, has been  
 more than a match for a larger force which, disdaining  
 their opponent, were taken unprepared by him When  
 invading an enemy's country, men should always be  
 confident in spirit, but they should fear too, and take  
 measures of precaution, and thus they will be at once  
 most valorous in attack and impregnable in defence

'And the city which we are attacking is not so utterly  
 powerless, but is in the best possible state of preparation,  
 and for this reason our enemies may be quite expected  
 to meet us in the field. Even if they have no such in-  
 tention beforehand, yet as soon as they see us in Attica,  
 wasting and destroying their property, they will cer-  
 tainly change their mind For all men are angry when  
 they not only suffer but see and some strange form of  
 calamity strikes full upon the eye, the less they reflect  
 the more ready they are to fight, above all men the  
 Athenians, who claim imperial power, and are more  
 disposed to invade and waste their neighbour's land than  
 to look on while their own is being wasted. Remem-  
 bering how great this city is which you are attacking,  
 and what a fame you will bring on your ancestors and  
 yourselves for good or evil according to the result,  
 follow whithersoever you are led, maintain discipline and  
 caution above all things, and be on the alert to obey  
 the word of command. A great army is most assured of  
 glory and safety when visibly animated by one spirit.'

Having thus spoken, Archidamus dismissed the as- I 2.  
 sembly His first step was to send Melesippus, the son Archida-  
mus sends

B C 431  
 Ol 87 2

For they are  
 thoroughly  
 prepared,  
 and the  
 least likely  
 of all men  
 to sit idly  
 by while we  
 waste their  
 lands

II of Diacritus, a Spartan, to Athens in the hope that the Athenians might after all give way, when they saw their enemies actually on the march. But they would not admit him to the assembly, nor even into the city. For Pericles had already carried a motion to the effect that they would have nothing to do with herald or embassy while the Lacedaemonians were in the field. So Melesippus was sent away without a hearing and told that he must cross the frontier before sunset, if the Lacedaemonians wanted to hold any parley with the Athenians, they must go home first. He was attended by an escort in order to prevent his communicating with any one. When he arrived at the Athenian frontier, and was about to leave them, he uttered these words 'This day will be to the Hellenes the beginning of great sorrows'. On the return of the herald to the camp Archidamus learned that the Athenians were not as yet at all in the mood to yield, so at last he moved forward his army and prepared to enter Attica. The Boeotians who had sent their contingent of two-thirds, including their cavalry, to the Peloponnesian army, marched to Plataea with the remainder of their forces and wasted the country.

I3 While the Peloponnesians were gathering at the Isthmus, and were still on their way, but before they entered Attica, Pericles the son of Xanthippus, who was one of the ten Athenian generals, knowing that the invasion was inevitable, and suspecting that Archidamus in wasting the country might very likely spare his lands, either out of courtesy and because he happened to be his friend, or by the order of the Lacedaemonian authorities (who had already attempted to raise a prejudice against him<sup>a</sup> when they demanded the expulsion of the polluted family, and might take this further means of injuring him in the eyes of the Athenians), openly declared in the assembly that Archidamus was his friend, but not to the injury of the state, and that supposing the enemy did not destroy his lands and buildings like the rest, he

Melesippus to Athens, but he is refused admission to the city, and immediately sent across the frontier

Pericles, suspecting that Archidamus will spare his lands, either from friendship, or to prejudice him with the Athenians, promises to give them to the public if they are uninjured by the enemy

B C 431  
O1 87, 2

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 126 mit and 127

B C 431  
Ol 87, 2

II

would make a present of them to the public; and he desired that the Athenians would have no suspicion of him on that account. As to the general situation, he repeated his previous advice, they must prepare for war and bring their property from the country into the city; they must defend their walls but not go out to battle, they should also equip for service the fleet in which lay their strength. Their allies should be kept well in hand, for their power depended on the revenues which they derived from them, military successes were generally gained by a wise policy and command of money. The state of their finances was encouraging, they had on an average six hundred talents<sup>a</sup> coming in annually from their allies, to say nothing of their other revenue, and there were still remaining in the Acropolis six thousand talents of coined silver. (The whole amount had once been as much as nine thousand seven hundred talents<sup>b</sup>, but from this had to be deducted a sum of three thousand seven hundred expended on various buildings, such as the Propylaea of the Acropolis, and also on the siege of Potidaea.) Moreover there was uncoined gold and silver in the form of private and public offerings, sacred vessels used in processions and games, the Persian spoil and other things of the like nature, worth at least five hundred talents<sup>c</sup> more. There was also at their disposal, besides what they had in the Acropolis, considerable treasures in various temples. If they were reduced to the last extremity they could even take off the plates of gold with which the image of the goddess was overlaid, these, as he pointed out, weighed forty talents, and were of refined gold, which was all removable. They might use these treasures in self-defence, but they were bound to replace all that they had taken. By this estimate of their wealth he strove to encourage them. He added that they had thirteen thousand hoplites, besides the sixteen thousand who occupied the fortresses.

He reminds the Athenians of their enormous wealth and military and naval resources, telling them that victory is certain if they act with prudence.

<sup>a</sup> About £144,000

<sup>b</sup> About £2,328,000.

<sup>c</sup> About £120,000.



- II. or who manned the walls of the city For this was the number engaged on garrison duty at the beginning of the war<sup>a</sup>, whenever the enemy invaded Attica, they were made up of the elder and younger men, and of such metics as bore heavy arms The Phaleric wall extended four miles from Phalerum to the city walls the portion of the city wall which was guarded was somewhat less than five miles, that between the Long Wall and the Phaleric requiring no guard The Long Walls running down to the Piraeus were rather more than four and a-half miles in length, the outer only was guarded The whole circuit of the Piraeus and of Munychia was not quite seven miles, of which half required a guard The Athenian cavalry, as Pericles pointed out, numbered twelve hundred, including mounted archers, the foot-archers, eighteen hundred, of tiremes fit for service the city had three hundred The forces of various kinds which Athens possessed at the commencement of the war, when the first Peloponnesian invasion was impending, could not be estimated at less To these Pericles added other arguments, such as he was fond of using, which were intended to prove to the Athenians that victory was certain

14 The citizens, following his advice, gather into the city, The citizens were persuaded, and brought into the city their children and wives, their household goods, and even the wood-work of their houses, which they took down Their flocks and beasts of burden they conveyed to Euboea and the adjacent islands

15. but reluctantly, for they had ever loved a country life In old times they lived in separate communes, The removal of the inhabitants was painful, for the Athenians had always been accustomed to reside in the country. Such a life had been characteristic of them more than of any other Hellenic people, from very early times In the days of Cecrops and the first kings, down to the reign of Theseus, Attica was divided into communes, having their own town halls and magistrates Except in case of alarm the whole people did not assemble in council under the king, but administered

<sup>a</sup> Cp what is said of the citizens on garrison duty, vii 28 init.

B C 431<sup>1</sup> their own affairs, and advised together in their several II.  
 Ol 87, 2 townships Some of them at times even went to war until Theseus united them into the one city of Athens  
 with him, as the Eleusinians under Eumolpus with Erechtheus But when Theseus came to the throne, he, being a powerful as well as a wise ruler, among other improvements in the administration of the country, dissolved the councils and separate governments, and united all the inhabitants of Attica in the present city, establishing one council and town hall They continued to live on their own lands, but he compelled them to resort to Athens as their metropolis, and henceforward they <sup>a</sup>were all inscribed in the roll of her citizens<sup>a</sup> A great city thus arose which was handed down by Theseus to his descendants, and from his day to this the Athenians have regularly celebrated the national festival of the Synoecia, or 'union of the communes' in honour of the Goddess Athenè

Before his time, what is now the Acropolis and the ground lying under it to the south was the city. Many reasons may be urged in proof of this statement —The temples of Athenè and of other divinities are situated in the Acropolis itself, and those which are not, lie chiefly thereabouts, the temples of Olympian Zeus, for example, and of the Pythian Apollo, and the temple of Earth and of Dionysus in the Marshes, in honour of whom the more ancient Dionysia are celebrated on the twelfth day of the month Anthesterion<sup>b</sup>, a festival which also continues to be observed by the Ionian descendants of the Athenians In the same quarter are other ancient temples, and not far off is the fountain now called Enneacrounos, or the Nine Conduits, from the form given to it by the tyrants, but originally, before the springs were covered in, Callirrhoe, or the Fair Stream The water of this fountain was used by the ancient Athenians on great occasions; and at marriage rites and other ceremonies the custom is still retained. To this day the Acropolis or Citadel is called by the

Small extent of the ancient city

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'all paid taxes to Athens'

<sup>b</sup> February-March.

II. Athenians *Polis*, or City, because that neighbourhood B C 431  
Ol 87, 2 was first inhabited.

16. Thus for a long time the ancient Athenians enjoyed a country life in self-governing communities, and although they were now united in a single city, they and their descendants, down to the time of this war, from old habit generally resided with their households in the country where they had been born. For this reason, and also because they had recently restored their country-houses and estates after the Persian War, they had a disinclination to move. They were depressed at the thought of forsaking their homes and the temples which had come down to them from their fathers and were the abiding memorials of their early constitution. They were going to change their manner of life, and in leaving their villages were in fact leaving what to each of them had been his own city.

17. When they came to Athens, only a few of them had houses or could find homes among friends or kindred. The majority took up their abode in the vacant spaces of the city, and in the temples and shrines of heroes, with the exception of those on the Acropolis, the Eleusinium, and any other precinct which could be securely closed. The Pelasgian ground, as it was called, which lay at the foot of the citadel, was under a curse forbidding its occupation. There was also a half-line of a Pythian oracle to the same effect —

The new-comers, having no homes of their own, occupy the temples and waste spaces in the city

‘Better the Pelasgian ground left waste’

Yet even this was occupied under the sudden pressure of necessity. And to my mind the oracle came true in a sense exactly contrary to the popular expectation; for the unlawful occupation to which men were driven was not the cause of the calamities which befell the city, but the war was the cause of the occupation, and the oracle without mentioning the war foresaw that the place would be inhabited some day for no good. Many also established themselves in the turrets of the walls, or in any

B C 431  
Ol 87, 2 other place which they could find, for the city could not contain them when they first came in. But afterwards they divided among them the Long Walls and the greater part of the Piræus. At the same time the Athenians applied themselves vigorously to the war, summoning their allies, and preparing an expedition of a hundred ships against the Peloponnesians. II.

While they were thus engaged, the Peloponnesian army was advancing. It arrived first of all at Oenoe, a fortified town on the confines of Attica and Boeotia, which was garrisoned by the Athenians in time of war, and was the point at which the Peloponnesians intended to commence their invasion. There they encamped and prepared to assault the walls by means of engines and siege works. But these and other operations took up time and detained them in the neighbourhood. Archidamus was severely blamed for the delay, he was also thought not to have been energetic enough in levying war, and to have done the Athenians good service by discouraging vigorous action. After the muster of the forces he was accused of delay at the Isthmus, and of loitering on the march. But his reputation was most affected by his halt at Oenoe. For the Athenians employed the interval in getting away their property, and the Peloponnesians fancied that, if they had advanced quickly and he had not lingered, they could have seized everything before it was conveyed within the walls. Such were the feelings entertained towards Archidamus by his troops during the halt. He is said to have held back in the belief that the Athenians, while their lands were still unravaged<sup>a</sup>, would yield, and that the thought of allowing them to be devastated would be too much for them. I 8

The Peloponnesians advance to Oenoe, which they attempt in vain to capture

But when they had assaulted Oenoe, and after leaving no means untried were unable to take it, and no herald came from the Athenians, at last they marched on, and about the eightieth day after the entry of the Thebans. 19.

Leaving Oenoe, they enter Attica and march to Achænae,

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 82 med

- II. into Plataea, in the middle of the summer, when the corn <sup>B C 431</sup> was in full ear, invaded Attica, under the command of <sup>OI 87, 2</sup> Archidamus the son of Zeuxidamus the Lacedaemonian king. They encamped and ravaged, first of all, Eleusis and the plain of Thia, where they put to flight some Athenian horse near the streams called Rheiti, they then advanced, keeping Mount Aegaleos on the right hand, through the district of Kropeia until they reached Acharnae, which is the largest of the Athenian townships or demes, as they are called, and at Acharnae they encamped, and remained there a considerable time ravaging the country.

20. In this first invasion Archidamus is said to have <sup>where they linger, in the hope that the Athenians will come out to fight</sup> lingered about Acharnae with his army ready for battle, instead of descending into the plain, in the hope that the Athenians, who were now flourishing in youth and numbers and provided for war as they had never been before, would perhaps meet them in the field rather than allow their lands to be ravaged. When therefore they did not appear at Eleusis or in the plain of Thia, he tried once more whether by encamping in the neighbourhood of Acharnae he could induce them to come out. The situation appeared to be convenient, and the Acharnians, being a considerable section of the city and furnishing three thousand hoplites, were likely to be impatient at the destruction of their property, and would communicate to the whole people a desire to fight. Or if the Athenians did not come out to meet him during this invasion, he could henceforward ravage the plain with more confidence, and march right up to the walls of the city. The Acharnians, having lost their own possessions, would be less willing to hazard their lives on behalf of their neighbours, and so there would be a division in the Athenian counsels. Such was the motive of Archidamus in remaining at Acharnae.

21. <sup>Rage and excitement of the</sup> The Athenians, so long as the Lacedaemonians were in the neighbourhood of Eleusis and the plain of Thia, entertained a hope that they would come no further. They

<sup>431</sup>  
<sup>7, 2</sup> remembered how, fourteen years before<sup>a</sup>, the Lacedæmonian king, Pleistoanax the son of Pausanias, invaded Attica with a Peloponnesian army, and how after advancing as far as Eleusis and Thria he came no further, but retreated. And indeed this retreat was the cause of his exile, for he was thought to have been bribed. But when they saw the army in the neighbourhood of Acharnae, and barely seven miles from the city, they felt the presence of the invader to be intolerable. The devastation of their country before their eyes, which the younger men had never seen at all, nor the elder except in the Persian invasion, naturally appeared to them a horrible thing, and the whole people, the young men especially, were anxious to go forth and put a stop to it. Knots were formed in the streets, and there were loud disputes, some eager to go out, a minority resisting. Soothsayers were repeating oracles of the most different kinds, which all found in some one or other enthusiastic listeners. The Achæians, who in their own estimation were no small part of the Athenian state, seeing their land ravaged, strongly insisted that they should go out and fight. The excitement in the city was universal, the people were furious with Pericles, and, forgetting all his previous warnings, they abused him for not leading them to battle, as their general should, and laid all their miseries to his charge.

II.

Athenians  
Unpopu-  
larity of  
Pericles

But he, seeing that they were overcome by the irritation of the moment and inclined to evil counsels, and confident that he was right in refusing to go out, would not summon an assembly or meeting of any kind, lest, coming together more in anger than in prudence, they might take some false step. He maintained a strict watch over the city, and sought to calm the irritation as far as he could. Meanwhile he sent out horsemen from time to time to prevent flying parties finding their way into the fields near the city and doing mischief. A skirmish took place at Phrygia between one of the

22.

He refuses  
to comply  
with their  
wishes

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 114 fin.

II.  
Skirmish  
at Phivgia,  
in which  
the Athe-  
nians are  
worsted

divisions of the Athenian hoise assisted by their Thes-  
salian allies on the one hand, and the Boeotian cavalry  
on the other, in which the Athenians and Thessalians  
were at least a match for their opponents, until, the  
Boeotian infantry coming up to support the hoise, they  
were compelled to fly. The Athenians and Thessalians  
lost a few men, but recovered their bodies on the same  
day without asking for a truce. On the morrow the  
Peloponnesians raised a trophy. The forces which the  
Thessalians brought to the aid of the Athenians, ac-  
cording to the terms of their old alliance<sup>a</sup>, consisted of  
Larissaeans, Pharsalians, Cranonians, Pyrasians, Gytio-  
nians, and Pheraeans. The leaders of the Larissaeans  
were Polymedes and Aristonous, one from each of the  
two leading factions of their city, the Pharsalians were  
commanded by Meno. The forces of the other cities  
had likewise generals of their own.

B C 431  
OI 87, 2

23.  
The Athe-  
nians send  
one hun-  
dred ships  
to cruise  
round Pelo-  
ponnesus.  
The enemy  
retire from  
Attica.

When the Peloponnesians found that the Athenians  
did not come out to meet them, they moved their army  
from Acharnae, and ravaged some of the townships  
which lie between Mount Parnes and Mount Brilessus.  
While they were still in the country, the Athenians sent  
the fleet of a hundred ships which they had been equip-  
ping on an expedition round the Peloponnese. These  
ships carried on board a thousand hoplites and four  
hundred archers, they were under the command of  
Carcinus the son of Xenotimus, Proteas the son of  
Epicles, and Socrates the son of Antigenes. After the  
departure of the fleet the Peloponnesians remained in  
Attica as long as their provisions lasted, and then, taking  
a new route, retired through Boeotia. In passing by  
Oropus they wasted the country called Peiraikè<sup>b</sup>, in-  
habited by the Oropians, who are subjects of the Athe-  
nians. On their return to Peloponnesus the troops  
dispersed to their several cities.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. i. 102 fin, 107 fin, iv 78 med.

<sup>b</sup> Reading with the MSS *τὴν γῆν τὴν Πειραικὴν* Cp iii 91 med,  
*ἐς Ὀρωπὸν τῆς πέραν γῆς*, i e the coast opposite Euboea

B C 431  
Ol 87, 2

When they had retreated, the Athenians posted guards II.  
to keep watch both by land and sea, a precaution which 24.

they maintained throughout the war. They then passed The Athenians set aside a thousand talents and a hundred triremes in case of an attack by sea  
a decree reserving of the treasure in the Acropolis a thousand talents<sup>a</sup> this sum was set apart and was not to be expended unless the enemy attacked the city with a fleet and they had to defend it at sea In any other case, he who brought forward or put to the vote a proposal to touch the money was to be punished with death They also resolved to set apart yearly a hundred triremes, the finest of the year, and to appoint trierarchs for them, these they were only to use at the same time with the money, and in the same emergency

The Athenian forces, which had lately been despatched 25.  
to Peloponnesus in the hundred vessels, and were assisted Proceed-ings of the Athenian fleet  
by the Corcyraeans with fifty ships and by some of the allies from the same region, did considerable damage on the Peloponnesian coast They disembarked and attacked Methonè, a fortress in Laconia, which was weak and had no regular garrison Now Brasidas the son of Tellis, a Spartan, happened to be in those parts keeping guard, and, seeing the danger, he came to the aid of the inhabitants with a hundred hoplites He made his way through the scattered parties of Athenian troops, whose attention was occupied with the fortress, and threw himself into Methonè, suffering a slight loss, he thus saved the place The exploit was publicly acknowledged at Sparta, Brasidas being the first Spartan who obtained this distinction in the war. The Athenians, proceeding on their voyage, ravaged the territory of Pheia in Elis for two days, and defeated three hundred chosen men from the vale of Elis as well as some Elean perioeci from the neighbourhood of Pheia who came to the rescue. But a violent storm arose, and there was no harbour in which the fleet could find shelter, so the greater part of the army re-embarked and sailed round the promontory called Ichthys towards the harbour of Pheia Mean-

<sup>a</sup> About £240,000



II. while the Messenians and others who were unable to <sup>BC 431</sup> get on board marched by land and captured Pheia. The <sup>Ol 87, 2</sup> fleet soon sailed into the harbour and took them up, they then evacuated Pheia and put to sea. By this time the main army of the Eleans had arrived, whereupon the Athenians proceeded on their way to other places, which they ravaged.

26. About the same time the Athenians sent thirty ships <sup>Thirty ships are sent to Locris</sup> to cruise off Locris, having an eye also to the safety of Euboea. Theopompus the son of Cleinias was their commander. He made descents on the Locrian coast and ravaged various places. He also captured Thionium, taking hostages of the inhabitants, and at Alope defeated the Locrians who came to defend the place.

27. In the same summer the Athenians expelled the <sup>The Athenians expel the Aeginetans from their country. Some of the exiles are settled by the Lacedaemonians in Thyrea</sup> Aeginetans and their families from Aegina, alleging that they had been the main cause of the war. The island lies close to Peloponnesus, and they thought it safer to send thither settlers of their own, an intention which they shortly afterwards carried out. The Lacedaemonians gave the Aeginetan exiles the town of Thyrea to occupy and the adjoining country to cultivate, partly in order to annoy the Athenians, partly out of gratitude to the Aeginetans, who had done them good service at the time of the earthquake and the revolt of the Helots. The Thyrean territory is a strip of land coming down to the sea on the borders of Argolis and Laconia. There some of them found a home; others dispersed over Hellas.

28. During the same summer, at the beginning of the <sup>Eclipse of the sun</sup> lunar month (apparently the only time when such an event is possible), and in the afternoon, there was an eclipse of the sun, which took the form of a crescent, and then became full again, during the eclipse a few stars were visible.

29. In the same summer, Nymphodorus the son of Pythes, <sup>The Athenians make Nymphodorus their proxenus,</sup> a native of Abdera and a man of great influence with Sitalces who had married his sister, was made by the Athenians their proxenus at that place and invited by

B C 431  
Ol 87, 2

them to Athens He had formerly been considered their enemy, but now they hoped that he would gain over to their alliance Sitalces, who was the son of Teres and king of Thrace

II

hoping that he will gain over Sitalces, king of Thrace

This Teres, the father of Sitalces, was the first founder of the great Odrysian empire, which he extended over a large part of Thrace, although many of the Thracian tribes are still independent He has no connection with Tereus who took to wife from Athens, Procnè, the daughter of Pandion, they do not even belong to the same Thrace For Tereus dwelt in Daulia, a part of the region which is now called Phocis but in those days was inhabited by Thracians, and in that country Itys suffered at the hands of the women Procnè and Philomela Many of the poets when they make mention of the nightingale (Philomela) apply to the bird the epithet Daulian. Further, Pandion would surely have formed a marriage connection for his daughter among his neighbours with a view to mutual protection, and not at a distance of so many days' journey, among the Odrysian Thracians And the Teres of whom I am speaking, and who was the first powerful king of the Odrysae, has not even the same name<sup>a</sup>

29.

Sitalces was the son of Teres, the founder of the Odrysian empire This Teres has no connection with the Tereus of mythology

Now Sitalces, whom the Athenians made their ally, was the son of this Teres, they wanted him to assist them in the conquest of Chalcidicè and of Perdiccas So Nymphodorus came to Athens, negotiated the alliance with Sitalces, and got his son Sadocus enrolled an Athenian citizen He also undertook to terminate the war in Chalcidicè, promising that he would persuade Sitalces to send the Athenians an army of Thracian horsemen and targeteers He further reconciled Perdiccas with the Athenians, and persuaded them to restore Thermè to him<sup>b</sup> Whereupon Perdiccas joined the Athenian army under Phormio<sup>c</sup>, and with him fought against the Chalcidians Thus Sitalces the son of Teres king of

Sitalces becomes an ally of Athens, and his son is made an Athenian citizen Perdiccas is also reconciled

<sup>a</sup> i e is called Teres, not Tereus

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1 61 mit

<sup>c</sup> Cp 1 64 med

- II. Thrace, and Perdiccas son of Alexander king of Macedonia, entered into the Athenian alliance B C 431  
Ol 87, 2

30. The Athenians, in the hundred ships which were still cruising about Peloponnesus, took Sollium, a town belonging to the Corinthians, which they handed over to the Palaereans of Acarnania, giving to them alone of the Acarnanians the right of occupying the city and country. They also stormed the town of Astacus, and driving out Evarchus who was tyrant there, added it to the Athenian confederacy. They next sailed to the island of Cephallenia, which they gained over without fighting. The island lies over against Acarnania and Leucas, and contains four cities inhabited by the Paleans, Cranians, Samaeans, and Pronnaeans. Soon afterwards the fleet proceeded on its voyage homewards.

31. About the end of the summer the entire Athenian force, including the metics, invaded the territory of Megara, under the command of Pericles the son of Xanthippus. The Athenian fleet had reached Aegina on its way home, and when the commanders heard that the whole armed force of the city was in Megara, they sailed thither and joined them. This was the largest army which the Athenians ever had in one place, for the city was still in her full strength, and had not as yet suffered from the plague. The Athenians themselves numbered not less than ten thousand hoplites, exclusive of the remaining three thousand who were engaged at Potidaea. A force of metics amounting to at least three thousand took part in the invasion, and also a large number of light-armed troops. After ravaging the greater part of the country they retired. They repeated the invasion, sometimes with cavalry, sometimes with the whole Athenian army, every year during the war until Nisaea was taken <sup>a</sup>.

32. At the end of this summer the island of Atalantè, which lies off the coast of the Opuntian Locrians and had hitherto been uninhabited, was fortified and made a

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv 66 init., 69 fin.

B C 431. guard-station by the Athenians They wanted to prevent II.  
 Ol 87, 2 pirates sailing from Opus and other places in Locris and  
 plundering Euboea Such were the events which occurred  
 during the remainder of the summer after the Pelopon-  
 nesians had retired from Attica.

During the following winter, Evarchus the Acarna- 33.  
 nian, desiring to be restored to Astacus, persuaded the The Co-  
 inthians restore the  
 tyrant  
 Evarchus  
 to Astacus  
 On their  
 return they  
 attack Ce-  
 phallenia,  
 but are de-  
 feated  
 Corinthians to sail with forty ships and fifteen hundred  
 hoplites and reinstate him, he himself hiring some  
 mercenaries Of this expedition Euphamidas the son  
 of Aristonymus, Timoxenus the son of Timociates, and  
 Eumachus the son of Chrysis, were the commanders  
 They sailed to Astacus, and restored Evarchus, they  
 then tried to gain over certain other towns on the coast  
 of Acarnania, but, failing in their attempt, they pro-  
 ceeded homewards Touching at Cephallenia on their  
 voyage, they made a descent on the country of the  
 Ceanians, but being entrapped by means of a pretended  
 agreement, and then unexpectedly attacked, they lost a  
 part of their forces, at length, not without a severe  
 struggle, they put to sea again and returned home

During the same winter, in accordance with an old 34.  
 national custom, the funeral of those who first fell in this The Athe-  
 nians cele-  
 brate the  
 funeral of  
 their citi-  
 zens who  
 had died in  
 the war  
 war was celebrated by the Athenians at the public  
 charge The ceremony is as follows Three days before  
 the celebration they erect a tent in which the bones of  
 the dead are laid out, and every one brings to his own  
 dead any offering which he pleases At the time of the  
 funeral the bones are placed in chests of cypress wood,  
 which are conveyed on hearses, there is one chest for  
 each tribe They also carry a single empty litter decked  
 with a pall for all whose bodies are missing, and cannot  
 be recovered after the battle The procession is ac-  
 companied by any one who chooses, whether citizen or  
 stranger, and the female relatives of the deceased are  
 present at the place of interment and make lamentation.  
 The public sepulchre is situated in the most beautiful  
 spot outside the walls, there they always bury those

- II who fall in war, only after the battle of Marathon the dead, in recognition of their pre-eminent valour, were interred on the field. When the remains have been laid in the earth, some man of known ability and high reputation, chosen by the city, delivers a suitable oration over them, after which the people depart. Such is the manner of interment, and the ceremony was repeated from time to time throughout the war. Over those who were the first buried Pericles was chosen to speak. At the fitting moment he advanced from the sepulchre to a lofty stage, which had been erected in order that he might be heard as far as possible by the multitude, and spoke as follows —

## (FUNERAL SPEECH)

- 35 ‘Most of those who have spoken here before me have commended the lawgiver who added this oration to our other funeral customs, it seemed to them a worthy thing that such an honour should be given at their burial to the dead who have fallen on the field of battle. But I should prefer to praise the brave by deeds only, not to imperil their reputation on the skill of the orator. Still, our ancestors approved the practice, and I must obey
- The law which enjoins this oration has been often praised. But I should prefer to praise the brave by deeds only, not to imperil their reputation on the skill of the orator. Still, our ancestors approved the practice, and I must obey
- ‘Most of those who have spoken here before me have commended the lawgiver who added this oration to our other funeral customs, it seemed to them a worthy thing that such an honour should be given at their burial to the dead who have fallen on the field of battle. But I should have preferred that, when men’s deeds have been brave, they should be honoured in deed only, and with such an honour as this public funeral, which you are now witnessing. Then the reputation of many would not have been imperilled on the eloquence or want of eloquence of one, and their virtues believed or not as he spoke well or ill. For it is difficult to say neither too little nor too much, and even moderation is apt not to give the impression of truthfulness. The friend of the dead who knows the facts is likely to think that the words of the speaker fall short of his knowledge and of his wishes, another who is not so well informed, when he hears of anything which surpasses his own powers, will be envious and will suspect exaggeration. Mankind are tolerant of the praises of others so long as each hearer thinks that he can do as well or nearly as well himself, but, when the speaker rises above him, jealousy is aroused and he begins to be incredulous. However,

B C 431 since our ancestors have set the seal of their approval II  
Ol 87, 2 upon the practice, I must obey, and to the utmost of my  
power shall endeavour to satisfy the wishes and beliefs  
of all who hear me

‘I will speak first of our ancestors, for it is right and 36.  
becoming that now, when we are lamenting the dead, a I will first  
tribute should be paid to their memory. There has commemo-  
never been a time when they did not inhabit this land, rate our pre-  
decessors,  
which by their valour they have handed down from who gave  
us freedom  
and empire  
generation to generation, and we have received from And before  
praising the  
them a free state But if they were worthy of praise, dead, I will  
describe  
still more were our fathers, who added to their inheri- how Athens  
tance, and after many a struggle transmitted to us their has won  
her great-  
sons this great empire And we ourselves assembled ness  
here to-day, who are still most of us in the vigour of  
life, have chiefly done the work of improvement, and  
have richly endowed our city with all things, so that she  
is sufficient for herself both in peace and war. Of the  
military exploits by which our various possessions were  
acquired, or of the energy with which we or our fathers  
drove back the tide of war, Hellenic or Barbarian, I will  
not speak, for the tale would be long and is familiar to  
you But before I praise the dead, I should like to  
point out by what principles of action we rose<sup>a</sup> to power,  
and under what institutions and through what manner  
of life our empire became great For I conceive that  
such thoughts are not unsuited to the occasion, and that  
this numerous assembly of citizens and strangers may  
profitably listen to them

‘Our form of government does not enter into rivalry 37  
with the institutions of others We do not copy our  
neighbours, but are an example to them It is true that  
we are called a democracy, for the administration is in  
the hands of the many and not of the few. But while  
the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private  
disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognised, and  
when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred  
Our govern-  
ment is a  
democracy,  
but we ho-  
nour men of  
merit, whe-  
ther rich or  
poor Our  
public life  
is free from  
exclusive-  
ness, our

<sup>a</sup> Reading ἡλθομεν

II to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as <sup>B C 431</sup> the reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a <sup>Ol 87, 2</sup> man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbour if he does what he likes, we do not put on sour looks at him which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts, we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for authority and for the laws, having an especial regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

38. 'And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil, we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year, at home the style of our life is refined, and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us, so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

39. 'Then, again, our military training is in many respects superior to that of our adversaries. Our city is thrown open to the world, and we never expel a foreigner or prevent him from seeing or learning anything of which the secret if revealed to an enemy might profit him. We rely not upon management or trickery, but upon our own hearts and hands. And in the matter of education, whereas they from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face <sup>a</sup> the perils which they face <sup>a</sup>. And here is the proof. The Lacedaemonians come into Attica not by themselves, but with their whole confederacy following, we go alone

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'perils such as our strength can bear,' or 'perils which are enough to daunt us.'

private  
from sus-  
picion, yet  
we reverence  
alike the in-  
junctions  
of law and  
custom

We find re-  
laxation in  
our amuse-  
ments, and  
in our  
homes,  
and the  
whole world  
contributes  
to our en-  
joyment

In war we  
singly are  
a match  
for the Pe-  
lopon-  
nesians  
united,  
though we  
have no  
secrets and  
undergo no  
laborious  
training

B C 43<sup>1</sup>  
Ol 87, 2

into a neighbour's country, and although our opponents are fighting for their homes and we on a foreign soil, we have seldom any difficulty in overcoming them Our enemies have never yet felt our united strength, the care of a navy divides our attention, and on land we are obliged to send our own citizens everywhere But they, if they meet and defeat a part of our army, are as proud as if they had routed us all, and when defeated they pretend to have been vanquished by us all

'If then we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers? Since we do not anticipate the pain, although, when the hour comes, we can be as brave as those who never allow themselves to rest, and thus too our city is equally admirable in peace and in war. For

we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it To avow poverty with us is no disgrace, the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household, and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger. In doing good, again, we are unlike others, we make our friends by conferring, not by receiving favours. Now he

II.

40.

We are not enervated by culture, or vulgarised by wealth We are all interested in public affairs, believing that nothing is lost by free discussion Our goodness to others springs not from interest, but from the generous confidence of freedom.



II who confers a favour is the firmer friend, because he would fain by kindness keep alive the memory of an obligation, but the recipient is colder in his feelings, because he knows that in requiting another's generosity he will not be winning gratitude but only paying a debt. We alone do good to our neighbours not upon a calculation of interest, but in the confidence of freedom and in a frank and fearless spirit. To sum up I say that

41.

In fine,  
Athens is  
the school  
of Hellas  
She alone in  
the hour of  
trial rises  
above her  
reputation  
Her citizens  
need no  
poet to  
sing their  
praises for  
every land  
bears wit-  
ness to their  
valour

Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. This is no passing and idle word, but truth and fact, and the assertion is verified by the position to which these qualities have raised the state. For in the hour of trial Athens alone among her contemporaries is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses, there are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages, we shall not need the praises of Homer or of any other panegyrist whose poetry may please for the moment<sup>a</sup>, although his representation of the facts will not bear the light of day. For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valour, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. Such is the city for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf.

42.

The praise  
of the city  
is the praise  
of these  
men, for  
they made  
her great

'I have dwelt upon the greatness of Athens because I want to show you that we are contending for a higher prize than those who enjoy none of these privileges, and to establish by manifest proof the merit of these men whom I am now commemorating. Their loftiest praise has

<sup>a</sup> Cp. 1. 10 med, and 21

B C 431  
Ol 87, 2

been already spoken For in magnifying the city I have magnified them, and men like them whose virtues made her glorious And of how few Hellenes can it be said as of them, that their deeds when weighed in the balance have been found equal to their fame<sup>1</sup> Methinks that a death such as theirs has been gives the true measure of a man's worth, it may be the first revelation of his virtues, but is at any rate their final seal For even those who come short in other ways may justly plead the valour with which they have fought for their country, they have blotted out the evil with the good, and have benefited the state more by their public services than they have injured her by their private actions None of these men were enervated by wealth or hesitated to resign the pleasures of life, none of them put off the evil day in the hope, natural to poverty, that a man, though poor, may one day become rich But, deeming that the punishment of their enemies was sweeter than any of these things, and that they could fall in no nobler cause, they determined at the hazard of their lives to be honourably avenged, and to leave the rest They resigned to hope their unknown chance of happiness, but in the face of death they resolved to rely upon themselves alone And when the moment came they were minded to resist and suffer, rather than to fly and save their lives, they ran away from the word of dishonour, but on the battle-field their feet stood fast, and <sup>a</sup>in an instant, at the height of their fortune, they passed away from the scene, not of their fear, but of their glory<sup>a</sup>

II.

Good and  
bad, rich  
and poor  
alike, pre-  
ferred death  
to dis-  
honour

Such was the end of these men, they were worthy of Athens, and the living need not desire to have a more heroic spirit, although they may pray for a less fatal issue The value of such a spirit is not to be expressed in words. Any one can discourse to you for ever about the advantages of a brave defence which you know already

43

Contem-  
plate and  
love Athens,  
and you  
will know  
how to value  
them  
They were

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking *τύχης* with *καιροῦ* 'while for a moment they were in the hands of fortune, at the height, not of terror but of glory, they passed away'

II. But instead of listening to him I would have you day by day fix your eyes upon the greatness of Athens, until you become filled with the love of her, and when you are impressed by the spectacle of her glory, reflect that this empire has been acquired by men who knew their duty and had the courage to do it, who in the hour of conflict had the fear of dishonour always present to them, and who, if ever they failed in an enterprize, would not allow their virtues to be lost to their country, but freely gave their lives to her as the fairest offering which they could present at her feast. The sacrifice which they collectively made was individually repaid to them, for they received again each one for himself a praise which grows not old, and the noblest of all sepulchres—I speak not of that in which their remains are laid, but of that in which their glory survives, and is proclaimed always and on every fitting occasion both in word and deed. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men, not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men. Make them your examples, and, esteeming courage to be freedom and freedom to be happiness, do not weigh too nicely the perils of war. The unfortunate who has no hope of a change for the better has less reason to throw away his life than the prosperous who, if he survive, is always liable to a change for the worse, and to whom any accidental fall makes the most serious difference. To a man of spirit, cowardice and disaster coming together are far more bitter than death striking him unperceived at a time when he is full of courage and animated by the general hope.

44. 'Wherefore I do not now commiserate the parents of the dead who stand here, I would rather comfort them. You know that your life has been passed amid manifold vicissitudes, and that they may be deemed fortunate who have gained most honour, whether an honourable

united in  
their deaths,  
but their  
glory is  
separate  
and single  
Their se-  
pulchre is  
the remem-  
brance of  
them in the  
hearts of  
men. Fol-  
low their  
example  
without  
fear it is  
the pros-  
perous, not  
the unfor-  
tunate, who  
should be  
reckless

B C 431  
Ol 87, 2

The parents  
of the dead  
are to be  
comforted  
rather than  
pitied

B C 431  
Ol 87, 2

death like theirs, or an honourable sorrow like yours, II  
and whose days have been so ordered that the term of  
their happiness is likewise the term of their life. I know  
how hard it is to make you feel this, when the good fortune  
of others will too often remind you of the gladness  
which once lightened your hearts. And sorrow is felt  
at the want of those blessings, not which a man never  
knew, but which were a part of his life before they were  
taken from him. Some of you are of an age at which  
they may hope to have other children, and they ought to  
bear their sorrow better, not only will the children who  
may hereafter be born make them forget their own lost  
ones, but the city will be doubly a gainer. She will not  
be left desolate, and she will be safer. For a man's  
counsel cannot have equal weight or worth, when he  
alone has no children to risk in the general danger. To  
those of you who have passed their prime, I say "Con-  
gratulate yourselves that you have been happy during  
the greater part of your days, remember that your life of  
sorrow will not last long, and be comforted by the glory  
of those who are gone. For the love of honour alone  
is ever young, and not riches, as some say, but honour  
is the delight of men when they are old and useless"

Some of  
them may  
yet have  
children  
who will  
lighten their  
sorrow  
and serve  
the state,  
while others  
should re-  
member  
how large  
their share  
of happi-  
ness has  
been, and  
be consoled  
by the glory  
of those who  
are gone

'To you who are the sons and brothers of the departed, 45  
I see that the struggle to emulate them will be an  
arduous one. For all men praise the dead, and, how-  
ever pre-eminent your virtue may be, hardly will you  
be thought, I do not say to equal, but even to approach  
them. The living have their rivals and detractors, but  
when a man is out of the way, the honour and good-will  
which he receives is unalloyed. And, if I am to speak  
of womanly virtues to those of you who will henceforth  
be widows, let me sum them up in one short admonition.  
To a woman not to show more weakness than is natural  
to her sex is a great glory and not to be talked about for  
good or for evil among men.

Sons and  
brothers  
will find  
their ex-  
ample hard  
to imitate,  
for men are  
jealous of  
the living,  
but envy  
follows not  
the dead.  
Let the  
widows re-  
strain their  
natural  
weakness,  
and avoid  
both praise  
and blame

'I have paid the required tribute in obedience to the 46.  
law, making use of such fitting words as I had. The

So have I  
paid a due

II tribute of deeds has been paid in part, for the dead <sup>B C 431</sup>  
 have been honourably interred, and it remains only that <sup>Ol 87, 2</sup>  
 their children should be maintained at the public charge  
 until they are grown up this is the solid prize with  
 which, as with a garland, Athens crowns her sons living  
 and dead, after a struggle like theirs For where the  
 rewards of virtue are greatest, there the noblest citizens are  
 enlisted in the service of the state And now, when you  
 have duly lamented, every one his own dead, you may  
 depart'

47 Such was the order of the funeral celebrated in this  
 winter, with the end of which ended the first year of the  
 Peloponnesian War. As soon as summer returned, the <sup>B C 430</sup>  
 Peloponnesian army, comprising as before two-thirds of <sup>Ol 87, 3</sup>  
 the force of each confederate state, under the command  
 of the Lacedaemonian king Archidamus, the son of  
 Zeuxidamus, invaded Attica, where they established  
 themselves and ravaged the country They had not  
 been there many days when the plague broke out at  
 Athens for the first time A similar disorder is said  
 to have previously smitten many places, particularly  
 Lemnos, but there is no record of such a pestilence  
 occurring elsewhere, or of so great a destruction of  
 human life For a while physicians, in ignorance of  
 the nature of the disease, sought to apply remedies, but  
 it was in vain, and they themselves were among the  
 first victims, because they oftenest came into contact  
 with it No human art was of any avail, and as to  
 supplications in temples, enquiries of oracles, and the  
 like, they were utterly useless, and at last men were  
 overpowered by the calamity and gave them all up.

48. The disease is said to have begun south of Egypt in  
 Aethiopia; thence it descended into Egypt and Libya,  
 and after spreading over the greater part of the Persian  
 empire, suddenly fell upon Athens It first attacked  
 the inhabitants of the Piraeus, and it was supposed  
 that the Peloponnesians had poisoned the cisterns, no  
 conduits having as yet been made there. It afterwards

tribute of  
 words to the  
 dead The  
 city will pay  
 them in  
 deeds, as  
 by this fune-  
 rial, so too  
 by the main-  
 tenance of  
 their chil-  
 dren

Second in-  
 vasion of  
 Attica,  
 outbreak  
 of the  
 plague,

which com-  
 menced in  
 Aethiopia  
 The origin  
 and causes  
 of it are  
 unknown,  
 but I shall  
 confine my-  
 self to the

BC 430 reached the upper city, and then the mortality became II  
 Ol 87, 3 far greater As to its probable origin or the causes facts I was  
 which might or could have produced such a disturbance myself a  
 of nature, every man, whether a physician or not, will sufferer  
 give his own opinion. But I shall describe its actual  
 course, and the symptoms by which any one who knows  
 them beforehand may recognise the disorder should it  
 ever reappear For I was myself attacked, and witnessed  
 the sufferings of others

The season was admitted to have been remarkably free 49.  
 from ordinary sickness, and if anybody was already ill The cha-  
 of any other disease, it was absorbed in this racteristics  
 Many who of the  
 were in perfect health, all in a moment, and without any disease  
 apparent reason, were seized with violent heats in the  
 head and with redness and inflammation of the eyes  
 Internally the throat and the tongue were quickly suffused  
 with blood, and the breath became unnatural and fetid  
 There followed sneezing and hoarseness, in a short time  
 the disorder, accompanied by a violent cough, reached  
 the chest, then fastening lower down, it would move the  
 stomach and bring on all the vomits of bile to which  
 physicians have ever given names, and they were very  
 distressing An ineffectual retching producing violent  
 convulsions attacked most of the sufferers, <sup>a</sup>some as soon  
 as the previous symptoms had abated, others not until long  
 afterwards<sup>a</sup> The body externally was not so very hot to  
 the touch, nor yet pale, it was of a livid colour inclining  
 to red, and breaking out in pustules and ulcers But the  
 internal fever was intense, the sufferers could not bear to  
 have on them even the finest linen garment, they insisted  
 on being naked, and there was nothing which they longed  
 for more eagerly than to throw themselves into cold  
 water And many of those who had no one to look after  
 them actually plunged into the cisterns, for they were  
 tormented by unceasing thirst, which was not in the  
 least assuaged whether they drank little or much They

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking *λωφίσαντα* with *σπασμόν* 'these convulsions in some cases soon abated, in others not until long afterwards'

- II. could not sleep, a restlessness which was intolerable B C 430  
Ol 87, 3  
never left them. While the disease was at its height the body, instead of wasting away, held out amid these sufferings in a marvellous manner, and either they died on the seventh or ninth day, not of weakness, for their strength was not exhausted, but of internal fever, which was the end of most, or, if they survived, then the disease descended into the bowels and there produced violent ulceration, severe diarrhoea at the same time set in, and at a later stage caused exhaustion, which finally with few exceptions carried them off. For the disorder which had originally settled in the head passed gradually through the whole body, and, if a person got over the worst, would often seize the extremities and leave its mark, attacking the privy parts and the fingers and the toes, and some escaped with the loss of these, some with the loss of their eyes. Some again had no sooner recovered than they were seized with a forgetfulness of all things and knew neither themselves nor their friends.

50. The malady took a form not to be described, and the fury with which it fastened upon each sufferer was too much for human nature to endure. There was one circumstance in particular which distinguished it from ordinary diseases. The birds and animals which feed on human flesh, although so many bodies were lying unburied, either never came near them, or died if they touched them. This was proved by a remarkable disappearance of the birds of prey, who were not to be seen either about the bodies or anywhere else, while in the case of the dogs the fact was even more obvious, because they live with man.

51. Such was the general nature of the disease. I omit many strange peculiarities which characterised individual cases. None of the ordinary sicknesses attacked any one while it lasted, or, if they did, they ended in the plague. Some of the sufferers died from want of care, others equally who were receiving the greatest attention. No single remedy could be deemed a specific, for that

Even the  
animals and  
birds of  
prey refused  
to touch the  
corpses

Nothing  
availed  
against the  
disease

B C 430  
Ol 87, 3

which did good to one did harm to another No constitution was of itself strong enough to resist or weak enough to escape the attacks, the disease carried off all alike and defied every mode of treatment. Most appalling was the despondency which seized upon any one who felt himself sickening, for he instantly abandoned his mind to despair and, instead of holding out, absolutely threw away his chance of life. Appalling too was the rapidity with which men caught the infection, dying like sheep if they attended on one another, and this was the principal cause of mortality. When they were afraid to visit one another, the sufferers died in their solitude, so that many houses were empty because there had been no one left to take care of the sick, or if they ventured they perished, especially those who aspired to heroism. For they went to see their friends without thought of themselves and were ashamed to leave them, even at a time when the very relations of the dying were at last growing weary and ceased to make lamentations, overwhelmed by the vastness of the calamity. But whatever instances there may have been of such devotion, more often the sick and the dying were tended by the pitying care of those who had recovered, because they knew the course of the disease and were themselves free from apprehension. For no one was ever attacked a second time, or not with a fatal result. All men congratulated them, and they themselves, in the excess of their joy at the moment, had an innocent fancy that they could not die of any other sickness.

II.  
Rapidity with which the infection spread. None could visit the sick with impunity except those who had already been attacked and had recovered.

The crowding of the people out of the country into the city aggravated the misery, and the newly-arrived suffered most. For, having no houses of their own, but inhabiting in the height of summer stifling huts, the mortality among them was dreadful, and they perished in wild disorder. <sup>a</sup>The dead lay as they had died, one upon another, while others hardly alive wallowed<sup>a</sup> in the

52

The misery aggravated by the overcrowding of the city

<sup>a</sup> More literally 'They, dying, lay dead one upon another, or wallowed hardly alive' etc



II streets and crawled about every fountain craving for water. The temples in which they lodged were full of the corpses of those who died in them, for the violence of the calamity was such that men, not knowing where to turn, grew reckless of all law, human and divine. The customs which had hitherto been observed at funerals were universally violated, and they buried their dead each one as best he could. Many, having no proper appliances, because the deaths in their household had been so frequent, made no scruple of using the burial-place of others. When one man had raised a funeral pile, others would come, and throwing on their dead first, set fire to it, or when some other corpse was already burning, before they could be stopped would throw their own dead upon it and depart.

General violation of ancient customs of burial

53.

All legal and religious restraint disappears in the terror of the plague

There were other and worse forms of lawlessness which the plague introduced at Athens. Men who had hitherto concealed their indulgence in pleasure now grew bolder. For, seeing the sudden change,—how the rich died in a moment, and those who had nothing immediately inherited their property,—they reflected that life and riches were alike transitory, and they resolved to enjoy themselves while they could, and to think only of pleasure. Who would be willing to sacrifice himself to the law of honour when he knew not whether he would ever live to be held in honour? The pleasure of the moment and any sort of thing which conduced to it took the place both of honour and of expediency. No fear of God or law of man deterred a criminal. Those who saw all perishing alike, thought that the worship or neglect of the Gods made no difference. For offences against human law no punishment was to be feared, no one would live long enough to be called to account. Already a far heavier sentence had been passed and was hanging over a man's head; before that fell, why should he not take a little pleasure?

54.

Such was the grievous calamity which now afflicted the Athenians, within the walls their people were dying, and without, their country was being ravaged. In their

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B C 430  
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troubles they naturally called to mind a verse which the elder men among them declared to have been current long ago — II.

‘A Dorian war will come and a plague with it’

There was a dispute about the precise expression, some saying that *limos*, a famine, and not *loimos*, a plague, was the original word. Nevertheless, as might have been expected, for men’s memories reflected their sufferings, the argument in favour of *loimos* prevailed at the time. But if ever in future years another Dorian war arises which happens to be accompanied by a famine, they will probably repeat the verse in the other form. The answer of the oracle to the Lacedaemonians when the God was asked ‘whether they should go to war or not,’ and he replied ‘that if they fought with all their might, they would conquer, and that he himself would take their part<sup>a</sup>,’ was not forgotten by those who had heard of it, and they quite imagined that they were witnessing the fulfilment of his words. The disease certainly did set in immediately after the invasion of the Peloponnesians, and did not spread into Peloponnesus in any degree worth speaking of, while Athens felt its ravages most severely, and next to Athens the places which were most populous. Such was the history of the plague<sup>b</sup>.

Dispute about an ancient oracle whether *limos* or *loimos* was the word

After the Peloponnesians had wasted the plain they entered what are called the coast lands (*Paralus*) and penetrated as far as Laurium, where the Athenians have their silver mines. First they ravaged that part of the coast which looks towards Peloponnesus, and afterwards that situated towards Euboea and Andros. But Pericles, who was still general, continued to insist, as in the former invasion, that the Athenians should remain within their walls. 55.

The Peloponnesians at Laurium Pericles still restrains the people from going out, but sends a hundred ships to ravage Peloponnesus

Before, however, the Peloponnesians had left the plain and moved forward into the coast lands he had begun to equip an expedition of a hundred ships against Peloponnesus. When all was ready he put to sea, having on 56.

<sup>a</sup> Cp I 118 fin.

<sup>b</sup> Cp III 87.

- II. board four thousand Athenian hoplites and three hundred cavalry conveyed in horse transports which the Athenians then constructed for the first time out of their old ships. The Chians and Lesbians joined them with fifty vessels. The expedition did not actually put to sea until the Peloponnesians had reached the coast lands. Arriving at Epidaurius in Peloponnesus the Athenians devastated most of the country and attacked the city, which at one time they were in hopes of taking, but did not quite succeed. Setting sail again they ravaged the territory of Troezen, Halæis, and Hermionè, which are all places on the coast of Peloponnesus. Again putting off they came to Prasias, a small town on the coast of Laconia, ravaged the country, and took and destroyed the place. They then returned home and found that the Peloponnesians had also returned and were no longer in Attica.

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Ol 87, 3.

57. All the time during which the Peloponnesians remained in the country and the armament of the Athenians continued at sea the plague was raging both among the troops and in the city. The fear which it inspired was said to have induced the enemy to leave Attica sooner than they intended, for they heard from deserters that the disease was in the city, and likewise saw the burning of the dead. Still in this invasion the whole country was ravaged by them, and they remained about forty days, which was the longest stay they ever made.

The Peloponnesians leave Attica after a stay of forty days

58. In the same summer, Hagnon the son of Nicias, and Cleopompus the son of Cleinias, who were colleagues of Pericles in his military command, took the fleet which he had employed and sailed forthwith against the Thracian Chalcidians and against Potidaea, which still held out. On their arrival they brought engines up to the walls, and tried every means of taking the town. But they did not succeed; nor did the result by any means correspond to the magnitude of their armament; for thither too the plague came and made dreadful havoc among the Athenian troops. Even the soldiers who were previously there and had been in good health

Expedition against Potidaea. The plague breaks out among the troops, and the reinforcements return to Athens

BC 430 caught the infection from the forces under Hagnon. II.  
Ol 87, 3

But the army of Phormio<sup>a</sup> escaped; for he and his sixteen hundred troops had left Chalcidicè. And so Hagnon returned with his fleet to Athens, having lost by the plague out of four thousand hoplites a thousand and fifty men in forty days. But the original armament<sup>b</sup> remained and prosecuted the siege.

After the second Peloponnesian invasion, now that 59.  
Attica had been once more ravaged, and the war and the plague together lay heavy upon the Athenians, a change came over their spirit. They blamed Pericles because he had persuaded them to go to war, declaring that he was the author of their troubles; and they were anxious to come to terms with the Lacedaemonians. Accordingly envoys were despatched to Sparta, but they met with no success. And now, being completely at their wit's end, they turned upon Pericles. He saw that they were exasperated by their misery and were behaving just as he had always anticipated that they would. And so, being still general, he called an assembly, wanting to encourage them and to convert their angry feelings into a gentler and more hopeful mood. At this assembly he came forward and spoke as follows —

'I was expecting this outburst of indignation; the 60  
causes of it are not unknown to me. And I have summoned an assembly that I may remind you of your resolutions and reprove you for your inconsiderate anger against me, and want of fortitude in misfortune. In my judgment it would be better for individuals themselves that the citizens should suffer and the state flourish than that the citizens should flourish and the state suffer. A private man, however successful in his own dealings, if his country perish is involved in her destruction, but if he be an unprosperous citizen of a prosperous city he is much more likely to recover. Seeing then that states can bear the misfortunes of individuals, but individuals cannot bear the misfortunes of the state, let us all stand

The Athenians sue for peace and are rejected. They turn upon Pericles. His defence

Your anger is inconsiderate and unmanly, you forget that the fortunes of the individual depend on those of the state. If you believed that I was wise, loyal, disinterested, when you consented to the war, why should you attack me now?

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 64 med

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1 59, 61 init.

- II. by our country and not do what you are doing now, who because you are stunned by your private calamities are letting go the common hope of safety, and condemning not only me who advised, but yourselves who consented to, the war. Yet I with whom you are so angry venture to say of myself, that I am as capable as any one of devising and explaining a sound policy; and that I am a lover of my country, and incorruptible. Now a man may have a policy which he cannot clearly expound, and then he might as well have none at all, or he may possess both ability and eloquence, but if he is disloyal to his country he cannot, like a true man, speak in her interest, or again he may be unable to resist a bribe, and then all his other good qualities will be sold for money. If, when you determined to go to war, you believed me to have somewhat more of the statesman in me than others, it is not fair that I should now be charged with anything like crime.

61. 'I allow that for men who are in prosperity and free to choose it is great folly to make war. But when they must either submit and at once surrender independence, or strike and be free, then he who shuns and not he who meets the danger is deserving of blame. For my own part, I am the same man and stand where I did. But you are changed, for you have been driven by misfortune to recall the consent which you gave when you were yet unhurt, and to think that my advice was wrong because your own characters are weak. The pain is present and comes home to each of you, but the good is as yet unrealised by any one, and your minds have not the strength to persevere in your resolution, now that a great reverse has overtaken you unawares. Anything which is sudden and unexpected and utterly beyond calculation, such a disaster for instance as this plague coming upon other misfortunes, enthalls the spirit of a man. Nevertheless, being the citizens of a great city and educated in a temper of greatness, you should not succumb to calamities however overwhelming, or daiken

I am not changed, but you are changed by misfortune. Such a change is unbecoming the citizens of Athens; you should forget your sorrows, and think only of the public good.

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Ol 87, 3.

B C 430  
Ol 87. 3

the lustre of your fame. For if men hate the presumption of those who claim a reputation to which they have no right, they equally condemn the faint-heartedness of those who fall below the glory which is their own. You should lose the sense of your private sorrows and lay fast hold of the common good.

II.

‘As to your sufferings in the war, if you fear that they may be very great and after all fruitless, I have shown you already over and over again that such a fear is groundless. If you are still unsatisfied I will indicate <sup>a</sup>one element of your superiority which appears to have escaped you <sup>a</sup>, although it nearly touches your imperial greatness. I too have never mentioned it before, nor would I now, because the claim may seem too arrogant, if I did not see that you are unreasonably depressed. You think that your empire is confined to your allies, but I say that of the two divisions of the world accessible to man, the land and the sea, there is one of which you are absolute masters, and have, or may have, the dominion to any extent which you please. Neither the great King nor any nation on earth can hinder a navy like yours from penetrating whithersoever you choose to sail. When we reflect on this great power, houses and lands, of which the loss seems so dreadful to you, are as nothing. We ought not to be troubled about them or to think much of them in comparison, they are only the garden of the house, the superfluous ornament of wealth, and you may be sure that if we cling to our freedom and preserve that, we shall soon enough recover all the rest. But, if we are the servants of others, we shall be sure to lose not only freedom, but all that freedom gives. And where your ancestors doubly succeeded, you will doubly fail. For their empire was not inherited by them from others but won by the labour of their hands, and by them pre-

62.

Do you fear that your sufferings will be fruitless? I tell you that you are absolute masters of the sea, which is half the world. What are your possessions in comparison with freedom? Keep that, and you will soon regain the rest. Meet your enemies with disdain, as having a rational conviction of your superiority.

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking *ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν* absolutely ‘a consideration which, however obvious, appears to have escaped you.’

Or, again, taking *μεγέθους περί* with *ἐνθυμηθῆναι* ‘one element of your superiority which nearly touches your empire, but of which you never seem to have considered the importance.’

II served and bequeathed to us And surely to be robbed <sup>BC 430</sup>  
 of what you have is a greater disgrace than to fail in <sup>Ol 87, 3</sup>  
 obtaining more. Meet your enemies therefore not only  
 with spirit but with disdain Any coward or fortunate  
 fool may brag and vaunt, but he only is capable of dis-  
 disdain whose conviction that he is stronger than his enemy  
 rests, like our own, on grounds of reason. Courage  
 fighting in a fair field is fortified by the intelligence  
 which looks down upon an enemy, an intelligence re-  
 lying, not on hope, which is the strength of helplessness,  
 but on that surer foresight which is given by reason  
 and observation of facts

63. 'Once more, you are bound to maintain the imperial  
 dignity of your city in which you all take pride, for you  
 should not covet the glory unless you will endure the  
 toil And do not imagine that you are fighting about a  
 simple issue, freedom or slavery, you have an empire to  
 lose, and there is the danger to which the hatred of your  
 imperial rule has exposed you Neither can you resign  
 your power, if, at this crisis, any timorous or inactive  
 spirit is for thus playing the honest man For by this  
 time your empire has become a tyranny which in the  
 opinion of mankind may have been unjustly gained, but  
 which cannot be safely surrendered. The men of whom  
 I was speaking, if they could find followers, would soon  
 ruin a city, and if they were to go and found a state of  
 their own, would equally ruin that. For inaction is  
 secure only when arrayed by the side of activity, nor  
 is it expedient or safe for a sovereign, but only for a  
 subject state, to be a servant

64. 'You must not be led away by the advice of such  
 citizens as these, nor be angry with me, for the resolu-  
 tion in favour of war was your own as much as mine.  
 What if the enemy has come and done what he was  
 certain to do when you refused to yield? What too if  
 the plague followed? That was an unexpected blow,  
 but we might have foreseen all the rest. I am well  
 aware that your hatred of me is aggravated by it. But

Your em-  
 pire is at  
 stake, and  
 it is too late  
 to resign it,  
 for you have  
 already in-  
 curred the  
 hatred of  
 mankind

Nothing  
 has hap-  
 pened, ex-  
 cept the  
 plague, but  
 what we all  
 anticipated  
 when we  
 agreed on  
 war Do  
 not lose  
 the spirit

B C 430  
Ol 87, 3

how unjustly, unless to me you also ascribe the credit of any extraordinary success which may befall you <sup>a</sup>! II.  
The visitations of heaven should be borne with resignation, the sufferings inflicted by an enemy with manliness. This has always been the spirit of Athens, and should not die out in you. Know that our city has the greatest name in all the world because she has never yielded to misfortunes, but has sacrificed more lives and endured severer hardships in war than any other, wherefore also she has the greatest power of any state up to this day, and the memory of her glory will always survive. Even if we should be compelled at last to abate somewhat of our greatness (for all things have their times of growth and decay), yet will the recollection live, that, of all Hellenes, we ruled over the greatest number of Hellenic subjects, that we withstood our enemies, whether single or united, in the most terrible wars, and that we were the inhabitants of a city endowed with every sort of wealth and greatness. The indolent may indeed find fault, but <sup>b</sup> the man of action <sup>b</sup> will seek to rival us, and he who is less fortunate will envy us. To be hateful and offensive has ever been at the time the fate of those who have aspired to empire. But he judges well who accepts unpopularity in a great cause. Hatred does not last long, and, besides the immediate splendour of great actions, the renown of them endures for ever in men's memories. Looking forward to such future glory and present avoidance of dishonour, make an effort now and secure both. Let no herald be sent to the Lacedaemonians, and do not let them know that you are depressed by your sufferings. For the greatest states and the greatest men, when misfortunes come, are the least depressed in spirit and the most resolute in action.'

which has  
made  
Athens  
great, and  
even though  
she fall will  
render her  
glorious for  
all time

By these and similar words Pericles endeavoured to appease the anger of the Athenians against himself, 65.  
<sup>The Athenians follow</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cp. i 140 mit

<sup>b</sup> Or, taking *καὶ αὐτὸς* with *βουλόμενος* 'he who is ambitious like ourselves.'



## II

Pericles' advice, but are not appeased until they have fined him. He soon regains their esteem, and takes the lead of affairs. After his death his wisdom was even better appreciated than during his life. His advice about the war was sound if the Athenians would only have followed it. But they were continually embarking on rash enterprises, and the city was distracted by the struggles of rival demagogues, whereas Pericles had been their natural leader.

and to divert their minds from their terrible situation. <sup>BC 430</sup>  
<sup>Ol 87, 3</sup>  
 In the conduct of public affairs they took his advice, and sent no more embassies to Sparta, they were again eager to prosecute the war. Yet in private they felt their sufferings keenly, the common people had been deprived even of the little which they possessed, while the upper class had lost their estates in the country with all their houses and rich furniture. Worst of all, instead of enjoying peace, they were now at war. The popular indignation was not pacified until they had fined Pericles, but, soon afterwards, with the usual fickleness of the multitude, they elected him general and committed all their affairs to his charge. Their private sorrows were beginning to be less acutely felt, and for a time of public need they thought that there was no man like him. During the peace while he was at the head of affairs he ruled with prudence, under his guidance Athens was safe, and reached the height of her greatness in his time. When the war began he showed that here too he had formed a true estimate of the Athenian power. He survived the commencement of hostilities two years and six months, and, after his death, his foresight was even better appreciated than during his life. For he had told the Athenians that if they would be patient and would attend to their navy, and not seek to enlarge their dominion while the war was going on, nor imperil the existence of the city, they would be victorious, but they did all that he told them not to do, and in matters which seemingly had nothing to do with the war, from motives of private ambition and private interest they adopted a policy which had disastrous effects in respect both of themselves and of their allies, their measures, <sup>a</sup> had they been successful, would only have brought <sup>a</sup> honour and profit to individuals, and, when unsuccessful, crippled the city in the conduct of the war. The reason of the difference was that he, deriving authority from his capacity and acknowledged worth, being also

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'while they continued to succeed, only brought'

B C 430  
Ol 87, 3

a man of transparent integrity, was able to control the multitude in a free spirit; he led them rather than was led by them, for, not seeking power by dishonest arts, he had no need to say pleasant things, but, on the strength of his own high character, could venture to oppose and even to anger them. When he saw them unseasonably elated and arrogant, his words humbled and awed them, and, when they were depressed by groundless fears, he sought to reanimate their confidence. Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen. But his successors were more on an equality with one another, and, each one struggling to be first himself, they were ready to sacrifice the whole conduct of affairs to the whims of the people. Such weakness in a great and imperial city led to many errors, of which the greatest was the Sicilian expedition; not that the Athenians miscalculated their enemy's power, but they themselves, instead of consulting for the interests of the expedition which they had sent out, were occupied in intriguing against one another for the leadership of the democracy<sup>a</sup>, and not only grew remiss in the management of the army, but became embroiled, for the first time, in civil strife. And yet after they had lost in the Sicilian expedition the greater part of their fleet and army, and were distracted by revolution at home, still they held out three years not only against their former enemies, but against the Sicilians who had combined with them, and against most of their own allies who had risen in revolt. Even when Cyrus the son of the King joined in the war and supplied the Peloponnesian fleet with money, they continued to resist, and were at last overthrown, not by their enemies, but by themselves and their own internal dissensions. So that at the time Pericles was more than justified in the conviction at which his foresight had arrived, that the Athenians would win an easy victory over the unaided forces of the Peloponnesians.

II.

Even after the Sicilian disaster they held out against their old enemies and many new ones, and were at last only runned by themselves. So that Pericles was quite right after all.

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 28.

II. During the same summer the Lacedaemonians and their allies sent a fleet of a hundred ships against the island of <sup>B C 430. Ol 87, 3</sup>

The Lacedaemonians attack Zacynthus without result

66. Zacynthus, which lies opposite Elis. The Zacynthians are colonists of the Peloponnesian Achaeans, and were allies of the Athenians. There were on board the fleet a thousand Lacedaemonian hoplites, under the command of Cnemus the Spartan admiral. They disembarked and ravaged the greater part of the country; but as the inhabitants would not come to terms, they sailed away home.

67. Envoys sent from the Peloponnesian cities to the King are detained by Sitalces and given up to the Athenians. They are carried to Athens and put to death.

At the end of the same summer, Aristeus the Corinthian, the Lacedaemonian ambassadors Aneristus Nicolaus and Stratodemus, Timagoras of Tegea, and Pollis of Argos who had no public mission, were on their way to Asia in the hope of persuading the King to give them money and join in the war. They went first of all to Sitalces son of Teies, in Thrace, wishing if possible to detach him from the Athenians, and induce him to lead an army to the relief of Potidaea, which was still blockaded by Athenian forces, they also wanted him to convey them across the Hellespont on their intended journey to Pharnaces, the son of Pharnabazus, who was to send them on to the king. At the time of their arrival two Athenian envoys, Learchus the son of Callimachus, and Ameiniades the son of Philemon, chanced to be at the court of Sitalces, and they entreated his son Sadocus, who had been made an Athenian citizen<sup>a</sup>, to deliver the envoys into their hands, that they might not find their way to the King and so injure a city which was in some degree his own. He consented, and, sending a body of men with Learchus and Ameiniades, before they embarked, as they were on their way through Thrace to the vessel in which they were going to cross the Hellespont, seized them, they were then, in accordance with the orders of Sadocus, handed over to the Athenian envoys, who conveyed them to Athens. On the very day of their arrival the Athenians, fearing that Aristeus, whom they considered to be the cause of all their troubles at Potidaea

<sup>a</sup> Cp ii 29 fin.

BC 430  
Ol 87, 3

and in Chalcidicè, would do them still further mischief if he escaped, put them all to death without trial and without hearing what they wanted to say, they then threw their bodies down precipices. They considered that they had a right to retaliate on the Lacedaemonians, who had begun by treating in the same way the traders of the Athenians and their allies when they caught their vessels off the coast of Peloponnesus. For at the commencement of the war, all whom the Lacedaemonians captured at sea were treated by them as enemies and indiscriminately slaughtered, whether they were allies of the Athenians or neutrals.

II.

About the end of the same summer the Ambraciots, 68.  
with a large Barbarian force which they had called out, made war upon the Amphilochean Argos and upon Amphilocheia. The original cause of their enmity against the Argives was as follows.—The Amphilochean territory had been occupied and the city founded by Amphilocheus the son of Amphiarus, who on returning home after the Trojan War was dissatisfied at the state of Argos. He fixed the site on the shore of the Ambracian Gulf, and called the new city by the name of his native place, it was the greatest city in that region, and its inhabitants were the most powerful community. Many generations afterwards, these Amphilocheians in a time of distress invited their neighbours the Ambraciots to join in the settlement, and from them they first learned the Hellenic language which they now speak, the other Amphilocheians are Barbarians. After a while the Ambraciots drove out the Amphilochean Argives and themselves took possession of the city. The expelled Amphilocheians placed themselves under the protection of the Acarnanians, and both together called in the Athenians, who sent them a fleet of thirty ships under the command of Phormio. When Phormio arrived, they stormed Argos, and sold the Ambraciots into slavery, and the Amphilocheians and Acarnanians dwelt together in the place. The alliance between the Acarnanians and Athenians then first began. The hatred of the Ambraciots towards

The Ambraciots make war without success upon the Amphilochean Argives

II. the Amphilochean Argives commenced with the enslavement of their countrymen, and now when the war offered an opportunity they invaded their territory, accompanied by the Chaonians and some others of the neighbouring Barbarians. They came as far as Argos and made themselves masters of the country, but not being able to take the city by assault they returned, and the several tribes dispersed to their own homes. Such were the events of the summer

69. In the following winter the Athenians sent twenty ships on an expedition round Peloponnesus. These were placed under the command of Phormio, who, stationing himself at Naupactus, guarded the straits and prevented any one from sailing either out of or into Corinth and the Crisaean Gulf. Six other vessels were sent to collect the tribute in Lycia and Caria, they were under the command of Melesander, who was to see that Peloponnesian privateers did not establish themselves in those parts, and damage merchant vessels coming from Phaselis and Phoenicia and all that region. But he, going up the country into Lycia with an army composed of Athenians taken from the crews and of allied troops, was defeated, and himself and a part of his forces slain

70. In the same winter the Potidaeans, who were still blockaded, found themselves unable to hold out, for the Peloponnesian invasions of Attica did not make the Athenians withdraw, and they had no more food. When they had suffered every sort of extremity, even to the eating of human flesh, they entered into communications with the Athenian generals, Xenophon the son of Euripides, Hestiodorus the son of Aristocleides, and Phanomachus the son of Callimachus, to whom the siege had been entrusted. They, seeing that the army was suffering from the exposed situation, and considering that the city had already spent two thousand talents<sup>a</sup> on the siege, accepted the terms proposed. The Potidaeans, with their wives and their children, and likewise the foreign troops<sup>b</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> £480,000

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1. 60

Phormio at Naupactus Melesander sent to collect tribute in Lycia and Caria is defeated and slain

The Potidaeans are compelled by hunger to surrender. The Athenians blame their generals for giving easy terms

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Ol 87.3

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Ol 87, 3

were to come out of the city, the men with one garment, II.  
the women with two, and they were allowed a certain fixed sum of money for their journey. So they came out under a safe-conduct, and went into Chalcidicè, or wherever they could find a home. But the Athenians blamed the generals for coming to terms without their authority, thinking that they could have made the city surrender at discretion. Soon afterwards they sent thither colonists of their own. Such were the events of the winter. And so ended the second year in the Peloponnesian War of which Thucydides wrote the history.

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In the following summer the Peloponnesians and the 7I.  
allies under the command of Archidamus the son of Zeuxidamus, the Lacedaemonian king, instead of invading Attica, made an expedition against Plataea. Expedition of the Peloponnesians under Archidamus against Plataea. There he encamped and was about to ravage the country, when the Plataeans sent envoys to him bearing the following message:—

‘Archidamus, and you Lacedaemonians, in making war upon Plataea you are acting unjustly, and in a manner unworthy of yourselves and of your ancestors. Protest of the Plataeans. You are violating the promise of independence which Pausanias made us after the battle of Plataea. Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus, the Lacedaemonian, when he and such Hellenes as were willing to share the danger with him fought a battle in our land and liberated Hellas from the Persian, offered up sacrifice in the Agora of Plataea to Zeus the God of Freedom, and in the presence of all the confederates then and there restored to the Plataeans their country and city to be henceforth independent, no man was to make unjust war upon them at any time or to seek to enslave them, and if they were attacked, the allies who were present promised that they would defend them to the utmost of their power. These privileges your fathers granted to us as a reward for the courage and devotion which we displayed in that time of danger. But you are acting in an opposite spirit, for you have joined the Thebans, our worst enemies, and have come hither to enslave us. Wherefore, calling to witness the Gods to whom we all then swore, and also

- II. the Gods of your race and the Gods who dwell in our B C 429  
Ol 87, 4 country, we bid you do no harm to the land of Plataea. Do not violate your oaths, but allow the Plataeans to be independent, and to enjoy the rights which Pausanias granted to them'

72. To this appeal Archidamus rejoined —

Archidamus offers peace if they will either join the Lacedaemonian confederacy or remain neutral

'What you say, Plataeans, is just, but your acts should correspond to your words. Enjoy the independence which Pausanias granted to you, and assist us in freeing the other Hellenes who were your sworn confederates in that time of danger and are now in subjection to the Athenians. With a view to the emancipation of them and of the other subject states, this great war has been undertaken and all these preparations made. It would be best for you to join with us, and observe the oaths yourselves which you would have us observe. But if you prefer to be neutral, a course which we have already once proposed to you, retain possession of your lands, and receive both sides in peace, but neither for the purposes of war, and we shall be satisfied.'

The Plataeans reply that they cannot act without the Athenians, and also that they distrust the Thebans

The Plataean ambassadors then returned to the city and reported these words of Archidamus to the people, who made answer that they could not do what they were asked without the sanction of the Athenians, in whose power they had left their wives and children, and that they also feared for the very existence of their state. When the Lacedaemonians were gone the Athenians might come and not allow them to carry out the treaty, or the Thebans, who would be included in the clause requiring them 'to receive both sides,' might again attempt to seize their town. To this Archidamus, wanting to reassure them, made the following answer —

Archidamus then asks them to surrender the city till the end of the war

'Then deliver over your city and houses to the Lacedaemonians, mark the boundaries of your land, and number your fruit-trees and anything else which can be counted. Go yourselves whithersoever you please, while the war lasts, and on the return of peace we will give back to you all that we have received. Until then we

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Ol 87, 4.

will hold your property in trust, and will cultivate your ground, paying you such a rent as will content you ' II.

Upon hearing these words the envoys again returned 73.

into the city, and, after holding a consultation with the people, told Archidamus that they wished first to communicate his proposals to the Athenians, and if they could get their consent they would do as he advised, in the meantime they desired him to make a truce with them, and not to ravage their land. So he made a truce which allowed sufficient time for their ambassadors to return from Athens, and meanwhile he spared their land. The Plataean envoys came to Athens, and after advising with the Athenians they brought back the following message to their fellow-citizens — ' Plataeans, the Athenians say that never at any time since you first became their allies<sup>a</sup> have they suffered any one to do you wrong, and that they will not forsake you now, but will assist you to the utmost of their power, and they conjure you, by the oaths which your fathers swore, not to forsake the Athenian alliance ' The Plataeans, obtaining permission to consult the Athenians, are encouraged by them to resist

When the answer came, the Plataeans resolved not to desert the Athenians, but patiently to look on, if they must, while the Lacedaemonians wasted their country, and to endure the worst. No one was henceforward to leave the town, but answer was to be made from the walls that they could not possibly consent to the Lacedaemonian proposal. King Archidamus, as soon as he received the reply, before proceeding to action, fell to calling upon the Gods and heroes of the country in the following words — 74.

' O ye Gods and heroes who possess the land of Plataea, be our witnesses that our invasion of this land in which our fathers prayed to you before they conquered the Persians, and which you made a field of victory to the Hellenes, has thus far been justified, for the Plataeans first deserted the alliance, and that if we go further we shall be guilty of no crime, for we have again and They reply that they cannot accept the Lacedaemonian proposals Archidamus appeals to the Gods



- II. again made them fair proposals and they have not listened to us. Be gracious to us and grant that the real authors of the iniquity may be punished, and that they may obtain revenge who lawfully seek it' B C 429  
Ol 87, 4

75. After this appeal to the Gods he began military operations. In the first place, the soldiers felled the fruit-trees and surrounded the city with a palisade, that henceforth no one might get out. They then began to raise a mound against it, thinking that with so large an army at work this would be the speediest way of taking the place. So they cut timber from Cithaeron and built on either side of the intended mound a frame of logs placed cross-wise in order that the earth might not scatter. Thither they carried wood, stones, earth, and anything which would fill up the vacant space. They continued raising the mound seventy days and seventy nights without intermission, the army was divided into relays, and one party worked while the other slept and ate. The Lacedaemonian officers who commanded the contingents of the allies stood over them and kept them at work. The Plataeans, seeing the mound rising, constructed a wooden frame, which they set upon the top of their own wall opposite the mound, in this they inserted bricks, which they took from the neighbouring houses, the wood served to strengthen and bind the structure together as it increased in height, they also hung curtains of skins and hides in front, these were designed to protect the wood-work and the workers, and shield them against blazing arrows. The wooden wall rose high, but the mound rose quickly too. Then the Plataeans had a new device,—they made a hole in that part of the wall against which the mound pressed and drew in the earth.

The siege operations begin the Peloponnesians raise a mound, which the Plataeans counteract by raising the height of a part of their wall and by drawing away earth from the mound

76. The Peloponnesians discovered what they were doing, and threw into the gap clay packed in wattles of reed, which would not scatter and give way like the loose earth. Whereupon the Plataeans, baffled in one plan, resorted to another. Calculating the direction, they dug

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a mine from the city to the mound and again drew the earth inward For a long time their assailants did not find them out, and so what the Peloponnesians threw on was of little use, since the mound was always being drawn off below and settling into the vacant space But in spite of all their efforts, the Plataeans were afraid that their numbers would never hold out against so great an army, and they devised yet another expedient They left off working at the great building opposite the mound, and beginning at both ends, where the city wall returned to its original lower height, they built an inner wall projecting inwards in the shape of a crescent, that if the first wall were taken the other might still be defensible The enemy would be obliged to carry the mound right up to it, and as they advanced inwards would have their trouble all over again, and be exposed to missiles on both flanks While the mound was rising the Peloponnesians brought battering engines up to the wall, one which was moved forward on the mound itself shook a great part of the raised building, to the terror of the Plataeans. They brought up others too at other points of the wall But the Plataeans dropped nooses over the ends of these engines and drew them up, they also let down huge beams suspended at each end by long iron chains from two poles leaning on the wall and projecting over it These beams they drew up at right angles to the advancing battering ram, and whenever at any point it was about to attack them they slackened their hold of the chains and let go the beam, which fell with great force and snapped off the head of the ram

II.  
This plan being defeated, the Plataeans build a second line of defence within their old wall in the form of a crescent

By ingenious devices they disable the battering rams of the enemy

At length the Peloponnesians, finding that their engines were useless, and that the new wall was rising opposite to the mound, and perceiving that they could not without more formidable means of attack hope to take the city, made preparations for a blockade But first of all they resolved to try whether, the wind favouring, the place, which was but small, could not be set on fire, they were anxious not to incur the

77  
The Peloponnesians nearly succeed in setting the city on fire.

II. expense of a regular siege, and devised all sorts of plans <sup>B C 429</sup> in order to avoid it. So they brought faggots and <sup>Ol 87, 4</sup> thiew them down from the mound along the space between it and the wall, which was soon filled up when so many hands were at work, then they threw more faggots one upon another into the city as far as they could reach from the top of the mound, and casting in lighted brands with brimstone and pitch, set them all on fire. A flame arose of which the like had never before been made by the hand of man, I am not speaking of fires in the mountains, when the woods have spontaneously blazed up from the action of the wind and mutual attrition. There was a great conflagration, and the Plataeans, who had thus far escaped, were all but destroyed, a considerable part of the town was unapproachable, and if a wind had come on and carried the flame that way, as the enemy hoped, they could not have been saved. It is said that there was also a violent storm of thunder and rain, which quenched the flames and put an end to the danger.

78. The Peloponnesians, having failed in this, as in their former attempts, sent away a part of their army but retained the rest<sup>a</sup>, and dividing the task among the contingents of the several cities, surrounded Plataea with a wall. Trenches, out of which they took clay for the bricks, were formed both on the inner and the outer side of the wall. About the rising of Arcturus<sup>b</sup> all was completed. They then drew off their army, leaving a guard on one half of the wall, while the other half was guarded by the Boeotians, the disbanded troops returned to their homes. The Plataeans had already conveyed to Athens<sup>c</sup> their wives, children, and old men, with the rest of their unserviceable population. Those who remained during the siege were four hundred Plataeans, eighty Athenians, and a hundred and ten women to make bread. These were their exact numbers when the siege began. There

Failing in their attempt, they draw a double wall round the city and retire, leaving a guard of themselves and the Boeotians

<sup>a</sup> Retaining in the text τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀφέντες

<sup>b</sup> i. e. about the middle of September.

<sup>c</sup> 11. 6 fin

B C 429 was no one else, slave or freeman, within the walls. The II.  
Ol 87, 4 blockade of Plataea was now complete

During the same summer, when the corn was in full 79.  
ear, and about the time of the attack on Plataea, the Athenians sent an expedition against the Chalcidians of Thrace and against the Bottiaeans, consisting of two thousand heavy-armed troops of their own and two hundred horsemen under the command of Xenophon the son of Euripides, and two others. They came close up to the Bottian Spartolus and destroyed the crops. They expected that the place would be induced to yield to them by a party within the walls. But the opposite party sent to Olynthus and obtained from thence a garrison, partly composed of hoplites, which sallied out of Spartolus and engaged with the Athenians under the walls of the town. The Chalcidian hoplites and with them certain auxiliaries were defeated and retreated into Spartolus, but their cavalry and light-armed troops had the advantage over those of the Athenians. They were assisted by a few targeteers, who came from the district called Crusis. The engagement was scarcely over when another body of targeteers from Olynthus came up to their aid. Encouraged by the reinforcement and their previous success, and supported by the Chalcidian horse and the newly-arrived troops, the light-armed again attacked the Athenians, who began to fall back upon the two companies which they had left with their baggage as often as the Athenians charged, the enemy retired, but when the Athenians continued their retreat, they pressed upon them and hurled darts at them. The Chalcidian cavalry too rode up, and wherever they pleased charged the Athenians, who now fled utterly disconcerted and were pursued to a considerable distance. At length they escaped to Potidaea, and having recovered their dead under a flag of truce, returned to Athens with the survivors of their army, out of which they had lost four hundred and thirty men and all their generals. The Chalcidians and Bottiaeans, having set up a trophy and

The Athenians attack Spartolus. An engagement takes place, in which they are at first victorious, but Chalcidian reinforcements arriving, the engagement is renewed and they are defeated with loss.

- II. carried off their dead, disbanded and dispersed to their several cities B.C. 429  
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80 In the same summer, not long afterwards, the Ambiacots and Chaonians, designing to subjugate the whole of Acarnania and detach it from the Athenian alliance, persuaded the Lacedaemonians to equip a fleet out of the confederate forces, and to send into that region a thousand hoplites. They said that if the Lacedaemonians would join with them and attack the enemy both by sea and land, the Acarnanians on the sea-coast would be unable to assist the inland tribes, and they might easily conquer Acarnania. Zacynthus and Cephallenia would then fall into their hands, and the Athenian fleet would not so easily sail round Peloponnesus. They might even hope to take Naupactus. The Lacedaemonians agreed, and at once despatched Cnemus, who was still admiral<sup>a</sup>, with the thousand hoplites in a few ships, they ordered the rest of the allied navy to get ready and at once sail to Leucas. The interests of the Ambiacots were zealously supported by Corinth, their mother city. The fleet which was to come from Corinth, Sicyon, and the adjacent places was long in preparation, but the contingent from Leucas, Anactorium, and Ambiacia was soon equipped, and waited at Leucas. Undiscovered by Phormio the commander of the twenty Athenian ships which were keeping guard at Naupactus, Cnemus and his thousand hoplites crossed the sea and began to make preparations for the land expedition. Of Hellenes he had in his army Ambraciots, Leucadians, Anactorians, and the thousand Peloponnesians whom he brought with him,—of Barbarians a thousand Chaonians, who, having no king, were led by Photius and Nicanor, both of the governing family and holding the presidency for a year. With the Chaonians came the Thesprotians, who, like them, have no king. A Molossian and Atintanian force was led by Sabylinthus, the guardian of Tharypas the king, who was still a minor, the Paravaeans were led by

The Ambraciots persuade the Lacedaemonians to send a land and sea force under Cnemus against Acarnania. Disembarking his troops, he is joined by a number of barbarous tribes and marches towards Sinatus.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. II 66.

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Oli 87, 4

their king Oroedus, and were accompanied by a thousand II.  
Orestians placed at the disposal of Oroedus by their king  
Antiochus Perdiccas also, unknown to the Athenians,  
sent a thousand Macedonians, who arrived too late. With  
this army Cnemus, not waiting for the ships from Corinth,  
began his march. They passed through the Aigive  
territory and plundered Limnaea, an unwallled village.  
At length they approached Stratus, which is the largest  
city in Acarnania, thinking that, if they could take it,  
the other places would soon come over to them.

The Acarnanians, seeing that a great army had invaded 81.  
their territory, and that the enemy was threatening them  
by sea as well as by land, did not attempt any united  
action, but guarded their several districts, and sent to  
Phormio for aid. He replied that a fleet of the enemy  
was about to sail from Corinth, and that he could not  
leave Naupactus unguarded. Meanwhile the Peloponne-  
sians and their allies marched in three divisions towards  
Stratus, intending to encamp near and try negotiations;  
if these failed, they would take stronger measures and  
assault the wall. The Chaonians and the other Barba-  
rians advanced in the centre, on the right wing were the  
Leucadians, Anactorians, and their auxiliaries, on the  
left was Cnemus with the Peloponnesians and Ambia-  
ciots. The three divisions were a long way apart, and  
at times not even in sight of one another. The Hellenic  
troops maintained order on the march and kept a look  
out, until at length they found a suitable place in which  
to encamp, the Chaonians, confident in themselves, and  
having a great military reputation in that part of the  
country, would not stop to encamp, but they and the  
other Barbarians rushed on at full speed, hoping to take  
the place by storm and appropriate to themselves the  
glory of the action. The Stratians perceiving their  
approach in time, and thinking that, if they could over-  
come them before the others arrived, the Hellenic forces  
would not be so ready to attack them, set ambuscades  
near the city. When they were quite close, the troops

The Aca-  
nians  
being re-  
fused aid by  
Phormio,  
confine  
themselves  
to the de-  
fence of  
their cities  
Cnemus  
marches on  
Stratus in  
three divi-  
sions  
While the  
Hellenes  
encamp,  
the Chaon-  
ians rush-  
ing forward,  
attempt to  
storm the  
place, but  
fall into an  
ambush  
and are  
routed

- II. came out of the city and from the ambuscades and fell upon them hand to hand. Whereupon the Chaonians were seized with a panic and many of them perished, the other Barbarians, seeing them give way, no longer stood their ground, but took to flight. Neither of the Hellenic divisions knew of the battle, the Chaonians were far in advance of them, and were thought to have hurried on because they wanted to choose a place for their camp. At length the Barbarians in their flight broke in upon their lines, they received them, and the two divisions uniting during that day remained where they were, the men of Stratus not coming to close quarters with them, because the other Acarnanians had not as yet arrived, but slinging at them from a distance and distressing them greatly. For they could not move a step without their armour. Now the Acarnanians are famous for their skill in slinging.

82. When night came on, Cnemus withdrew his army in haste to the river Anapus, which is rather more than nine miles from Stratus, and on the following day carried off his dead under a flag of truce. The people of Oeniadae were friendly and had joined him, to their city therefore he retreated before the Acarnanians had collected their forces. From Oeniadae all the Peloponnesian troops returned home. The Stratians erected a trophy of the battle in which they had defeated the Barbarians.

83. The fleet from Corinth and the other allied cities on the Crisaean Gulf, which was intended to support Cnemus and to prevent the Acarnanians on the sea-coast from assisting their friends in the interior of the country, never arrived, but was compelled, almost on the day of the battle of Stratus, to fight with Phormio and the twenty Athenian ships which were stationed at Naupactus. As they sailed by into the open sea, Phormio was watching them, preferring to make his attack outside the gulf. Now the Corinthians and their allies were not equipped for a naval engagement, but for the conveyance of troops into Acarnania, and they never imagined that

Cnemus withdraws his troops to Oeniadae, whence they are conveyed home

The fleet of the Peloponnesians which was intended to support Cnemus is compelled to engage by Phormio.

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the Athenians with twenty ships would venture to engage their own forty-seven But, as they were coasting along the southern shore, they saw the Athenian fleet following their movements on the northern, they then attempted to cross the sea from Patrae in Achaea to the opposite continent in the direction of Acarnania, when they again observed the enemy bearing down upon them from Chalcis and the mouth of the river Evenus They had previously endeavoured to anchor under cover of night, but had been detected So at last they were compelled to fight in the middle of the channel The ships were commanded by generals of the cities which had furnished them, the Corinthian squadron by Machaon, Isocrates, and Agatharchidas. The Peloponnesians arranged their ships in such a manner as to make the largest possible circle without leaving an inlet, turning their prows outwards and their sterns inwards, within the circle they placed the smaller craft which accompanied them, and five of their swiftest ships that they might be close at hand and row out at whatever point the enemy charged them

Their ships  
form a  
circle

The Athenians ranged their ships in a single line and sailed round and round the Peloponnesian fleet, which they drove into a narrower and narrower space, almost touching as they passed, and leading the crews to suppose that they were on the point of charging But they had been warned by Phormio not to begin until he gave the signal, for he was hoping that the enemy's ships, not having the steadiness of an army on land, would soon fall into disorder and run foul of one another; they would be embarrassed by the small craft, and if the usual morning breeze, for which he continued waiting as he sailed round them, came down from the gulf, they would not be able to keep still for a moment He could attack whenever he pleased, because his ships were better sailers; and he knew that this would be the right time When the breeze began to blow, the ships, which were by this time crowded into a narrow space and were distressed

84  
The Athenians sail round and round till the morning wind rises and throws the enemy's vessels into confusion, when they make their attack and win a complete victory



II at once by the force of the wind and by the small craft <sup>BC 429</sup> which were knocking up against them, fell into confusion, <sup>Ol 87, 4</sup> ship dashed against ship, and they kept pushing one another away with long poles, there were cries of 'keep off' and noisy abuse, so that nothing could be heard either of the word of command or of the coxswains' giving the time, and the difficulty which unpractised rowers had in lifting their oars in a heavy sea made the vessels disobedient to the helm. At that moment Phormio gave the signal, the Athenians, falling upon the enemy, began by sinking one of the admirals' vessels, and then wherever they went made havoc of them, at last such was the disorder that no one any longer thought of resisting, but the whole fleet fled away to Patrae and Dymè in Achaea. The Athenians pursued them, captured twelve ships, and taking on board most of their crews, sailed away to Molycreium. They set up a trophy on Rhium, and having there dedicated a ship to Poseidon, retired to Naupactus. The Peloponnesians likewise, with the remainder of their fleet, proceeded quickly along the coast from Dymè and Patrae to Cyllenè, where the Eleans have their docks. Cnemus with the ships from Leucas, which should have been joined by these, arrived after the battle of Stiatius at Cyllenè.

85. The Lacedaemonians at home now sent to the fleet three commissioners, Timocrates, Brasidas, and Lycophron, to advise Cnemus. He was told that he must contrive to fight again and be more successful, he should not allow a few ships to keep him off the sea. The recent sea-fight had been the first attempt of the Lacedaemonians, and they were quite amazed and could not imagine that their own fleet was so inferior to that of the enemy. They suspected that there had been cowardice, not considering that the Athenians were old sailors and that they were only beginners<sup>a</sup>. So they despatched the commissioners in a rage. On their arrival they and Cnemus sent round to the allied cities for ships, and

The Lacedaemonians send Brasidas and two others to advise Cnemus

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1. 142

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equipped for action those which were on the spot. Phormio likewise sent home messengers to announce the victory, and at the same time to inform the Athenians of the preparations which the enemy were making. He told them to send him immediately as large a reinforcement as possible, for he might have to fight any day. They sent him twenty ships, but ordered the commander of them to go to Crete first; for Nicias of Gortys in Crete, who was the proxenus of the Athenians, had induced them to send a fleet against Cydonia, a hostile town which he promised to reduce. But he really invited them to please the Polichnitæ, who are neighbours of the Cydonians. So the Athenian commander took the ships, went to Crete, and joined the Polichnitæ in ravaging the lands of the Cydonians, there, owing to contrary winds and bad weather, a considerable time was wasted.

II.

The Athenians send reinforcements to Phormio, but order them to go to Crete first.

While the Athenians were detained in Crete the Peloponnesians at Cyllene, equipped for a naval engagement, coasted along to Panormus in Achaia, whither the Peloponnesian army had gone to co-operate with them. Phormio also coasted along to the Molycreian Rhium and anchored outside the gulf with the twenty ships which had fought in the previous engagement. This Rhium was friendly to the Athenians, there is another Rhium on the opposite coast in Peloponnesus, the space between them, which is rather less than a mile, forms the mouth of the Crisaean Gulf. When the Peloponnesians saw that the Athenians had come to anchor, they likewise anchored with seventy-seven ships at the Rhium which is in Achaia, not far from Panormus where their land forces were stationed. For six or seven days the two fleets lay opposite one another, and were busy in practising and getting ready for the engagement—the one resolved not to sail into the open sea, fearing a recurrence of their disaster, the other not to sail into the strait, because the confined space was favourable to their enemies. At length Cnemus, Brasidas, and the other

86.

The Peloponnesians and Phormio take up a position opposite to each other, outside the Crisaean Gulf.

- II. Peloponnesian generals determined to bring on an engagement at once, and not wait until the Athenians too received their reinforcements. So they assembled their soldiers and, seeing that they were generally dispirited at their former defeat and reluctant to fight, encouraged them in the following words —

87. 'The late sea-fight, Peloponnesians, may have made some of you anxious about the one which is impending, but it really affords no just ground for alarm. In that battle we were, as you know, ill-prepared, and our whole expedition had a military and not a naval object. Fortune was in many ways unpropitious to us, and this being our first sea-fight we may possibly have suffered a little from inexperience. The defeat which ensued was not the result of cowardice; nor should the unconquerable quality which is inherent in our minds, and refuses to acknowledge the victory of mere force, be depressed by the accident of the event. For though fortune may sometimes bring disaster, yet the spirit of a brave man is always the same, and while he retains his courage he will never allow inexperience to be an excuse for misbehaviour. And whatever be your own inexperience, it is more than compensated by your superiority in valour. The skill of your enemies which you so greatly dread, if united with courage, may be able in the moment of danger to remember and execute the lesson which it has learned, but without courage no skill can do anything at such a time. For fear makes men forget, and skill which cannot fight is useless. And therefore against their greater skill set your own greater valour, and against the defeat which so alarms you set the fact that you were unprepared. But now you have a larger fleet, this turns the balance in your favour; and you will fight close to a friendly shore under the protection of heavy-armed troops. Victory is generally on the side of those who are more numerous and better equipped. So that we have absolutely no reason for anticipating failure. Even our mistakes will be an additional advantage,

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You are  
terrified by  
our late  
misadventure  
But you  
were then  
unpre-  
pared  
Your  
superior  
courage  
outweighs  
their  
superior  
skill, for  
without  
courage  
skill is  
useless  
We for  
our part  
will arrange  
the attack  
better But  
you must  
all do your  
duty

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because they will be a lesson to us Be of good courage, II.  
then, and let every one of you, pilot or sailor, do his  
own duty and maintain the post assigned to him We  
will order the attack rather better than your old com-  
manders, and so give nobody an excuse for cowardice  
But, if any one should be inclined to waver, he shall be  
punished as he deserves, while the brave shall be honoured  
with the due rewards of their valour'

Such were the words of encouragement addressed to 88.  
the Peloponnesians by their commanders Phormio too, Phormio, seeing his sailors dispirited, assembles and addresses them  
fearing that his sailors might be frightened, and observing  
that they were gathering in knots and were evidently  
apprehensive of the enemy's numbers, resolved to call  
them together and inspire them by a suitable admoni-  
tion. He had always been in the habit of telling them  
and training their minds to believe that no superiority of  
hostile forces could justify them in retreating And it  
had long been a received opinion among the sailors that,  
as Athenians, they were bound to face any number of  
Peloponnesian ships When, however, he found them  
dispirited by the sight which met their eyes, he deter-  
mined to revive their drooping courage, and, having  
assembled them together, he spoke as follows —

'Soldiers, I have summoned you because I see that 89  
you are alarmed at the numbers of the enemy, and I I see that you fear the number of the enemy  
would not have you dismayed when there is nothing to Yet (1) their fleet is only so large because you defeated them before, (2) they boast of their courage, but it is only a courage on land, (3) they go  
fear In the first place, the reason why they have pro-  
vided a fleet so disproportionate is because we have  
defeated them already, and they can see themselves that  
they are no match for us, next, <sup>a</sup> as to the courage which  
they suppose to be native to them and which is the  
ground of their confidence when they attack us <sup>a</sup>, that  
reliance is merely inspired by the success which their  
experience on land usually gives them, and will, as they  
fancy, equally ensure them by sea. But the superiority

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking the antecedent to  $\phi$  as supplied by the clause  $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}$   $\delta\iota'$   $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron$   $\tau\iota$   $\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$  ..  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\gamma\epsilon\varsigma$  'as to the ground of the confidence with which they attack us as if courage were native to them'

II. which we allow to them on land we may justly claim BC 429  
OI 87, 4  
 unwillingly to battle, for (4) they believe that your very disproportion shows your superiority I will not, if possible, sail into the gulf, where the confined space would baffle your skill. Do you keep your presence of mind, for the maritime supremacy of Athens is at stake  
 for ourselves at sea, for in courage at least we are their equals, and the superior confidence of either of us is really based upon greater experience. The Lacedaemonians lead the allies for their own honour and glory; the majority of them are dragged into battle against their will, if they were not compelled they would never have ventured after so great a defeat to fight again at sea. So that you need not fear their valour, they are far more afraid of you and with better reason, not only because you have already defeated them, but because they cannot believe that you would oppose them at all if you did not mean to do something worthy of that great victory. <sup>a</sup>For most men when, like these Peloponnesians, they are a match for their enemies <sup>1</sup> rely more upon their strength than upon their courage, but those who go into battle against far superior numbers and under no constraint must be inspired by some extraordinary force of resolution. Our enemies are well aware of this, and are more afraid of our surprising boldness than they would be if our forces were less out of proportion to their own. Many an army before now has been overthrown by smaller numbers owing to want of experience, some too through cowardice, and from both these faults we are certainly free. If I can help I shall not give battle in the gulf, or even sail into it. For I know that where a few vessels which are skilfully handled and are better sailers engage with a larger number which are badly managed the confined space is a disadvantage. Unless the captain of a ship see his enemy a good way off he cannot come on or strike properly, nor can he retreat when he is pressed hard. The manœuvres suited to fast-sailing vessels, such as breaking of the line or returning to the charge, cannot be practised in a narrow space. The sea-fight must of necessity be reduced to a land-fight <sup>b</sup> in which numbers tell. For all this I shall do my

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'For men who, like these Peloponnesians, are numerically superior to the enemy whom they face.'

<sup>b</sup> Cp. vii, 62

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best to provide Do you meanwhile keep order and remain close to your ships. Be prompt in taking your instructions, for the enemy is near at hand and watching us In the moment of action remember the value of silence and order, which are always important in war, especially at sea Repel the enemy in a spirit worthy of your former exploits. There is much at stake, for you will either destroy the rising hope of the Peloponnesian navy, or bring home to Athens the fear of losing the sea Once more I remind you that you have beaten most of the enemy's fleet already, and, once defeated, men do not meet the same dangers with their old spirit' Thus did Phormio encourage his sailors

II.

The Peloponnesians, when they found that the Athenians would not enter the straits or the gulf, determined to draw them in against their will So they weighed anchor early in the morning, and, ranging their ships four deep, stood in towards the gulf <sup>90.</sup> along their own coast<sup>a</sup>, keeping the order in which they were anchored The right wing, consisting of twenty of their fastest vessels, took the lead These were intended to close upon the Athenians and prevent them from eluding their attack and getting beyond the wing in case Phormio, apprehending an attack upon Naupactus, should sail along shore to its aid He, when he saw them weighing anchor, was alarmed, as they anticipated, for the safety of the town, which was undefended. Against his will and in great haste he embarked and sailed along for the shore, the land forces of the Messenians followed. The Peloponnesians, seeing that the enemy were in single file and were already within the gulf and close to land, which was exactly what they wanted, at a given signal suddenly brought their ships round, and the whole line faced the Athenians and bore down upon them, every ship rowing at the utmost speed, for they hoped

The Peloponnesians by a feigned attack on Naupactus draw the Athenians into the gulf, and, suddenly turning upon them, drive most of their vessels upon shore  
Bravery of the Messenians

<sup>a</sup> Reading *παρά* for *ἐπί* with the Laurentian and three other MSS. Or, adopting the conjecture *ἐκείνων* for *ἐαυτῶν* 'making for the enemy's shore, and' etc.

- II. to cut off all the Athenian fleet Eleven vessels which B C 429  
Ol. 87, 4  
were in advance evaded the sudden turn of the Peloponnesians, and rowed past their right wing into the open water, but they caught the rest, forced them aground, and disabled them. All the sailors who did not swim out of them were slain. Some of the empty ships they fastened to their own and began to tow away, one they had already taken with the crew, but others were saved by the Messenians, who came to the rescue, dashed armed as they were into the sea, boarded them, and, fighting from their decks when they were being already towed away, finally recovered them.

91. While in this part of the engagement the Lacedaemonians had the victory and routed the Athenian ships, their twenty vessels on the right wing were pursuing the eleven of the Athenians which had escaped from their attack into the open water of the gulf. These fled and, with the exception of one, arrived at Naupactus before their pursuers. They stopped off the temple of Apollo, and, turning their beaks outward, prepared to defend themselves in case the enemy followed them to the land. The Peloponnesians soon came up, they were singing a paean of victory as they rowed, and one Leucadian ship far in advance of the rest was chasing the single Athenian ship which had been left behind. There chanced to be anchored in the deep water a merchant vessel, round which the Athenian ship rowed just in time, struck the Leucadian amidships, and sank her. At this sudden and unexpected feat the Peloponnesians were dismayed, they had been carrying on the pursuit in disorder because of their superiority. And some of them, dropping the blades of their oars, halted, intending to await the rest, which was a foolish thing to do when the enemy were so near and ready to attack them. Others, not knowing the coast, ran aground.

92. When the Athenians saw what was going on their hopes revived, and at a given signal they charged their enemies with a shout. The Lacedaemonians did not

The Lacedaemonians chase the eleven Athenian ships, which had escaped, to Naupactus. One of these by a sudden turn sinks her pursuer.

The Athenians, taking ad-

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long resist, for they had made mistakes and were all in confusion, but fled to Panormus, whence they had put to sea. The Athenians pursued them, took six of their ships which were nearest to them, and recovered their own ships which the Peloponnesians had originally disabled and taken in tow near the shore. The crews of the captured vessels were either slain or made prisoners. Timocrates the Lacedaemonian<sup>a</sup> was on board the Leucadian ship which went down near the merchant vessel, when he saw the ship sinking he killed himself, the body was carried into the harbour of Naupactus. The Athenians then retired and raised a trophy on the place from which they had just sailed out to their victory. They took up the bodies and wrecks which were floating near their own shore, and gave back to the enemy, under a flag of truce, those which belonged to them. The Lacedaemonians also set up a trophy of the victory which they had gained over the ships destroyed by them near the shore, the single ship which they took they dedicated on the Achaean Rhium, close to the trophy. Then, fearing the arrival of the Athenian reinforcements, they sailed away under cover of night to the Crisaean Gulf and to Corinth, all with the exception of the Leucadians. And not long after their retreat the twenty Athenian ships from Crete, which ought to have come to the assistance of Phormio before the battle, arrived at Naupactus. So the summer ended.

II

vantage of  
the confu-  
sion, turn  
upon the  
enemy and  
gain a  
complete  
victory

At the beginning of winter, Cnemus, Brasidas, and the other Peloponnesian commanders, on the suggestion of some Megarians, before the fleet which had returned to Corinth and the Crisaean Gulf dispersed, determined to make an attempt on Piraeus, the harbour of Athens. The entrance was unclosed and unguarded, as was natural, since the Athenians were complete masters of the sea. Each sailor was to carry his cushion and his oar with its thong, and cross on foot with all haste from

93.

The Peloponnesians determine to make an attempt on the Piraeus, but losing heart, only sail to Salamis and ravage the island

<sup>a</sup> Cp II 85 init.



- II Count to the Athenian side of the Isthmus, they were to go to Megara and from Nisaea, the harbour of Megara, to launch forty ships which happened to be lying in the docks, thence they were to sail straight for the Piræus. No guard ships were stationed there, for no one ever expected <sup>a</sup> that the enemy would attempt a surprise of this kind. As to an open and deliberate attack, how was he likely to venture on that? and if he even entertained such a design, would he not have been found out in time?<sup>b</sup> The plan was immediately carried out. Arriving at night, they launched the ships from Nisaea and sailed away, but not to the Piræus, the danger seemed too great, and also the wind is said to have been unfavourable. So they gave up their original idea and made for the projecting point of Salamis which looks towards Megara, here there was a fort, and three ships were stationed in order to prevent anything being conveyed by sea into or out of Megara. This fort they assailed, towed away the ships without their crews, and ravaged the rest of Salamis which was unprepared for their attack.

94  
Temporary  
panic at  
Athens  
Relief is  
immedi-  
ately sent  
to Salamis,  
and the  
Pelopon-  
nesians  
retire

By this time fire-signals had carried the alarm to Athens. Nothing which had happened in the war caused a greater panic. The inhabitants of the city thought that the enemy had already sailed into the Piræus, the belief in the Piræus was that Salamis had been taken and that the enemy were on the point of sailing into the harbour, which, if they had been bolder, they might easily have done, and no wind would have prevented them. But as soon as day dawned, the Athenians, coming down with the whole strength of the city to the Piræus, launched their ships and, embarking in tumultuous haste, sailed to Salamis, while their land-forces remained and guarded the Piræus. When the Peloponnesians saw the fleet coming they sailed quickly back to Nisaea, but not

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking *ἐπεί* differently, and *καθ' ἡσυχίαν* in the sense of 'without interference' 'that the enemy would make a sudden attack of this kind. An attempt so bold and open was not likely to be unopposed, or the very design, if entertained, to escape detection.'

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until they had ravaged the greater part of Salamis and taken many prisoneis and much spoil, as well as the three ships which lay off the fort of Budorum There was some apprehension about their own ships, for they had long been lain up and were not sea-worthy. Arriving at Megara they marched back again to Corinth, and the Athenians having failed to overtake them in Salamis, sailed back likewise Henceforth they kept more careful watch over the Piraeus, among other precautions closing the entrance to the harbour

II

About the same time, at the beginning of winter, 95. Sitalces the Odrysian, the son of Teres, king of Thrace, made war upon Perdiccas, the son of Alexander, king of Macedon, and upon the Thracian Chalcidians There were two promises, of which he wished to perform one, and exact fulfilment of the other The promise of which he claimed fulfilment had been made to him by Perdiccas, when, being hard pressed at the beginning of the war, he wanted Sitalces to reconcile him to the Athenians<sup>a</sup>, and not to restore and place on the throne his brother Philip, who was his enemy, but Perdiccas did not keep his word. The other was a promise which Sitalces had himself made to the Athenians when he entered into alliance with them, that he would put an end to the Chalcidian war For these two reasons he invaded the country, taking with him Amyntas the son of Philip, whom he intended to make king of Macedon, and also certain Athenian envoys who had just come to remind him of his engagement, and the Athenian commander Hagnon. For the Athenians on their part were bound to assist him against the Chalcidians with ships and with as large an army as they could provide.

Sitalces  
king of  
Thrace,  
in alliance  
with  
Athens,  
attacks Per-  
diccas and  
the Thra-  
cian Chal-  
cidians

Accordingly Sitalces, beginning with the Odrysae, 96. made a levy of all his Thracian subjects dwelling between Mount Haemus and Mount Rhodope as far as the shores of the Euxine and of the Hellespont Beyond

The forces  
of Sitalces.

<sup>a</sup> The reconciliation had been effected through the instrumentality of Nymphodorus, II 29.

- II. the Haemus he made a levy of the Getae and of all the nations lying towards the Euxine on this side of the Ister. Now the Getae and their neighbours border on the Scythians, and are equipped like them, for they are all horse-archers. He also summoned to his standard many of the highland Thracians, who are independent and carry daks, they are called Diu, and most of them inhabit Mount Rhodopè; of these some were attracted by pay, while others came as volunteers. He further called out the Agrianians, the Laeaeans, and the other Paconian nations who were his subjects. These tribes were the last within his empire, they extended as far as the Graean Paconians and the river Strymon, which rises in Mount Scombrus and flows through the country of the Graeaeans and Laeaeans, there his dominion ended and the independent Paconians began. In the direction of the Triballi, who are likewise independent, the Treies and the Tilatacans formed his boundary. These tribes dwell to the north of Mount Scombrus and reach westward as far as the Oscius. This river rises in the same mountains as the Nestus and the Hebrius, a wild and extensive range which adjoins Rhodopè.

97. The empire of the Odrysae measured by the coast-line reaches from the city of Abdera to the mouth of the Ister in the Euxine. The voyage round can be made by a merchant vessel, if the wind is favourable the whole way, at the quickest in four days and as many nights. Or an expeditious traveller going by land from Abdera to the mouth of the Ister, if he takes the shortest route, will accomplish the journey in eleven days. Such was the extent of the Odrysian empire towards the sea. up the country the land journey from Byzantium to the Laeaeans and to the Strymon, this being the longest line which can be drawn from the sea into the interior, may be accomplished by an expeditious traveller in thirteen days. The tribute which was collected from the Hellenic cities and from all the barbarous nations in the reign of Seuthes, the successor of Sitalces, under whom

Extent  
and wealth  
of the  
Odrysian  
empire

B.C. 429  
O.I. 87, 4

B C 429  
O1 87, 4

the amount was greatest, was valued at about four hundred talents of coined money<sup>a</sup>, reckoning only gold and silver. Presents of gold and silver equal in value to the tribute, besides stuffs embroidered or plain and other articles, were also brought, not only to the king himself, but to the inferior chiefs and nobles of the Odrysae. For their custom was the opposite of that which prevailed in the Persian kingdom, they were more ready to receive than to give, and he who asked and was refused was not so much discredited as he who refused when he was asked. The same custom prevailed among the other Thracians in a less degree, but among the Odrysae, who were richer, more extensively, nothing could be done without presents. By these means the kingdom became very powerful, and in revenue and general prosperity exceeded all the nations of Europe which lie between the Ionian Sea and the Euxine, in the size and strength of their army being second only, though far inferior, to the Scythians. For if the Scythians were united, there is no nation which could compare with them, or would be capable of resisting them<sup>b</sup>, I do not say in Europe, but even in Asia—not that they are at all on a level with other nations in sense, or in that intelligence which uses to advantage the ordinary means of life.

II.

Such was the great country over which Sitalces ruled. When he had collected his army and his preparations were complete he marched into Macedonia, passing first of all through his own territory, and then through Cercinè, a desert mountain which lies between the Sinti and the Paeonians. He went by the road which he had himself constructed when he made his expedition against the Paeonians and cut down the forest. As he left the Odrysian territory in going through the mountain he had on the right hand the Paeonians and on the left hand the Sinti and Maedi, on quitting the mountain he arrived at Doberus in Paeonia. He lost no part of his army on the march, except by sickness, but rather

98.

Sitalces  
and his  
army enter  
Macedonia

<sup>a</sup> £96,000.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. Herod. iv 46.

- II. increased it, for many of the independent Thracian tribes followed him of their own accord in hopes of plunder. The whole number of his forces was estimated at a hundred and fifty thousand, of which about two-thirds were infantry and the rest cavalry. The largest part of the cavalry was furnished by the Odrysae themselves, and the next largest by the Getae. Of the infantry, those armed with dirks who came from the independent tribes of Mount Rhodopè were the most warlike. The remainder of the army was a mixed multitude, chiefly formidable from its numbers.

99. Having mustered at Doberus, they made ready to descend over the heights into the plains of Macedonia, which were the territory of Perdiccas. There is an upper Macedonia, which is inhabited by Lyncestians, Elimots, and other tribes, these are the allies and tributaries of the lower Macedonians, but have kings of their own. The maritime country which we now call Macedonia was conquered and formed into a kingdom by Alexander the father of Perdiccas and his ancestors the Temenidae, who originally came from Aigosa. They defeated and drove out of Pieria the Pierians, who afterwards settled in Phagres and other places at the foot of Mount Pangaeus, beyond the Strymon, the land which lies under Mount Pangaeus towards the sea is still called the Pierian vale. They also drove out of Bottia, as it is called, the Bottiaeans, who are now the neighbours of the Chalcidians, and they acquired a narrow strip of Paeonia by the river Axius, reaching down to Pella and the sea. Beyond the Axius they possess the country called Mygdonia reaching to the Strymon, out of which they have driven the Edonians. They expelled from the country still called Eordia the Eordians, of whom the greater part perished, but a small remnant of them settled in the neighbourhood of Physca, and from Almopia the Almopians. They and their subjects further subdued and still hold various places

Early history of the Macedonian kingdom

B C 429  
O I 87, 4

B C 429  
O I 87, 4

belonging to other tribes, Anthemus, Grestonia, Bisaltia, II  
and a great part of the original Macedonia But the  
whole of this country is now called Macedonia, and was  
under the rule of Perdiccas the son of Alexander at  
the time of the invasion of Sitalces.

The Macedonians were unable to defend themselves 100  
against the onset of such a vast host, they therefore  
retired into their strongholds and forts, which at that  
time were few For those which now exist were built  
by Archelaus the son of Perdiccas, who, when he became  
king, made straight roads and in various ways improved  
the country In his force of cavalry and infantry and in  
his military resources generally he surpassed all the  
eight kings who preceded him

The Macedonians  
retire into  
their strong-  
holds  
Their  
cavalry  
oppose the  
invaders,  
but are  
compelled  
by their  
inferiority  
of numbers  
to desist

The Thracian army leaving Doberus, invaded first of  
all the country which had formerly been the principality  
of Philip, and took Eidomenè by storm Goitynia, Ata-  
lantè, and some other towns came to terms out of regard  
for Amyntas the son of Philip, who accompanied the  
expedition They also besieged but failed to take  
Europus, they next advanced into that part of Mace-  
donia which lay on the left of Pella and Cyrrhus  
Farther south into Bottiaca and Picria they did not  
penetrate, but were content to ravage the territory of  
Mygdonia, Grestonia, and Anthemus The Macedonians  
had no idea of facing them with infantry, but sent for  
additional cavalry from their allies in the upper part of  
the country, and, although a handful of men, dashed in  
amongst the great Thracian host wherever they pleased  
No one withstood their onset, for they were excellent  
horsemen and well protected with coats of mail But  
hemmed in as they continually were by a multitude  
many times their own number, they ran into great danger  
At last, feeling that they were not strong enough to  
encounter such superiority of force, they desisted.

Sitalces now held a conference with Perdiccas touching 101  
the matters which gave occasion to the war The fleet  
which the Athenians had promised never arrived, for

Sitalces  
holds a  
conference

II not believing that Sitalces would come, they only sent <sup>B C 429</sup> gifts and envoys to him <sup>Ol 87, 4</sup> After waiting for them in vain he despatched a part of his army against the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans, and, diving them within their walls, devastated the country While he was encamped in these parts, the Thessalians, who lie towards the south, the Magnesians and other dependants of the Thessalians, and all the Hellenes as far as Thermopylae were afraid that his army would move on them, and took measures of precaution Those independent Thracian tribes to the north beyond the Stymon who dwelt in the plains, namely the Panaeans, Odomantians, Droans, and Der-saeans, were also in great alarm. A belief arose, which spread far and wide among the enemies of Athens, that the Athenians meant to lead their Odysian allies against the rest of Hellas Meanwhile Sitalces overran and ravaged Chalcidicè, Botticè, and Macedonia, but could not effect his objects, and his army being without food and suffering from the winter, he was persuaded by his nephew, who next to himself had the greatest authority, Seuthes the son of Spaidacus<sup>a</sup>, to return home at once Now Peidiccas had secretly gained over Seuthes, promising to give him his sister in marriage, with a portion And so Sitalces and his army, having remained thirty days in all, of which eight were passed among the Chalcidians, returned home in haste Perdiccas in fulfilment of his promise gave his sister Stratonicè in marriage to Seuthes Thus ended the expedition of Sitalces

IO2 During the same winter the Athenian forces at Nau-  
 pactus, after the Peloponnesian fleet had dispersed, made  
 an expedition under the command of Phormio into the  
 centre of Acarnania with four hundred hoplites of their  
 own taken from the fleet<sup>b</sup> and four hundred Messenian  
 hoplites They first coasted along towards Astacus<sup>c</sup>  
 and disembarked From Stratus, Coronta, and other  
 places they expelled those of the inhabitants whom they

The Athenians, under Phormio, make an expedition into Acarnania.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iv 101 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp. ii. 83 int, 92 fin

<sup>c</sup> Cp. ii 30, 33.

B C 429  
Ol 87, 4

distruſted, and reſtoring Cynes the ſon of Theolytus to II.  
Coronta, they returned to their ſhips Oeniadae, of Oeniadae  
which the inhabitants, unlike the reſt of the Acarnanians, was inacceſ-  
ſible, owing to the flood-  
were their perſiſtent enemies, was unapproachable in ing of the  
winter. For the town is in the miſtd of a marſh formed Achelous  
by the river Achelous, which, riſing in Mount Pindus Oppoſite to  
and paſſing firſt through the territory of the Dolopians, lie the  
Agraean, and Amphilocheians, and then through the Echinades,  
Acarnanian plain, at ſome diſtance from its mouth flows islands  
by the city of Stratus and finds an exit into the ſea near formed by  
Oeniadae an expedition in winter is thus rendered the deposits  
impoſſible by the water. Moſt of the islands called of the river  
Echinades are ſituated oppoſite to Oeniadae and cloſe Here Alc-  
to the mouth of the Achelous. The conſequence is that maeon, after  
the river, which is large, is always ſilting up ſome of the the murder  
islands have been already joined to the mainland, and of his  
very likely, at no diſtant period, they may all be joined mother, is  
to it The ſtream is wide and ſtrong and full of mud, ſaid to have  
and the islands are cloſe together and ſerve to connect found a  
the deposits made by the river, not allowing them to home which  
dissolve in the water For, lying irregularly and not was indi-  
one behind the other, they prevent the river from finding cated to  
a ſtraight channel into the ſea Theſe islands are ſmall him by  
and uninhabited The ſtory is that when Alcmaeon the the oracle  
ſon of Amphiaraus was wandering over the earth after of Apollo  
the murder of his mother, he was told by Apollo that  
here he ſhould find a home, the oracle intimating that he  
would never obtain deliverance from his terrors until he  
diſcovered ſome country which was not yet in exiſtence  
and not ſeen by the ſun at the time when he ſlew his  
mother, there he might ſettle, but the reſt of the earth  
was accuſed to him He knew not what to do, until at  
laſt, according to the ſtory, he ſpied the deposit of earth  
made by the Achelous, and he thought that a place  
ſufficient to ſupport life muſt have accumulated in the  
long time during which he had been wandering ſince his  
mother's death There, near Oeniadae, he ſettled, and,  
becoming ruler, left to the country the name of his ſon



II      Acarnan    Such is the tradition which has come down B C 429  
Ol 87, 4  
to us concerning Alcmacon

103      The Athenians under Phormio sailed back from Acarnania to Naupactus, and later at the beginning of spring returned to Athens, bringing with them the ships which they had captured, besides the prisoners of free birth whom they had taken in the naval engagements. They were exchanged man for man. And so the winter ended, and with it the third year in the Peloponnesian War of which Thucydides wrote the history.

The Athenians return to Naupactus, and in the spring sail back to Athens.

## BOOK III

IN the following summer, when the corn was in full III 1  
ear, the Peloponnesians and their allies, under the com-  
mand of Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, the Lace-  
daemonian king, invaded Attica, and encamping wasted  
the country. The Athenian cavalry as usual attacked  
them whenever an opportunity offered, and prevented  
the great body of the light-armed troops from going  
beyond their lines and injuring the lands near the city.  
The invaders remained until their supplies were ex-  
hausted, they were then disbanded, and returned to  
their several homes.

No sooner had the Peloponnesians quitted Attica than 2  
the whole people of Lesbos, with the exception of the  
Methymnaeans, revolted from Athens. They had enter-  
tained the design before the war began, but the Lace-  
daemonians gave them no encouragement. And now  
they were not ready, and were compelled to revolt sooner  
than they had intended. For they were waiting until they  
had completed the work of closing their harbours, raising  
walls, and building ships, and they had not as yet  
received from Pontus the force of archers, the corn and  
the other supplies for which they had sent. But the in-  
habitants of Tenedos, who were not on good terms with  
them, and the Methymnaeans, and individual citizens  
who were of the opposite faction and were proxeni of  
Athens, turned informers and told the Athenians that  
the Mitylenaeans were forcing the other inhabitants of

Third in-  
vasion of  
Attica by  
the Pelo-  
ponnesians

The Les-  
bians, with  
the excep-  
tion of the  
Methym-  
naeans,  
revolt, but  
sooner than  
they had in-  
tended, in-  
formation of  
their plans  
having been  
sent to  
Athens from  
Tenedos,  
Methymna,  
and Mity-  
lenè itself

III the island into Mitylenè, that the preparations which they were pressing forward had been throughout undertaken by them in concert with the Lacedaemonians and with their Boeotian kinsmen, and meant revolt, and that if something were not immediately done, Lesbos would be lost to Athens B.C. 428  
O1 88

3. The Athenians, who were suffering severely from the plague and from the war, of which they had begun to feel the full effects, reflected that it was a serious matter to bring upon themselves a second war with a naval power like Lesbos, whose resources were unimpaired, and so, mainly because they wished that the charges might not be true, they at first refused to listen to them. But, when they had sent envoys to Mitylenè and found that the Mitylenaeans, in spite of remonstrances, continued their preparations and persisted in gathering the inhabitants of the country into the town, they took alarm and determined to be beforehand with them. Without losing a moment, they sent to Lesbos, under the command of Cleippides the son of Demias, and two others, forty ships which had been intended to cruise about Peloponnesus. They had heard that there was a festival of Apollo Maloeis held outside the walls in which the whole population took part, and that if they made haste they might hope to surprise them. The attempt would very likely succeed, but, if not, they might bid the Mitylenaeans give up their fleet and dismantle their walls, and in case they refused they might go to war with them. So the ships sailed; and as there happened to be at Athens ten Mitylenaeon triremes, serving in accordance with the terms of the alliance, the Athenians seized them and threw their crews into prison. But the Mitylenaeans were warned by a messenger from Athens, who crossed to Euboea and went on foot to Geraestus, there he found a merchant vessel just about to sail, he took ship, and arriving at Mitylenè on the third day after he left Athens, announced the coming of the Athenian fleet. Whereupon the Mitylenaeans abstained from

The Athenians determine to surprise Mitylene at a festival, and send Cleippides thither with forty ships. The inhabitants are forewarned

B C 428  
O1 88

going out to the temple of Apollo Maloeis They also III.  
kept good watch about their walls and harbours, and  
barricaded the unfinished works

Soon afterwards the Athenians arrived. The com- 4  
manders of the fleet, seeing that they were foiled, The Mity-  
delivered the message entrusted to them; the city re- lenaeans,  
fused to yield and they commenced hostilities after a  
Taken slight re-  
by surprise, and unprepared for the war which was sistance at  
forced upon them, the Mitylenaeans came out once sea, nego-  
and made a show of fighting a little in front of the tiate an  
harbour, but they were soon driven back by the Athe- armistice  
nian ships, and then they began to parley with the They send  
generals, in the hope of obtaining tolerable terms of envoys  
openly to  
Athens,  
secretly to  
Sparta  
The Athenian generals accepted their proposals, they  
too fearing that they were not strong enough to make  
war against the whole island Having got the armistice,  
the Mitylenaeans sent envoys to Athens, one of them  
was a person who had given information against his  
fellow-citizens, but was now repentant They had a  
faint hope that the Athenians would be induced to  
withdraw their ships and believe in their good inten-  
tions But as they did not really expect to succeed in  
their Athenian mission, they also sent an embassy to  
Lacedaemon, unperceived by the Athenian fleet, which  
was stationed at Malea <sup>a</sup> to the north of the city<sup>a</sup> After  
a troublesome voyage through the open sea, the envoys  
arrived at Lacedaemon and solicited aid for their  
countrymen

The other envoys who had been sent to Athens met 5.  
with no success When they returned, the Mitylenaeans  
and the rest of Lesbos, with the exception of Methymna,  
commenced hostilities, the Methymnaeans, with the Im-  
brians, Lemnians, and a few of the allies, had come to  
the support of the Athenians. The Mitylenaeans with  
The envoys  
return from  
Athens  
without  
success  
A battle  
ensues, in  
which the

<sup>a</sup> Or, to avoid the geographical contradiction (see notes), we may  
take the words with ἀποστέλλουσιν. 'they also sent an embassy  
northward from the city'

## III

Mitylenaeans have the advantage, but they remain inactive, awaiting aid from Peloponnesus

then whole force sallied out against the Athenian camp, <sup>B C 428</sup> and a battle took place, in which they got the better, <sup>OI 88</sup> but they had no confidence in themselves, and, instead of encamping on the field, retired. They then remained quiet, being unwilling to risk an engagement without the additional help which they were expecting from Peloponnesus and elsewhere. For Melcas a Lacedaemonian, and Hermaeondas a Theban, had now arrived at Mitylenè, they had been sent before the revolt, but the Athenian fleet anticipated them, and they sailed in by stealth after the battle in a single trieme. The envoys recommended the Mitylenaeans to send an embassy of their own in another trieme to accompany them on their return to Sparta; which they accordingly did.

## 6

The Athenians blockade Mitylenè by sea

The Athenians, greatly encouraged by the inactivity of their adversaries, summoned their allies, who came all the more readily because they saw that the Lesbians displayed no energy. They then anchored the fleet round the south of the city, and having fortified two camps, one on either side of it, they established a blockade of both the harbours. Thus they excluded the Mitylenaeans from the sea. They likewise held the country in the immediate neighbourhood of their two camps, but the Mitylenaeans and the other Lesbians, who had now taken up arms, were masters of the rest of the island. At Malea the Athenians had, not a camp, but a station for their ships and for their market.

## 7

Asopius with thirty Athenian ships ravages the Laconian coast, and, dismissing eighteen, sails to Oeniadae, which he is unable to capture

Such was the course of the war in Lesbos. In the same summer, and about the same time, the Athenians sent thirty ships to Peloponnesus, they were placed under the command of Asopius, the son of Phormio, for the Acarnanians had desired them to send out a son or relation of Phormio to be their leader. The ships in passing ravaged the coast of Laconia, and then Asopius sent most of them home, but kept twelve, with which he sailed to Naupactus. Next he made a general levy of the Acarnanians and led his forces against Oeniadae, his ships sailing up the river Achelous, while his army ravaged the country

BC 428  
OI 88

by land As the inhabitants refused to yield, he dis- III  
banded his land-forces, but himself sailed to Leucas and He is killed  
in a de-  
scend upon  
Leucas  
made a descent upon Neicum, where he and part of his  
army in returning to their ships were slain by the in-  
habitants, assisted by a few Peloponnesian guards The  
Athenians then put to sea, and received their dead from  
the Leucadians under a flag of truce

The envoys whom the Mitylenaeans had sent out in 8  
their first vessel were told by the Lacedaemonians to The Mityle-  
naean en-  
voys meet  
the allies in  
council at  
Olympia  
Then  
speech  
come to the Olympic festival, in order that the allies,  
as well as themselves, might hear them and determine  
what should be done So they went to Olympia The  
Olympiad was that in which the Rhodian Dorieus was  
conqueror for the second time When the festival was  
over, the allies met in council, and the ambassadors  
spoke as follows —

‘We know, Lacedaemonians and allies, that all Hel- 9.  
lenes entertain a fixed sentiment against those who in There is  
a natural  
feeling  
against  
those who  
desert their  
friends, but  
the friend-  
ship must  
be real  
and equal  
time of war revolt and desert an old alliance Their  
new allies are delighted with them in as far as they  
profit by their aid, but they do not respect them, for  
they deem them traitors to their former friends And  
this opinion is reasonable enough, but only when the  
rebels, and those from whom they sever themselves, are  
naturally united by the same interests and feelings and  
equally matched in power and resources, and when there  
is no reasonable excuse for a revolt But our relation to  
the Athenians was of another sort, and no one should be  
severe upon us for deserting them in the hour of danger  
although we were honoured by them in time of peace.

‘Since an alliance is our object, we will first address 10.  
ourselves to the question of justice and honour. We Before ask-  
ing for your  
alliance, we  
must show  
that we de-  
serve your  
respect  
know that no friendship between man and man, no  
league between city and city, can ever be permanent  
unless the friends or allies have a good opinion of each  
other’s honesty, and are similar in general character.  
For the diversity in men’s minds makes the difference  
in their actions.

## III

We became allies of the Athenians because we wanted to complete the deliverance of Hellas from the Persians. But when we saw the allies, excepting the Chians and ourselves, successively enslaved by them, what wonder that we lost confidence in them!

‘Now our alliance with the Athenians first began when you ceased to take part in the Persian War, and they remained to complete the work. But we were never the allies of the Athenians in their design of subjugating Hellas, we were really the allies of the Hellenes, whom we sought to liberate from the Persians. And while in the exercise of their command they claimed no supremacy, we were very ready to follow them. But our fears began to be aroused when we saw them relaxing their efforts against the Persians and imposing the yoke of their dominion upon the allies, who could not unite and defend themselves, for their interests were too various. And so they were all enslaved, except ourselves and the Chians. We forsooth were independent allies, free men—that was the word—who fought at their side. But, judging from previous examples, how could we any longer have confidence in our leaders? For they had subjugated others to whom, equally with ourselves, their faith was pledged, and how could we who survived expect to be spared if ever they had the power to destroy us?’

## II.

We were an offence to them, but they left us free because (1) our voluntary adherence was a testimony to their character, (2) they wanted to use the strong against the weak, and so isolate us, (3) they feared our navy, (4) we paid court to their demagogues.

‘Had all the allies retained their independence, we should have had better assurance that they would leave us as we were, but when the majority had been subjugated by them, they might naturally be expected to take offence at our footing of equality, they would contrast us who alone maintained this equality with the majority who had submitted to them, they would also observe that in proportion as their strength was increasing, our isolation was increasing too. Mutual fear is the only solid basis of alliance, for he who would break faith is deterred from aggression by the consciousness of inferiority. And why were we left independent? Only because they thought that to gain an empire they must use fair words and win their way by policy and not by violence. On the one hand, our position was a witness to their character. For, having an equal vote with them, we could not be supposed to have fought in their wars

B C 428  
O I 88

B C 428 against our will, but those whom they attacked must III.  
 OI 88 have been in the wrong On the other hand, they were  
 thus enabled to use the powerful against the weak, they  
 thought that they would leave us to the last, when the  
 lesser states were removed, the stronger would fall an  
 easier prey But if they had begun with us while the  
 power of the allies was still intact, and we might have  
 afforded a rallying-point they would not so easily have  
 mastered them Besides, our navy caused them some  
 apprehension, they were afraid that we might join you,  
 or some other great power, and that the union would be  
 dangerous to them For a time, too, we saved ourselves  
 by paying court to the people and to the popular leaders  
 of the day But we were not likely to have survived long,  
 judging by the conduct of the Athenians towards others,  
 if this war had not arisen

‘What trust then could we repose in such a friendship 12.  
 or such a freedom as this? The civility which we showed  
 to one another was at variance with our real feelings It was not  
 They courted us in time of war because they were afraid mutual love  
 of us, and we in time of peace paid a like attention to but mutual  
 them And the faith which is generally assured by fear which  
 mutual good-will had with us no other bond but united us  
 fear, from fear, and not from love, we were constrained We struck  
 to maintain the alliance, and whichever of us first because  
 that he could safely venture would assuredly have been first because  
 the first to break it And therefore if any one imagines we were not  
 that we do wrong in striking first, because they delay on an equal-  
 the blow which we dread, and thinks that we should ity with  
 wait and make quite sure of their intentions, he is mis- them, we  
 taken If we are really on an equality with them, we were always  
 in a position to counteract their designs and imitate hable to be  
 their threatening attitude, how is it consistent with this attacked,  
 equality that we must still be at their mercy? and were  
 The power of attack is always in their hands, and the power therefore at  
 of anticipating attack should always be in ours. their mercy

‘These are the reasons which we have to plead, Lace- 13.  
 daemonians and allies, in defence of our revolt. They



III. are clear enough to prove to our hearers the justice of B C 428

Our revolt, though premature, was not rash, it had a double motive we feared the Athenians and sympathised with Hellas But we look to you for help Now is your opportunity for attacking Athens by sea The battle must be fought in the countries on which Athens depends

our cause, and strong enough to alarm us and drive us to seek some deliverance We have acted from no sudden impulse, long ago, before the war began, we sent envoys to you, and proposed to revolt But we could not, because you refused our request Now, however, when the Boeotians have invited us, we have at once obeyed the call We were intending to make a double severance of ourselves, from the Hellenes and from the Athenians, from the guilt, that is, of oppressing the Hellenes, in concert with the Athenians, instead of aiding in their liberation, and from the ruin which the Athenians were sooner or later sure to bring upon us, unless we anticipated them But the step has been taken hastily and without due preparation, hence you are the more bound to receive us into alliance and to send us speedy help, thereby showing that you are ready to protect those who have claims upon you and to strike a blow at your enemies Never was there such an opportunity before The Athenians are exhausted by pestilence and by a costly war, some of their ships are cruising about your shores, the remainder are threatening us, so that they are not likely to have many to spare if you, in the course of this summer, make a second attack upon them by land and by sea They will not be able to meet you at sea, or, if they do, they will have to withdraw their forces both from Lesbos and from Peloponnesus. And let no one say to himself that he is going to incur a danger which will be his own on behalf of a country which is not his own He may think that Lesbos is a long way off, but he will find that the help which we bring will be very near him. For the war will not be fought in Attica, as might be imagined, but in those countries by which Attica is supported. The revenues of the Athenians are derived from their allies, and, if they subdue us, will be greater than ever, no one will revolt again, and our resources will be added to theirs, and we shall suffer worse things

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Ol 88

than those who have been enslaved already. But, if you assist us heartily, you will gain the alliance of a great naval power, and a navy is your chief want, you will draw away the allies of the Athenians, who will fearlessly come over to you, thus you will more easily overthrow the power of Athens. And you will no longer incur, as in times past, the reproach of deserting those who revolt<sup>a</sup>. If you come forward as their liberators your final triumph will be assured.

‘Do not then for very shame frustrate the hopes which the Hellenes rest on you, or dishonour the name of Olympian Zeus in whose temple we are in a manner suppliants, but be our allies and helpers. Do not betray us—we, the people of Mitylenè, risk our lives alone in the common cause of Hellas—universal will be the benefit which we confer if we succeed, and still more universal the ruin if you are inflexible and we fail. Wherefore prove yourselves worthy of your reputation in Hellas, and be such as we in our fear would have you.’

These were the words of the Mitylenaeans.

The Lacedaemonians and the allies immediately accepted their proposals and took the Lesbians into alliance. The confederates, who were present at Olympia, were told to make ready quickly for another expedition into Attica, and to assemble at the Isthmus, bringing the usual contingent of two-thirds. The Lacedaemonians arrived first, and at once set to work making machines for hauling ships over the Isthmus, from Corinth to the Saronic Gulf. For they intended to attack the Athenians both by sea and land. But although they were energetic themselves, the other allies assembled slowly, they were gathering in their harvest and in no mood for war.

The Athenians, perceiving that the activity of the Lacedaemonians was due to a conviction of their weakness, determined to show them their mistake, and to

III.

I4.

Do not then  
betray us,  
for our  
cause is the  
cause of  
Hellas

I5.

The Mity-  
lenaeans are  
taken into  
alliance,  
and the  
confede-  
rates are  
directed to  
meet at the  
Isthmus,  
but come in  
slowly

I6.

The Lace-  
daemonians  
for the first

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 40 fin ; 1 69.

## III

time pre-  
pare to at-  
tack Attica  
by sea, but  
the Athe-  
nians man  
a hun-  
dred ships,  
and the  
attempt  
is given up

prove that, without moving the fleet from Lesbos, they were fully able to repel this new force which threatened them. They manned a hundred ships, in which they embarked, both metics and citizens<sup>a</sup>, all but the highest class and the Knights, they then set sail, and, after displaying their strength along the shores of the Isthmus, made descents upon the Peloponnesian coast wherever they pleased. The Lacedaemonians were astounded, and thought that the Lesbians had told them what was not true. Their allies too had not yet arrived, and they heard that the Athenians in the thirty ships<sup>b</sup> which had been sent to cruise around Peloponnesus were wasting their country districts, and so, not knowing what else to do, they returned home. However, they afterwards prepared a fleet to go to Lesbos, and ordered the allies to equip forty ships: these they placed under the command of Alcidas, who was to take them out. When the Athenians saw that the Peloponnesians had gone home, they and their fleet of a hundred ships did the same.

## 17

Perfection  
of the Athe-  
nian navy  
at this time  
Great ex-  
penditure  
on the navy  
and the  
siege of  
Potidaea in  
the first  
year of the  
war

At the time when the fleet was at sea, the Athenians had the largest number of ships which they ever had all together, effective and in good trim, although the mere number was as large or even larger at the commencement of the war. For then there were a hundred which guarded Attica, Euboea, and Salamis, and another hundred which were cruising off Peloponnesus<sup>c</sup>, not including the ships employed in blockading Potidaea and at other places; so that in one and the same summer their fleet in all numbered two hundred and fifty. This and the money spent in the war against Potidaea was the chief call upon their treasury. Every one of the hoplites engaged in the siege received two drachmae<sup>d</sup> a-day, one for himself, and one for his servant, the original force amounted to three thousand<sup>e</sup>, and this number was maintained as long as the siege lasted. Sixteen

<sup>a</sup> Cp. i. 143 init

<sup>d</sup> About 15 7d

<sup>b</sup> Cp. iii. 7 init

<sup>c</sup> Cp. ii. 17 fin

<sup>e</sup> Cp. i. 57 fin; 61 init.

BC 428 hundred more came with Phormio, but went away before the end<sup>a</sup> The sailors in the fleet all received the same pay as the soldiers So great was the drain on the resources of the Athenians in the early part of the war, and such was the largest number of ships which they ever manned III.

Ol 88

While the Lacedaemonians were at the Isthmus, the 18. Mitylenaeans and their allies marched against Methymna, which they expected to be betrayed to them, but, making an assault, and finding that they were mistaken, they went off to Antissa, Pyriha, and Eiesus, and, having strengthened the walls of these places and established their interest in them, they quickly returned As soon as they had retired, the Methymnaeans retaliated by making an expedition against Antissa, but the people of Antissa and their auxiliaries sallied out and defeated them with heavy loss, the survivors made a hasty retreat The Athenians heard that the Mitylenaeans were masters of the country, and that their own troops in Lesbos were not sufficient to confine them within the walls. So about the beginning of autumn they sent to Mitylenè, under the command of Paches the son of Epicurus, a thousand Athenian hoplites who handled the oars themselves On arriving, they surrounded the town with a single line of wall, and in some strong places forts were erected which formed part of the wall. Thus Mitylenè was effectually blockaded both by sea and by land

The Mitylenaeans make an unsuccessful attempt upon Methymna The Methymnaeans attack Antissa, but are defeated Reinforcements from Athens arrive under Paches, who blockades Mitylenè by land

The Athenians, being in want of money to carry on 19 the siege, raised among themselves for the first time a property-tax of two hundred talents<sup>b</sup>, and sent out twelve ships to collect tribute among the allies, under the command of Lysicles and four others. He sailed to various places and exacted the tribute, but as he was going up from Myus in Caria, through the plain of the Maeander, he was attacked at the hill of Sandius

The Athenians raise a property-tax, and Lysicles is sent to collect tribute he is killed in Caria

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 64 med, II. 58 med

<sup>b</sup> £48,000

III. by the Carians and the people of Anaea<sup>a</sup>, and, with a <sup>B C 428</sup>  
great part of his army, perished <sup>Ol 88</sup>

20. During the same winter the Plataeans, who were still besieged by the Peloponnesians and Bocotians, began to suffer from the failure of provisions. They had no hope of assistance from Athens and no other chance of deliverance. So they and the Athenians who were shut up with them contrived a plan of forcing their way over the enemy's walls. The idea was suggested by Theaenetus the son of Tolmides, a divine, and Eumolpides the son of Daimachus, one of their generals. At first they were all desirous of joining, but afterwards half of them somehow lost heart, thinking the danger too great, and only two hundred and twenty agreed to persevere. They first made ladders equal in length to the height of the enemy's wall, which they calculated by help of the layers of bricks on the side facing the town, at a place where the wall had accidentally not been plastered. A great many counted at once, and, although some might make mistakes, the calculation would be oftener right than wrong, for they repeated the process again and again, and, the distance not being great, they could see the wall distinctly enough for their purpose. In this manner they ascertained the proper length of the ladders, taking as a measure the thickness of the bricks.

21. The Peloponnesian wall was double, and consisted of an inner circle looking towards Plataea, and an outer intended to guard against an attack from Athens, they were at a distance of about sixteen feet from one another. This interval of sixteen feet was partitioned off into lodgings for the soldiers, by which the two walls were joined together, so that they appeared to form one thick wall with battlements on both sides. At every tenth battlement there were large towers, filling up the space between the walls, and extending both to the inner and outer face, there was no way at the side of the towers, but only through the middle of them.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. III 32 init ; IV 75 med

The Plataeans resolve to break out of Plataea, but only two hundred and twenty persevere. They estimate the height of the enemy's wall by the layers of bricks.

Plan of the Peloponnesian wall

During the night, whenever there was storm and rain, the soldiers left the battlements and kept guard from the towers, which were not far from each other and were covered overhead. Such was the plan of the wall with which Plataea was invested. III.

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When the Plataeans had completed their preparations they took advantage of a night on which there was a storm of wind and rain and no moon, and sallied forth. They were led by the authors of the attempt. First of all they crossed the ditch which surrounded the town, then they went forward to the wall of the enemy. The guard did not discover them, for the night was so dark that they could not be seen, while the clatter of the storm drowned the noise of their approach. They marched a good way apart from each other, that the clashing of their arms might not betray them, and they were lightly equipped, having the right foot bare that they might be less liable to slip in the mud. They now set about scaling the battlements, which they knew to be deserted, choosing a space between two of the towers. Those who carried the ladders went first and placed them against the wall, they were followed by twelve others, armed only with sword and breastplate, under the command of Ammeas the son of Coioebus he was the first to mount, after him came the twelve, six ascending each of the two towers on the right and left. To these succeeded more men lightly armed with short spears, others following who bore their shields, that they might have less difficulty in mounting the wall, the shields were to be handed to them as soon as they were near the enemy. A considerable number had now ascended, when they were discovered by the guards. One of the Plataeans, taking hold of the battlements, threw down a tile which made a noise in falling immediately a shout was raised and the enemy rushed out upon the wall, for in the dark and stormy night they did not know what the alarm meant. At the same time, in order to distract their attention, the Plataeans who were

22.  
The Plataeans sally forth. They are discovered by an accident. Their friends in the city make an attack from the opposite side.

- III. left in the city made a sally against the Peloponnesian wall on the side opposite to the place at which their friends were getting over. The besiegers were in great excitement, but every one remained at his own post, and dared not stir to give assistance, being at a loss to imagine what was happening. The three hundred who were appointed to act in any sudden emergency marched along outside the walls towards the spot from which the cry proceeded, and fire-signals indicating danger were raised towards Thebes. But the Plataeans in the city had numerous counter signals ready on the wall, which they now lighted and held up, thereby hoping to render the signals of the enemy unintelligible, that so the Thebans, misunderstanding the true state of affairs, might not arrive until the men had escaped and were in safety.

23

The Plataeans, protected by parties of men who hold the towers, first get over the wall, they then cross the ditch

Meanwhile the Plataeans were scaling the walls. The first party had mounted, and, killing the sentinels, had gained possession of the towers on either side. Their followers now began to occupy the passages, lest the enemy should come through and fall upon them. Some of them placed ladders upon the wall against the towers, and got up more men. A shower of missiles proceeding both from the upper and lower parts of the towers kept off all assailants. Meanwhile the main body of the Plataeans, who were still below, applied to the wall many ladders at once, and, pushing down the battlements, made their way over through the space between the towers. As each man got to the other side he halted upon the edge of the ditch, whence they shot darts and arrows at any one who came along under the wall and attempted to impede their passage. When they had all passed over, those who had occupied the towers came down, the last of them not without great difficulty, and proceeded towards the ditch. By this time the three hundred were upon them, they had lights, and the Plataeans, standing on the edge of the ditch, saw them all the better out of the darkness, and shot arrows and

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O1 88

B C 428. III.  
OI 88

threw darts at them where their bodies were exposed, they themselves were concealed by the darkness, while the enemy were dazed by their own lights. And so the Plataeans, down to the last man of them all, got safely over the ditch, though with great exertion and only after a hard struggle, for the ice in it was not frozen hard enough to bear, but was half water, as is commonly the case when the wind is from the east and not from the north. And the snow which the east wind brought in the night had greatly swollen the water, so that they<sup>a</sup> could scarcely accomplish the passage<sup>a</sup>. It was the violence of the storm, however, which enabled them to escape at all.

From the ditch the Plataeans, leaving on the right hand the shrine of Androciates, ran all together along the road to Thebes. They made sure that no one would ever suspect them of having fled in the direction of their enemies. On their way they saw the Peloponnesians pursuing them with torches on the road which leads to Athens by Cithaeron and Dryoscephalae. For nearly a mile the Plataeans continued on the Theban road, they then turned off and went by the way up the mountain leading to Erythrae and Hysiae, and so, getting to the hills, they escaped to Athens. Their number was two hundred and twelve<sup>b</sup>, though they had been originally more, for some of them went back to the city and never got over the wall, one who was an archer was taken at the outer ditch. The Peloponnesians at length gave up the pursuit and returned to their lines. But the Plataeans in the city, knowing nothing of what had happened, for those who had turned back had informed them that not one was left alive, sent out a herald at daybreak, wanting to make a truce for the burial of the dead, they then discovered the truth and returned. Thus the Plataeans scaled the wall and escaped.

<sup>a</sup> Taking *ὑπερέχειν* in the sense of 'superare:' or, 'could hardly keep above the surface in crossing.'

<sup>b</sup> Cp III 20 med

24.  
They first  
go towards  
Thebes,  
and then  
strike over  
the moun-  
tains to  
Athens



III. At the end of the same winter Salaethus the Lacedaemonian was despatched in a trireme from Lacedaemon to Mitylenè B C 428  
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25. Salaethus is sent from Lacedaemon to Mitylenè, with the news that help is on the way He sailed to Pyrrha, and thence, proceeding on foot, made his way, by the channel of a torrent at a place where the line of the Athenian wall could be crossed, undiscovered into Mitylenè. He told the government that there was to be an invasion of Attica, and that simultaneously the forty ships which were coming to their assistance would arrive at Lesbos, he himself had been sent in advance to bring the news and take charge of affairs. Whereupon the Mitylenaeans recovered their spirits, and were less disposed to make terms with the Athenians. So the winter ended, and with it the fourth year in the Peloponnesian War of which Thucydides wrote the history.

26. After despatching a fleet under Alcidas to Lesbos, the Peloponnesians invade Attica, causing great distress With the return of summer the Peloponnesians despatched the two and forty ships which they intended for Mitylenè in charge of Alcidas, the Lacedaemonian admiral. They and their allies then invaded Attica, in order that the Athenians, embarrassed both by sea and land, might have their attention distracted from the ships sailing to Mitylenè. Cleomenes led the invasion. He was acting in the place of his nephew, the king Pausanias, son of Pleistoanax, who was still a minor. All the country which they had previously overrun, wherever anything had grown up again, they ravaged afresh, and devastated even those districts which they had hitherto spared. This invasion caused greater distress to the Athenians than any, except the second. For the Peloponnesians, who were daily expecting to hear from Lesbos of some action on the part of the fleet, which they supposed by this time to have crossed the sea, pursued their ravages far and wide. But when none of their expectations were realised, and their food was exhausted, they retired and dispersed to their several cities. B C 427  
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27. Salaethus, despairing Meanwhile the Mitylenaeans, finding as time went on that the ships from Peloponnesus never came, and that

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their provisions had run short, were obliged to make III.  
terms with the Athenians The immediate cause was of help,  
as follows —Salaethus himself began to despair of the arms the  
arrival of the ships, and therefore he put into the hands people, who  
of the common people (who had hitherto been light- turn upon  
armed) shields and spears, intending to lead them out the nobles  
against the Athenians But, having once received arms,  
they would no longer obey their leaders; they gathered  
into knots and insisted that the nobles should bring out  
the corn and let all share alike, if not, they would  
themselves negotiate with the Athenians and surrender  
the city

The magistrates, knowing that they were helpless, and 28.  
that they would be in peril of their lives if they were left The go-  
out of the convention, concluded a general agreement vernment,  
with Paches and his army stipulating that the fate of feeling their  
the Mitylenaeans should be left in the hands of the helplessness,  
Athenians at home They were to receive him and his sur-  
forces into the city, but might send an embassy to render the  
Athens on their own behalf Until the envoys returned, city to  
Paches was not to bind, enslave, or put to death any Paches, on  
Mitylnaeon These were the terms of the capitulation condition  
Nevertheless, when the army entered, those Mityle- that the  
naeans who had been principally concerned with the Athenians  
Lacedaemonians were in an agony of fear, and could at home  
not be satisfied until they had taken refuge at the should de-  
altars Paches raised them up, and promising not to cide on the  
hurt them, deposited them at Tenedos until the Athe- fate of the  
nians should come to a decision He also sent triremes inhabitants  
to Antissa, of which he gained possession, and took such  
other military measures as he deemed best

The forty ships of the Peloponnesians, which should 29.  
have gone at once to Mitylenè, lost time about the The Pelo-  
Peloponnese, and proceeded very leisurely on their voyage ponnesian  
They were not discovered by any ships from Athens, fleet in-  
and arrived safely at Delos, but on touching at Icarus tended for  
and Myconus they heard, too late, that Mitylenè Mitylenè  
taken. Wanting to obtain certain information, they wastes time  
Alcidas, hearing of  
its fall,  
sails to  
Embatum,

III  
and holds  
a council  
Speech of  
Teutiaplus

sailed to Embatum in Eiythrae, which they reached, but not until seven days after the fall of Mitylenè Having now made sure of the fact, they consulted as to what measures should next be taken, and Teutiaplus, an Elean, addressed them as follows —

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30  
Let us  
hurry on to  
Mitylenè  
We shall  
find the  
Athenians  
off their  
guard  
The art of  
the general  
is to sur-  
prise others,  
never to be  
surprised

‘My opinion, Alcidas, and you, my fellow-commanders of the Peloponnesian forces, is that we should attack Mitylenè at once, just as we are, before our arrival is known. In all probability we shall find that men who have recently gained possession of a city will be much off their guard, and entirely so at sea, on which element they do not fear the attack of an enemy, and where our strength at present chiefly lies. Probably too their land forces, in the carelessness of victory, will be scattered up and down among the houses of the city. If we were to fall upon them suddenly by night, with the help of our friends inside, should there be any left, I have no doubt that Mitylenè would be ours. The danger should not deter us, for we should consider that the execution of a military surprise is always dangerous, and that the general who is never taken off his guard himself, and never loses an opportunity of striking at an unguarded foe, will be most likely to succeed in war.’

31.  
It is also  
proposed to  
occupy  
some town,  
and raise a  
revolt in  
Ionia. But  
Alcidas re-  
jects both  
proposi-  
tions. He  
hurries  
home

His words failed to convince Alcidas, whereupon some Ionian exiles and the Lesbians who were on board the fleet<sup>a</sup> recommended that, if this enterprise appeared too hazardous, he should occupy one of the Ionian towns or the Aeolian Cymè. Having thus established their head-quarters in a city, the Peloponnesians might raise the standard of revolt in Ionia. There was a good chance of success, for every one was glad of his arrival, they might cut off a main source of Athenian revenue, and although they themselves would incur expense, for the Athenians would blockade them<sup>b</sup>, the attempt was worth making. Pissuthnes might very likely be persuaded to co-operate. But Alcidas ob-

<sup>a</sup> i. e. the envoys who had been sent to Sparta Cp iii 4 fin, 5 fin

<sup>b</sup> Adopting with Bekker the conjecture ἐφορμούσιν

B C 427  
Ol 88, 2

jected to this proposal equally with the last ; his only III.  
idea was, now that he had failed in saving Mitylenè, to  
get back as fast as he could to Peloponnesus.

Accordingly he sailed from Embatum along the coast, 32.  
touching at Myonnesus in the territory of Teos ; he there The Samian exiles remonstrate with him for his impolicy in slaying the captives whom he had taken  
slew most of the captives whom he had taken on his  
voyage. He then put into harbour at Ephesus, where  
a deputation from the Samians of Anaea<sup>a</sup> came to him.  
They told him that he had an ill manner of liberating  
Hellas, if he put to death men who were not his enemies  
and were not lifting a hand against him, but were allies  
of Athens from necessity : if he went on in this way he  
would convert few of his enemies into friends, and many  
of his friends into enemies. He was convinced by them,  
and allowed such of the Chian prisoners as he had not  
yet put to death and some others to go free. They had  
been easily taken, because, when people saw the ships,  
instead of flying, they came close up to them under the  
idea that they were Athenian, the thought never entered  
into their minds that while the Athenians were masters  
of the sea, Peloponnesian ships would find their way  
across the Aegean to the coast of Ionia.

From Ephesus Alcidas sailed away in haste, or rather 33.  
fled ; for while he was at anchor near Clarus he had been He sails from Ephesus direct for Peloponnesus, having been sighted by the Paralus and Salaminia, and is pursued as far as Patmos by Paches  
sighted by the Athenian sacred vessels, Paralus and  
Salaminia, which happened to be on a voyage from  
Athens. In fear of pursuit he hurried through the  
open sea, determined to stop nowhere, if he could help  
it, until he reached Peloponnesus. News of him and his  
fleet was brought to Paches from the country of Erythrae,  
and indeed kept coming in from all sides. For Ionia not  
being fortified, there was great apprehension lest the  
Peloponnesians, as they sailed along the coast, might  
fall upon the cities and plunder them, even though they  
had no intention of remaining. And the Paralus and  
Salaminia reported that they had themselves seen him  
at Clarus. Paches eagerly gave chase and pursued him

<sup>a</sup> Cp iii 19 fin., iv 75 med

III as far as the island of Patmos, but, seeing that he was no longer within reach, he returned. Not having come up with the fleet of the Peloponnesians upon the open sea, he congratulated himself that they had not been overtaken somewhere near land, where they would have been forced to put in and fortify themselves on shore, and the Athenians would have had the trouble of watching and blockading them.

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34 As he was sailing along the coast on his return he touched at Notium, the port of Colophon. Here some inhabitants of the upper town had taken up their abode, for it had been captured by Itamenes and the Barbarians, who had been invited into the city by a certain local faction. The capture took place about the time of the second invasion of Attica. The refugees who settled in Notium again quarrelled among themselves. The one party, having introduced Arcadian and Barbarian auxiliaries whom they had obtained from Pissuthnes, stationed them in a fortified quarter of the town, the Persian faction from the upper city of Colophon joined them and were living with them. The other party had retired from the city, and being now in exile, called in Paches. He proposed to Hippias, the commander of the Arcadians in the fortress, that they should hold a conference, undertaking, if they could not agree, to put him back in the fort, safe and sound. So he came out, and Paches kept him in custody without fetters. In the meantime he made an attack upon the unsuspecting garrison, took the fortress, and slaughtered all the Arcadians and Barbarians whom he found within. He then conducted Hippias into the fort, according to the agreement, and when he was inside seized him and shot him to death with arrows. He next handed over Notium to the Colophonians, excluding the Persian party. The Athenians afterwards gathered together all the Colophonians who could be found in the neighbouring cities and colonised the place, to which they gave laws like their own, under regular leaders whom they sent out from Athens.

Paches on his return puts in at Notium, the port of Colophon, on the invitation of an anti-Persian faction which had been driven out. He takes the citadel, and treacherously kills the commander Hippias. The Athenians re-establish the Colophonians in Notium.

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On returning to Lesbos, Paches reduced Pyrrha and Eresus, and finding Salaethus, the Lacedaemonian governor, concealed in Mitylenè, sent him to Athens. He also sent thither the Mitylenaeans whom he had deposited in Tenedos, and any others who seemed to have been implicated in the revolt. He then dismissed the greater part of his army, and, by the aid of the remainder, settled as seemed best to him the affairs of Mitylenè and Lesbos. III.

35.  
Salaethus is captured and sent to Athens with the Mitylenaeans rebels

When the captives arrived at Athens the Athenians instantly put Salaethus to death, although he made various offers, and among other things promised to procure the withdrawal of the Peloponnesians from Plataea, which was still blockaded. Concerning the other captives a discussion was held, and in their indignation the Athenians determined to put to death not only the men then at Athens, but all the grown-up citizens of Mitylenè, and to enslave the women and children, the act of the Mitylenaeans appeared inexcusable, because they were not subjects like the other states which had revolted, but free. That Peloponnesian ships should have had the audacity to find their way to Ionia and assist the rebels contributed to increase their fury, and led them to suspect that the revolt <sup>a</sup> was a long premeditated affair <sup>a</sup>. So they sent a trireme to Paches announcing their determination, and bidding him put the Mitylenaeans to death at once. But on the following day a kind of remorse seized them, they began to reflect that a decree which doomed to destruction not only the guilty, but a whole city, was cruel and monstrous. The Mitylenaeans envoys who were at Athens <sup>b</sup> perceived the change of feeling, and they and the Athenians who were in their interest prevailed on the magistrates to bring the question again before the people, this they were the more willing to do, because they saw themselves that the majority of the citizens were anxious to have an opportunity given them of reconsidering their decision.

36.  
The Athenians put Salaethus to death, and order the slaughter of all the grown-up citizens of Mitylenè. On the next day they begin to repent, and the Mitylenaeans envoys persuade the magistrates to call another assembly.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'was part of an extensive scheme.'      <sup>b</sup> Cp III 28 med

III An assembly was again summoned, and different opinions B C 427  
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were expressed by different speakers. In the former assembly, Cleon the son of Cleaenetus had carried the decree condemning the Mitylenaeans to death. He was the most violent of the citizens, and at that time exercised by far the greatest influence over the people.<sup>a</sup> And now he came forward a second time and spoke as follows —

Speech of  
Cleon

37. 'I have remarked again and again that a democracy cannot manage an empire, but never more than now, when I see you regretting your condemnation of the Mitylenaeans. Having no fear or suspicion of one another in daily life<sup>b</sup>, you deal with your allies upon the same principle, and you do not consider that whenever you yield to them out of pity or are misled by their specious tales, you are guilty of a weakness dangerous to yourselves, and receive no thanks from them. You should remember that your empire is a despotism<sup>c</sup> exercised over unwilling subjects, who are always conspiring against you, they do not obey in return for any kindness which you do them to your own injury, but in so far as you are their masters, they have no love of you, but they are held down by force. Besides, what can be more detestable than to be perpetually changing our minds? We forget that a state in which the laws, though imperfect, are unalterable, is better off than one in which the laws are good but powerless<sup>d</sup>. Dulness and modesty are a more useful combination than cleverness and licence, and the more simple sort generally make better citizens than the more astute. For the latter desire to be thought wiser than the laws<sup>e</sup>, they want to be always taking a lead in the discussions of the assembly, they think that they can nowhere have a finer opportunity of speaking their mind<sup>f</sup>, and their folly generally ends in the ruin of their country, whereas the others, mistrusting their own capacity, admit that the laws are wiser than themselves: they do not pretend to

You do not  
know how  
to manage  
an empire,  
you are  
foolishly  
kind to  
your allies,  
who do not  
love you,  
and with  
you quick  
wits are  
always  
changing  
your minds

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 21 med.

<sup>d</sup> Cp. vi. 18 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp i 68 init

<sup>e</sup> Cp i 84 med

<sup>c</sup> Cp ii 63 med

<sup>f</sup> Cp. iii 40 init

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criticise the arguments of a great speaker; and being III.  
impartial judges, not ambitious rivals, they are generally  
in the right That is the spirit in which we should act,  
not suffering ourselves to be so excited by our own  
cleverness in a war of wits as to advise the Athenian  
people contrary to our own better judgment

'I myself think as I did before, and I wonder at those 38.  
who have brought forward the case of the Mitylenaeans  
again, thus interposing a delay which is in the interest  
of the evil-doer For after a time the anger of the  
sufferer waxes dull, and he pursues the offender with  
less keenness, but the vengeance which follows closest  
upon the wrong is most adequate to it and exacts  
the fullest retribution And again I wonder who will  
answer me, and whether he will attempt to show that  
the crimes of the Mitylenaeans are a benefit to us, or  
that when we suffer, our allies suffer with us Clearly  
he must be some one who has such confidence in his  
powers of speech as to contend <sup>a</sup> that you never adopted  
what was most certainly your resolution <sup>a</sup>, or else he  
must be some one who, under the inspiration of a bribe,  
elaborates a sophistical speech in the hope of diverting  
you from the point In such rhetorical contests the  
city gives away the prizes to others, while she takes  
the risk upon herself And you are to blame, for you  
order these contests amiss. When speeches are to be  
heard, you are too fond of using your eyes, but, where  
actions are concerned, you trust your ears, you estimate  
the possibility of future enterprises from the eloquence  
of an orator, but as to accomplished facts, instead of  
accepting ocular demonstration, you believe only what  
ingenious critics tell you <sup>b</sup> No men are better dupes,  
sooner deceived by novel notions, or slower to follow  
approved advice You despise what is familiar, while  
you are worshippers of every new extravagance. Not  
a man of you but would be an orator if he could,

Why is  
their  
punishment  
delayed?  
Will any  
one pretend  
that their  
crimes do  
us good?  
or would  
any one  
speak on  
their behalf  
if he was  
not well  
paid, and  
you were  
not blind  
to facts  
and at the  
mercy of  
every clever  
talker?

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'that what all men believe to be true is absolutely false'

<sup>b</sup> Cp vii 48 med



III when he cannot, he will not yield the palm to a more successful rival he would fain show that he does not let his wits come limping after, but that he can praise a sharp remark before it is well out of another's mouth, he would like to be as quick in anticipating what is said, as he is slow in foreseeing its consequences. You are always hankering after an ideal state, but you do not give your minds even to what is straight before you. In a word, you are at the mercy of your own ears, and sit like spectators attending a performance of sophists, but very unlike counsellors of a state.

39. 'I want you to put aside this trifling, and therefore I say to you that no single city has ever injured us so deeply as Mitylenè. I can excuse those who find our rule too heavy to bear, or who have revolted because the enemy have compelled them. But islanders who had walls, and were unassailable by our enemies, except at sea, and on that element were sufficiently protected by a fleet of their own, who were independent and treated by us with the highest regard, when they act thus they have not revolted (that word would imply that they were oppressed), but they have rebelled, and entering the ranks of our bitterest enemies, have conspired with them to seek our ruin. And surely this is far more atrocious than if they had been led by motives of ambition to take up arms against us on their own account. They learned nothing from the misfortunes of their neighbours who had already revolted and been subdued by us, nor did the happiness of which they were in the enjoyment make them hesitate to court destruction. They trusted recklessly to the future, and cherishing hopes which, if less than their wishes, were greater than their powers, they went to war, preferring might to right. No sooner did they seem likely to win than they set upon us, although we were doing them no wrong. Too swift and sudden a rise is apt to make cities insolent, and in general, ordinary good-fortune is safer than extraordinary. Mankind apparently find it easier

No city has done us so much harm as Mitylenè, none ever had so little reason. Our indulgence has made them insolent. Nobles and people should be punished alike, for they are all equally guilty. If you pardon them your other subjects will be encouraged to revolt, and we must neglect our enemies to fight our own allies.

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to drive away adversity than to retain prosperity We III.  
should from the first have made no difference between  
the Mitylenaeans and the rest of our allies, and then  
their insolence would never have risen to such a height,  
for men naturally despise those who court them, but  
respect those who do not give way to them Yet it is  
not too late to punish them as their crimes deserve  
And do not absolve the people while you throw the  
blame upon the nobles For they were all of one mind  
when we were to be attacked Had the people deserted  
the nobles and come over to us, they might at this  
moment have been reinstated in their city, but they  
considered that their safety lay in sharing the dangers  
of the oligarchy, and therefore they joined in the revolt  
Reflect if you impose the same penalty upon those of  
your allies who wilfully rebel and upon those who are  
constrained by the enemy, which of them will not revolt  
upon any pretext however trivial, seeing that, if he suc-  
ceed, he will be free, and, if he fail, no irreparable evil  
will follow? We in the meantime shall have to risk  
our lives and our fortunes against every one in turn  
When conquerors we shall recover only a ruined city,  
and, for the future, the revenues which are our strength  
will be lost to us<sup>a</sup>. But if we fail, the number of our  
adversaries will be increased And when we ought to  
be employed in repelling our regular enemies, we shall  
be wasting time in fighting against our own allies

‘Do not then hold out a hope, which eloquence can 40.  
secure or money buy, that they are to be excused and  
that their error is to be deemed human and venial. Do not be  
Their attack was not unpremeditated, that might have misled by  
been an excuse for them, but they knew what they were pity, fine  
doing This was my original contention, and I still words, or a  
maintain that you should abide by your former decision, forgiving  
and not be misled either by pity, or by the charm of temper  
words, or by a too forgiving temper If you have  
There are no no right to  
three things more prejudicial to your power rule  
Mercy as they,

<sup>a</sup> Cp iii 46 med

III. should be reserved for the merciful, and not thrown away upon those who will have no compassion on us, and who must by the force of circumstances always be our enemies. And our charming orators will still have an arena<sup>a</sup>, but one in which the questions at stake will not be so grave, and the city will not pay so dearly for her brief pleasure in listening to them, while they for a good speech get a good fee. Lastly, forgiveness is naturally shown to those who, being reconciled, will continue friends, and not to those who will always remain what they were, and will abate nothing of their enmity. In one word, if you do as I say, you will do what is just to the Mitylenaeans, and also what is expedient for yourselves, but, if you take the opposite course, they will not be grateful to you, and you will be self-condemned. For, if they were right in revolting, you must be wrong in maintaining your empire. But if, right or wrong, you are resolved to rule, then rightly or wrongly they must be chastised for your good. Otherwise you must give up your empire, and, when virtue is no longer dangerous, you may be as virtuous as you please. Punish them as they would have punished you, let not those who have escaped appear to have less feeling than those who conspired against them. Consider what might not they have been expected to do if they had conquered?—especially since they were the aggressors. For those who wantonly attack others always rush into extremes, and sometimes, like these Mitylenaeans, to their own destruction. They know the fate which is reserved for them if their enemy is spared<sup>b</sup> when a man is injured without a cause he is more dangerous if he escape than the enemy who has only suffered what he has inflicted<sup>b</sup>. Be true then to yourselves, and recall as vividly as you can what you felt at the time, think how you would

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iii 37 fin

<sup>b</sup> Or, referring the words to the Mitylenaeans 'He who has gone out of his way to bring a calamity upon himself is more dangerous if he be allowed to escape than the enemy who only retaliates'

fearing you  
vengeance,  
would have  
treated you  
You will  
have no  
trouble with  
your allies  
when they  
know that  
rebellion  
will be  
punished  
by death

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have given the world to crush your enemies, and now take your revenge. Do not be soft-hearted at the sight of their distress, but remember the danger which was once hanging over your heads. Chastise them as they deserve, and prove by an example to your other allies that rebellion will be punished with death. If this is made quite clear to them, your attention will no longer be diverted from your enemies by wars against your own allies.'

III.

Such were the words of Cleon, and after him Diodotus the son of Euciates, who in the previous assembly had been the chief opponent of the decree which condemned the Mitylenaeans, came forward again and spoke as follows —

41

Speech of  
Diodotus

'I am far from blaming those who invite us to reconsider our sentence upon the Mitylenaeans, nor do I approve of the censure which has been cast on the practice of deliberating more than once about matters so critical. In my opinion the two things most adverse to good counsel are haste and passion; the former is generally a mark of folly, the latter of vulgarity and narrowness of mind. When a man insists that words ought not to be our guides in action<sup>a</sup>, he is either wanting in sense or wanting in honesty: he is wanting in sense if he does not see that there is no other way in which we can throw light on the unknown future, and he is not honest if, seeking to carry a discreditable measure, and knowing that he cannot speak well in a bad cause, he reflects that he can slander well and terrify his opponents and his audience by the audaciousness of his calumnies. Worst of all are those who, besides other topics of abuse, declare that their opponent is hired to make an eloquent speech. If they accused him of stupidity only, when he failed in producing an impression he might go his way having lost his reputation for sense but not for honesty, whereas he who is accused of dishonesty, even if he succeed, is viewed with

42.

We are right in re-considering the case of the Mitylenaeans. He is foolish, even if he be honest, who would have no deliberation still worse is he who insinuates that his opponent is corrupt, instead of meeting him by fair arguments. The wise city makes room for all, and shows favour to none.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. II 40 med

- III. suspicion, and, if he fail, is thought to be both fool and  
 rogue And so the city suffers, for she is robbed of  
 her counsellors by fear Happy would she be if such  
 citizens could not speak at all, for then the people would  
 not be misled The good citizen should prove his supe-  
 riority as a speaker, not by trying to intimidate those  
 who will follow him in debate, but by fair argument, and  
 the wise city ought not to give increased honour to her  
 best counsellor, any more than she will deprive him of  
 that which he has, while he whose proposal is rejected  
 not only ought to receive no punishment, but should  
 be free from all reproach Then he who succeeds will  
 not say pleasant things contrary to his better judgment  
 in order to gain a still higher place in popular favour,  
 and he who fails will not be striving to attract the mul-  
 titude to himself by like compliances.

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43

But you  
are too  
clever you  
are always  
suspecting  
that a  
speaker has  
some in-  
terested  
motive  
You punish  
the giver of  
bad advice,  
and not  
yourselves  
for follow-  
ing him

‘But we take an opposite course, and still worse  
 Even when we know a man to be giving the wisest  
 counsel, a suspicion of corruption is set on foot, and  
 from a jealousy which is perhaps groundless, we allow  
 the state to lose an undeniable advantage It has come  
 to this, that the best advice when offered in plain terms  
 is as much distrusted as the worst, and not only he who  
 wishes to lead the multitude into the most dangerous  
 courses must deceive them, but he who speaks in the  
 cause of right must make himself believed by lying  
 In this city, and in this city only, to do good openly  
 and without deception is impossible, because you are  
 too clever; and, when a man confers an unmistakeable  
 benefit on you, he is rewarded by a suspicion that, in  
 some underhand manner, he gets more than he gives  
 But, whatever you may suspect<sup>a</sup>, when great interests  
 are at stake, we who advise ought to look further and  
 weigh our words more carefully than you whose vision  
 is limited And you should remember that we are ac-  
 countable for our advice to you, but you who listen  
 are accountable to nobody. If he who gave and he who

<sup>a</sup> Reading ἀξιούντι.

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followed evil counsel suffered equally, you would be more reasonable in your ideas, but now, whenever you meet with a reverse, led away by the passion of the moment you punish the individual who is your adviser for his error of judgment, and your own error you condone, if the judgments of many concurred in it

III.

‘I do not come forward either as an advocate of the Mitylenaeans or as their accuser, the question for us rightly considered is not, what are their crimes? but, what is for our interest? If I prove them ever so guilty, I will not on that account bid you put them to death, unless it is expedient. Neither, if perchance there be some degree of excuse for them, would I have you spare them, unless it be clearly for the good of the state. For I conceive that we are now concerned, not with the present, but with the future. When Cleon insists that the infliction of death will be expedient and will secure you against revolt in time to come, I, like him taking the ground of future expediency, stoutly maintain the contrary position, and I would not have you be misled by the apparent fairness of his proposal, and reject the solid advantages of mine. You are angry with the Mitylenaeans, and the superior justice of his argument may for the moment attract you, but we are not at law with them, and do not want to be told what is just, we are considering a matter of policy, and desire to know how we can turn them to account

The question is one of policy, not of law. Your anger ought not to make you prefer justice to expediency.

‘To many offences less than theirs states have affixed the punishment of death, nevertheless, excited by hope, men still risk their lives. No one when venturing on a perilous enterprise ever yet passed a sentence of failure on himself. And what city when entering on a revolt ever imagined that the power which she had, whether her own or obtained from her allies, did not justify the attempt? All are by nature prone to err both in public and in private life, and no law will prevent them. Men have gone through the whole catalogue of penalties in the hope that, by increasing their severity, they may

44

Experience abundantly proves that the penalty of death is no deterrent. Men, and still more states, are carried away by their passions and by trust in fortune.

45

III suffer less at the hands of evil-doers In early ages <sup>B C 427</sup>  
the punishments, even of the worst offences, would nat- <sup>Ol 88, 2</sup>  
urally be milder, but as time went on and mankind  
continued to transgress, they seldom stopped short of  
death And still there are transgressors Some greater  
terror then has yet to be discovered, certainly death  
deters nobody For poverty inspires necessity with  
daring, and wealth engenders avarice in pride and in-  
solence, and the various conditions of human life, as  
they severally fall under the sway of some mighty and  
fatal power, through the agency of the passions lure  
men to destruction Desire and hope are never wanting,  
the one leading, the other following, the one devising  
the enterprise, the other suggesting that fortune will be  
kind, and they do immense harm, for, being unseen,  
they far outweigh the dangers which are seen Fortune  
too assists the illusion, for she often presents herself un-  
expectedly, and induces states as well as individuals to  
run into peril, however inadequate their means, and  
states even more than individuals, because they are  
throwing for a higher stake, freedom or empire, and  
because when a man has a whole people acting with  
him, 'he exaggerates the importance of his aims' <sup>a</sup> out  
of all reason In a word then, it is impossible, and  
simply absurd to suppose, that human nature when bent  
upon some favourite project can be restrained either by  
the power of law or by any other terror

46 'We ought not therefore to act hastily out of a mistaken  
reliance on the security which the penalty of death affords  
Nor should we drive our rebellious subjects to despair,  
they must not think that there is no place for repentance,  
or that they may not at any moment wipe out their  
offences Consider at present, although a city may  
actually have revolted, when she becomes conscious of  
her weakness she will capitulate while still able to defray  
the cost of the war and to pay tribute for the future,  
but if we are too severe, will not the citizens make better

The threat  
of severe  
punishment  
will make  
rebels fight  
to the last,  
and, if we  
succeed, we  
shall only  
gain a  
ruined city  
Our true  
policy is  
prevention,  
not punish-  
ment.

<sup>a</sup> Or, reading *αὐτόν* 'he magnifies himself'

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preparations, and, when besieged, resist to the last, knowing that it is all the same whether they come to terms early or late<sup>2</sup> Shall not we ourselves suffer<sup>2</sup> For we shall waste our money by sitting down before a city which refuses to surrender, when the place is taken it will be a mere wreck, and we shall in future lose the revenues derived from it<sup>a</sup>, and in these revenues lies our military strength Do not then weigh offences with the severity of a judge, when you will only be injuring yourselves, but have an eye to the future, let the penalties which you impose on rebellious cities be moderate, and then their wealth will be undiminished and at your service Do not hope to find a safeguard in the severity of your laws, but only in the vigilance of your administration. At present we do just the opposite, a free people under a strong government will always revolt in the hope of independence, and when we have put them down we think that they cannot be punished too severely But instead of inflicting extreme penalties on free men who revolt, we should practise extreme vigilance before they revolt, and never allow such a thought to enter their minds When however they have been once put down we ought to extenuate their crimes as much as possible

‘Think of another great error into which you would fall if you listened to Cleon At present the popular party are everywhere our friends, either they do not join with the oligarchs, or, if compelled to do so, they are always ready to turn against the authors of the revolt, and so in going to war with a rebellious state you have the multitude on your side But if you destroy the people of Mitylenè who took no part in the revolt, and who voluntarily surrendered the city as soon as they got arms into their hands, in the first place they were your benefactors, and to slay them would be a crime; in the second place you will play into the hands of the ruling oligarchies, who henceforward, when they can induce a city to revolt, will at once have the people on their side,

III.

47

If you destroy the Mitylenaeans who put their city into your hands, you will show ingratitude and alienate the popular party everywhere Even if they were guilty, it would be more expedient to pardon them

<sup>a</sup> Cp iii 39 fin



III. for you will have proclaimed to all that the innocent and the guilty will share the same fate. Even if they were guilty you should wink at their conduct, and not allow the only friends whom you have left to be convicted into enemies. Far more conducive to the maintenance of our empire would it be to suffer wrong willingly, than for the sake of justice to put to death those whom we had better spare. Cleon may speak of a punishment which is just and also expedient but you will find that, in any proposal like his, the two cannot be combined.

48. 'Assured then that what I advise is for the best, and yielding neither to pity nor to lenity, for I am as unwilling as Cleon can be that you should be influenced by any such motives, but simply weighing the arguments which I have urged, accede to my proposal. Pass sentence at your leisure on the Mitylenaeans whom Paches, deeming them guilty, has sent hither, but leave the rest of the inhabitants where they are. This will be good policy for the future, and will strike present terror into your enemies. For wise counsel is really more formidable to an enemy than the severity of unmeaning violence.'

49. Thus spoke Diodotus, and such were the proposals on either side which most nearly represented the opposing parties. In spite of the reaction there, was a struggle between the two opinions, the show of hands was very near, but the motion of Diodotus prevailed. The Athenians instantly despatched another trieme, hoping that, if the second could overtake the first<sup>a</sup>, which had a start of about twenty-four hours, it might be in time to save the city. The Mitylenaeans provided wine and barley for the crew, and promised them great rewards if they arrived first. And such was their energy that they continued rowing whilst they ate their barley, kneaded with wine and oil, and slept and rowed by turns. Fortunately no adverse wind sprang up, and, the first of the two ships sailing in no great hurry on her untoward errand, and the second hastening as I have described,

<sup>a</sup> Reading *δευτέρας*

Pass sentence at leisure on the prisoners sent hither by Paches, and spare the rest

The motion of Diodotus is just carried. A trieme is despatched, which by great exertions arrives in time to save Mitylenè

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the one did indeed arrive sooner than the other, but not much sooner Paches had read the decree and was about to put it into execution, when the second appeared and arrested the fate of the city

III.

So near was Mitylenè to destruction

The captives whom Paches had sent to Athens as being the most guilty numbered about a thousand, or rather more, these the Athenians, upon the motion of Cleon, put to death They razed the walls of the Mitylnaeans and took away their fleet Then, instead of imposing tribute on them, they divided the whole island, exclusive of the territory of Mcthymna, into three thousand portions, of which they dedicated three hundred to the Gods, the remainder they let out to cleruchi<sup>a</sup> taken from their own citizens, whom they chose by lot and sent to Lesbos The Lesbians undertook to pay them a yearly rent of two minae<sup>b</sup> for each portion and cultivated the land themselves The Athenians also took possession of the towns on the continent which the Mitylnaeans held<sup>c</sup>, and these henceforward were subject to Athens

50  
The captives at Athens are put to death  
The lands of Lesbos are divided among Athenian citizens

Thus ended the revolt of Lesbos

During the same summer, after the recovery of Lesbos, the Athenians, under the command of Nicias the son of Niceratus, made an expedition against the island of Minoa, which lies in front of Megara, the Megarians had built a fort there and used the island as a military station But Nicias wanted the Athenians to keep a watch over Megara, not as hitherto from Budorum in Salamis, but from this spot, which was nearer, the Peloponnesians would then be no longer able to send out triremes, as they had already done on one occasion<sup>d</sup>, or privateers from the harbour unobserved, and nothing could be brought in by sea to Megara First of all he took two projecting towers on the side of

51  
The Athenians under Nicias capture and fortify the island of Minoa

<sup>a</sup> Cleruchi, literally 'portioners,' Athenians who received land in a conquered country, but remained citizens

<sup>b</sup> 8l 2s 6d

<sup>c</sup> Cp iv 52 med

<sup>d</sup> Cp ii 93, 94.

<sup>e</sup> OI, 'two towers projecting from Nisaea'

III the island towards Nisaca<sup>e</sup> by the help of engines from the sea, and, having thus freed a way into the channel dividing Minoa from the coast of Megara, he fortified the point nearest the mainland, where, by a bridge through a lagoon, aid could be brought to the island, lying as it did at that point close to the shore. The work was completed in a few days. Nicias then proceeded to build a fort on the island, and, leaving a garrison, returned with the rest of his army

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52

The Plataeans surrender to the Lacedaemonians, and five men are sent from Sparta to decide their fate. They obtain leave to speak in their own defence

In this summer and about the same time the Plataeans, who had exhausted their food and could no longer hold out, capitulated to the Peloponnesians. The enemy had assaulted their wall and they were unable to defend themselves. But the Lacedaemonian commander knew their weakness, and was desirous that the place should be surrendered and not stormed, he had instructions from home to this effect, the intention being that if some day a treaty of peace were concluded, and both parties agreed to give up all the places which they had taken by force of arms<sup>a</sup>, Plataea might be excepted on the ground that the inhabitants had come to terms of their own accord. So he sent a herald to enquire whether they would surrender the place to the Lacedaemonians and submit to their decision, the guilty were to be punished, but no one without a just cause. The Plataeans, now in the last stage of weakness, surrendered the city, and for a few days, until the five men who were appointed judges came from Lacedaemon, the Peloponnesians supplied them with food. On the arrival of the judges no accusation was brought against them, they were simply asked one by one, Whether they had done any kind of service to the Lacedaemonians or to their allies in the present war. Before making their reply they requested leave to speak at length, and appointed two of their number, Astymachus the son of Asopolaus, and Lacon the son of Aeimnestus, who was the Lacedaemonian proxenus,

<sup>a</sup> Cp v. 17 med

B C 427 to be their advocates They came forward and spoke III  
 Ol 88, 2 as follows —

‘Men of Lacedaemon, we surrendered our city be- 53  
 cause we had confidence in you, we were under the impression that the trial to which we submitted would be legal, and of a very different kind from this, and when we accepted you and you alone to be our judges, which indeed you are, we thought that at your hands we had the best hope of obtaining justice But we fear that we are doubly mistaken, having too much reason to suspect that in this trial our lives are at stake, and that you will turn out to be partial judges So we must infer, because no accusation has been preferred against us calling for a defence, but we speak at our own request, and because your question is a short one, to which the answer, if true, condemns us, and, if false, is exposed at once. In the extremity of our helplessness, our only and our safest course is to say something, whatever may be our fate, for men in our condition are sure to reproach themselves with their silence, and to fancy that the unuttered word, if spoken, would have saved them

We hoped to have a legal trial and to receive justice at your hands, but we are disappointed We now fear that we are to be sacrificed to the Thebans

‘But by what arguments can we ever convince you? If we were unacquainted with one another we might with advantage adduce in evidence matters of which you were ignorant, but now you know all that we can say, and we are afraid, not that we are criminals in your eyes because you have decided that we fall short of your own standard of virtue<sup>a</sup>, but that we are being sacrificed to please others, and that the cause which we plead is already prejudged

‘Still we may urge our claims of justice against our 54  
 Theban enemies, and our claims of gratitude upon you and the other Hellenes, the recollection of our good deeds may perhaps move you To your short question, “Whether in this war we have done any service to the Lacedaemonians and their allies,” we reply that “if we are enemies you are not wronged, because you have received no good from us, and if you deem us friends,

Treat us either as friends or as open enemies Remember our conduct (1) in the Persian War, (2) in the revolt of the Helots

<sup>a</sup> Cp iii. 57 int.

III. you who have made war upon us, and not we, are to blame" During the late peace and in the Persian War our conduct was unreproachable, we were not the first to violate the peace, and we were the only Boeotians who took part in repelling the Persian invader and in the liberation of Hellas. Although we are an inland city, we joined in the sea-fight of Artemisium, we were at your side when you fought in our land under Pausanias, and, whatever dangers the Hellenes underwent in those days, we took a share beyond our strength in all of them. And you, Lacedaemonians, more especially should remember how at the time when Sparta was panic-stricken by the rebellion of the Helots, who seized Ithome after the earthquake<sup>a</sup>, we sent a third part of our own citizens to your aid, these are things not to be forgotten.

55. 'Such was the spirit which animated us in the great days of old, not until later did we become your enemies, and that was originally your own fault. For when we sought your help against the violence of the Thebans, you rejected us and bade us turn to the Athenians, who were near, whereas you were at a distance. Yet even in this war you have neither suffered nor were ever likely to suffer anything very atrocious at our hands. If we refused to revolt from the Athenians at your bidding, we were quite right, for they assisted us against the Thebans when you shrank from the task, and after this it would have been dishonourable to betray them. They had been our benefactors, we had been at our own request admitted to their alliance, and we shared the rights of citizenship with them. How could we refuse to respond loyally to their call? When you or they in the exercise of your supremacy have acted, it may be, wrongly and led your allies into evil courses, the leaders and not the followers are to be blamed.

56. 'The Thebans have inflicted many injuries upon us, and their latest crime, as you are well aware, is the cause of our present misfortunes. They came, not only

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 101

B C 427  
Ol 88, 2

B C 519  
Ol 65, 2

We only left you when you refused to aid us against the Thebans, and told us to go to the Athenians. They helped us then, and how could we abandon them?

The Thebans attacked us

B C 427  
Ol 88, 2

in time of peace, but at a holy season, and attempted III.  
to seize our city, we righteously and in accordance in time of  
with universal law defended ourselves and punished peace  
the aggressor, and there is no reason why we should were we  
now suffer for their satisfaction If you take your own wrong in  
present advantage and their present hatred to be the existing  
measure of justice, you will prove yourselves, not upright them?  
and impartial judges, but the slaves of expediency If we have  
Thebans may appear serviceable now, but of far greater erred at all,  
service to you were we and the other Hellenes when is not the  
you were in far greater danger For now you invade error out-  
and menace others, but in those days the Barbarian was weighed by  
threatening to enslave us all, and they were on his side our former  
May we not fairly set our former patriotism against patriotism?  
present offence, if indeed we have offended? Yet the  
find that the one more than outweighs the other, for same prin-  
our service to you was performed at a time when very ciple on  
few Hellenes opposed their courage to the power of which we  
Xerxes, they were then held in honour, not <sup>a</sup>who, looking acted then,  
to their own advantage, made terms with the invader <sup>a</sup> made us  
and were safe, but who, in the face of danger, dared the refuse to  
better part Of that number were we, and there was leave the  
a time when we received the highest honour at your Athenians  
hands, but now we fear that these same principles, which  
have led us to prefer a just alliance with the Athenians  
to an interested alliance with you, will be our destruc-  
tion And yet the consistency of men's conduct should  
be consistently acknowledged For true expediency is  
only this—to have an enduring sense of gratitude to-  
wards good allies whose virtues are recognised by us,  
while we do not neglect our own immediate interest

‘Consider, before you act, that hitherto you have been 57  
generally esteemed among Hellenes to be a pattern of Remember  
nobility, if you decide unjustly (and this judgment can- your own  
not be hidden, for you, the judges, are famous, and we, reputation  
who are judged by you, are of good repute), mankind do not  
outrage  
Hellenic  
sentiment

<sup>a</sup> Or, reading *αὐτοῖς*, and referring the word to the Persians ‘who, looking to advantage, forwarded the course of the invader’

III will be indignant at the strange and disgraceful sentence B C 427  
Ol 88, 2 which you will have passed against good men (although by allowing Plataea, whose name you fathers inscribed on the Delphian tripod, to be blotted out in order to please the Thebans you may be better yourselves)<sup>a</sup> They will not endure to see spoils taken from us, the benefactors of Hellas, dedicated by our enemies in the common temples Will it not be deemed a monstrous thing that the Lacedaemonians should desolate Plataea, that they, whose fathers inscribed the name of the city on the tripod at Delphi in token of her valour<sup>b</sup>, should for the sake of the Thebans blot out the whole people from the Hellenic world? For to this we have come at last When the Persians conquered our land, we were all but ruined, and now, when we plead before you, who were once our dearest friends, the Thebans have prevailed against us We have had to meet two terrible trials, the danger first of starvation, if we had not given up the city, and secondly, of condemnation to death The Plataeans, who were zealous in the cause of Hellas even beyond their strength, are now friendless, spurned and rejected by all None of our old allies will help us, and we fear that you, O Lacedaemonians, our only hope, are not to be depended upon

58. 'Yet once more for the sake of those Gods in whose name we made a league of old, and for our services to the cause of Hellas, relent and change your minds, if the Thebans have at all influenced you °in return for the wicked request which they make of you, ask of them the righteous boon that you should not slay us to your own dishonour ° Do not bring upon yourselves an evil name merely to gratify others For, although you may quickly take our lives, you will not so easily obliterate the infamy of the deed. We are not enemies whom you might justly punish, but friends who were compelled to go to war with you, and therefore pity

<sup>a</sup> Cp iii 53 fin.

<sup>b</sup> Cp i. 132 init

° Or, 'ask of them the boon that you should not kill those whom you ought not, and receive an honest gratitude from us, instead of a disgraceful gratitude from them'

B C 427  
Ol 88 2

demands that you should spare our lives Before you **III.**  
pass judgment, consider that we surrendered ourselves, the country in which the freedom of Hellas was won?  
and stretched out our hands to you, the custom of  
Hellas does not allow the suppliant to be put to death  
Remember too that we have ever been your benefactors.  
Cast your eyes upon the sepulchres of your fathers slain  
by the Persians and buried in our land, whom we have  
honoured by a yearly public offering of garments, and  
other customary gifts We were their friends, and we  
gave them the firstfruits in their season of that friendly  
land in which they rest, we were their allies too,  
who in times past had fought at their side, and if you  
now pass an unjust sentence, will not your conduct  
strangely contrast with ours? Reflect when Pausanias  
buried them here, he thought that he was laying them  
among friends and in friendly earth But if you put  
us to death, and make Plataea one with Thebes, are you  
not robbing your fathers and kindred of the honour  
which they enjoy, and leaving them in a hostile land in-  
habited by their murderers? Nay more, you enslave the  
land in which the Hellenes won their liberty, you bring  
desolation upon the temples in which they prayed when  
they conquered the Persians, and you take away the  
sacrifices which our fathers instituted from the city  
which ordained and established them.

‘These things, O Lacedaemonians, would not be for **59.**  
your honour. They would be an offence against the  
common feeling of Hellas and against your ancestors  
You should be ashamed to put us to death, who are your  
benefactors and have never done you any wrong, in  
order that you may gratify the enmity of another  
Spare us, and let your heart be softened towards us, be  
wise, and have mercy upon us, considering not only  
how terrible will be our fate, but who the sufferers are,  
think too of the uncertainty of fortune, which may strike  
any one however innocent. We implore you, as is be-  
coming and natural in our hour of need, by the Gods  
whom the Hellenes worship at common altars, to listen

We entreat  
you by the  
common  
gods of  
Hellas, by  
your  
fathers  
oaths, not  
to betray us  
We did not  
surrender  
to the  
Thebans  
we would  
rather have  
died of  
hunger if  
you will not  
hear us,  
put us back  
in our city,



III  
and let us  
meet our  
fate

to our prayers We appeal to the oaths which your fathers swore, and entreat you not to forget them We kneel at your fathers' tombs, and we call upon the dead not to let us be betrayed into the hands of the Thebans, their dearest friends to their bitterest enemies We remind you of the day on which we shared in their glorious deeds—we who on this day are in danger of meeting a fearful doom. And now we say no more, to men in our case, though we must, there is nothing harder than to make an end, for with the end comes the decisive hour Our last word is that we did not surrender Plataea to the Thebans,—far rather would we have perished from hunger, the most miserable of deaths,—but to you, in whom we trusted, and, if you will not listen to us, you ought at least to replace us in the same position, and allow us to choose our destiny, whatever it may be We adjure you not to deliver us, the Plataeans, who were so loyal to the cause of Hellas, and who are now suppliants to you, O Lacedaemonians, out of your own hands and your own good faith, into the hands of the Thebans, our worst enemies. Be our saviours. You are liberating the other Hellenes, do not destroy us'

60 Such were the words of the Plataeans, whereupon the Thebans, fearing that the Lacedaemonians might give way, came forward and said that since, against their judgment, the Plataeans had been allowed, instead of answering the question, to make a long defence, they too wished to speak Permission was granted, and they spoke as follows —

61. 'We should never have asked to speak, if the Plataeans had briefly answered the question which was put to them<sup>a</sup>, and had not turned upon us and arraigned us while they made a long and irrelevant defence of their own doings, excusing themselves from charges which nobody brought against them, and praising what nobody blamed. We must answer their accusations of us, and look a little closely into their glorification of themselves,

We should  
not have  
spoken if  
the Pla-  
taeans had  
not  
But you  
must hear  
our case  
as well  
as theirs  
They se-  
parated

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 37 init

B C 427  
Ol 88, 2

that neither our baseness nor their superior reputation III.

may benefit them, and that, before you judge, you may hear the truth both about us and them Our quarrel with them arose thus —Some time after our first occupation of Boeotia<sup>a</sup> we settled Plataea and other places, out of which we drove a mixed multitude But they refused to acknowledge our leadership according to the original agreement, and, separating themselves from the other Boeotians, deserted the traditions of their ancestors When force was applied to them they went over to the Athenians, and, assisted by them, did us a great deal of mischief, and we retaliated.

themselves  
from their  
own nation  
and went  
over to the  
Athenians

‘They say that when the Barbarian invaded Hellas

62

they were the only Boeotians who did not join the Persian, and this is their great glory, and our great reproach But we say that if they did not side with the Persians, it was only because the Athenians did not, and on the same principle, they alone of all the Boeotians afterwards sided with the Athenians when the liberties of Hellas were attacked by them But, consider how different were the circumstances in which we and they acted. In those days our state was not governed by an oligarchy which granted equal justice to all, nor yet by a democracy, the power was in the hands of a small cabal, than which nothing is more opposed to law or to true political order, or more nearly resembles a tyranny. The rulers of the state, hoping to strengthen their private interest if the Persian won, kept the people down and brought him in The city at large, when she acted thus, was not her own mistress, and she cannot be fairly blamed for an error which she committed when she had no constitution After the Persian departed and she obtained a constitution, you may see how we fought against the Athenians when they became aggressive and endeavoured to subjugate us as well as the rest of Hellas Owing to our divisions they actually conquered the greater part of the country, but we defeated them at

They say  
that we  
sided with  
the Persian  
in the war  
of libera-  
tion To  
which we  
reply that  
we were not  
our own  
masters,  
and that  
afterwards  
we fought at  
Coronea  
for the  
liberation  
of Hellas,  
and are  
now fight-  
ing for it

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 12.

III. Coronea, and liberated Boeotia<sup>a</sup>, and at this moment we are zealously co-operating in the liberation of Hellas, providing cavalry and munitions of war more largely than any of the allies. Thus much in answer to the charge respecting our Persian tendencies. B C 427  
Ol 88, 2

63. 'And now we will proceed to show that you, and not we, have done the greater wrong to Hellas, and are deserving of every sort of punishment. You say that you became allies and citizens of Athens in order that you might be protected against us. If so, you ought to have invited their aid only against us, and not to have assisted them in their attacks upon others, such a course was certainly open to you even if you were in some degree coerced by the Athenians, you had previously made the alliance with the Lacedaemonians against the Persians, to which you are so fond of appealing. That alliance would at any rate have restrained our hands, and above all would have secured to you freedom of deliberation. You were your own masters and no longer under compulsion when you made common cause with the Athenians. Your allegation is that they were your benefactors and that you could not honourably betray them, but how far more dishonourable and wicked to betray all the Hellenes with whom you had sworn alliance, than the Athenians only, the one the liberators, the other the enslavers of Hellas! The return which you made to them is unequal, nay, infamous, you say that you invited them to assist you because you were wronged, and then you became their accomplices in wronging others. Surely ingratitude is shown in refusing to return an honourable kindness, when it can be done honourably, not in refusing to return a kindness which, however justly due, cannot be returned without a crime.

64. 'You have thus made plain that when you alone among the Boeotians refused to join the Persian cause, this was not out of any love for Hellas, but because the Athenians did not, <sup>b</sup> and that you wanted <sup>b</sup> to act with

But they of their own free-will abetted the Athenians in their aggressions upon Hellas. They plead obligation, but no obligation can justify a crime.

When they resisted the Persian it was only because the

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iv. 92 fin

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'and because you wanted' etc.

B C 427 them and not with us, and now you claim the benefit III.  
 Ol 88, 2 of the virtue which others inspired in you. But this is Athenians  
 not reasonable, having once chosen the Athenians, fight resisted  
 on their side, and do not at the last moment be saying him They  
 that the old alliance ought to save you. For you have have now  
 abandoned it, and by the violation of it, instead of shown  
 striving to prevent, have aided in the enslavement of the themselves  
 Aeginetans and of other members of the alliance. And in their true  
 B C 456 you were not, like us, under compulsion, but free, living light, and  
 Ol 81 under your ancient laws. Moreover, you persisted in have for-  
 refusing that last offer of peace and neutrality which feited all  
 we made to you before the siege began<sup>a</sup>. Who more their claims  
 thoroughly than you deserve the hatred of the Hellenes? upon  
 than you who have only displayed your virtues to their Hellas  
 injury? You have given proof that the merit which  
 you claim for your former actions does not properly  
 belong to you! Your true nature and constant desire  
 are now revealed in the light of day, for you have  
 followed the Athenians in the path of injustice. Thus  
 much we have to say as to our involuntary dealings  
 with the Persians, and your voluntary dealings with the  
 Athenians.

'The last offence which you lay to our charge is that 65.  
 we unlawfully assailed your city in time of peace, and at They say  
 a holy season, even in that affair we do not think our- that we  
 selves more in fault than you. We do not deny that we broke into  
 were wrong if of our own mere motion we went to your their city  
 city, fought with you, and ravaged your land. But when True, be-  
 certain of the noblest and richest of your citizens, who cause we  
 wished to withdraw you from a foreign alliance and to were invited  
 bring you back to the national institutions of Boeotia, by the most  
 came and invited us, wherein are we to blame? As you influential  
 say yourselves, the leaders rather than the followers are and pa-  
 the transgressors<sup>b</sup>. But in our opinion, neither we nor triotic of  
 they were really guilty. Like yourselves they were citi- their citi-  
 zens, and they had a greater stake in the country than zens  
 you have, they opened their own gates and received

<sup>a</sup> Cp II. 72, 73<sup>b</sup> Cp III 55 fin.

- III. us into their native city, not as her enemies but as <sup>BC 427</sup> her friends. They desired that the bad among you <sup>Ol 88, 2</sup> should not grow worse, and that the good should have their reward. They wanted to reform the principles of your citizens, and not to banish their persons, they would have brought them back into a natural union with their kindred, that Plataea might be the ally of all and the enemy of none.

66

At first they  
were ready  
to join us,  
but after  
a while  
they set  
upon us,  
and slew  
our citizens  
whom they  
had sworn  
to spare

‘And the proof that we acted in no hostile spirit is that we did no harm to any one, but made a proclamation that whoever wished to live under the national institutions of Boeotia should join us. You came to us gladly, and, entering into an agreement, for a time offered no opposition, but afterwards, when you discovered that we were few, you turned upon us. Even allowing that we did act somewhat inconsiderately in entering your town without the consent of your whole people, still how different was your conduct and ours! For if you had followed our example you would have used no violence, but thought only of getting us out by persuasion, whereas you broke the agreement and attacked us. Now we do not so much complain of the fate of those whom you slew in battle—for they indeed suffered by a kind of law—but there were others who stretched out their hands to you, and although you gave them quarter, and then promised to us that you would spare them, in utter defiance of law you took their lives—was not that a cruel act? Here are three crimes which you committed within a few hours, the breach of the agreement, the slaughter of the prisoners which followed, and the lying promise which you made to us that you would not slay them if we did no injury to your property in the fields, and yet you insist that we are the criminals, and that you ought to be acquitted. Not so, if the Lacedaemonians give just judgment but for all these offences you shall suffer.

67.

You should  
know the

‘We have entered into particulars, Lacedaemonians, both for your sakes and for our own, that you may know

BC 427  
Ol 88, 2

the sentence which you are going to pass on them to III.  
 be righteous, and still more righteous the vengeance truth about  
 which we have taken. Do not let your hearts be the Plataeans If  
 softened by tales about their ancient virtues, if they have the virtues  
 ever had any; such virtues might plead for the injured, to which  
 but should bring a double penalty<sup>a</sup> on the authors of a they pretend, they  
 base deed, because they are false to their own character. deserve  
 Let them gain nothing by their pitiful lamentations, or a double  
 by appealing to your fathers' tombs and their own punishment Pity  
 desolate condition We tell you that a far sadder not them,  
 fate was inflicted by them on our murdered youth, but their  
 whose fathers some fell at Coronea in the act of bringing victims  
 Boeotia to join you, while others are left in their old For their  
 age by their solitary hearths, and entreat you, with far misfortunes  
 better reason, to punish the Plataeans they may thank themselves Put  
 an unworthy fate are indeed to be pitied, but there should the question  
 be joy over those who suffer justly, as these do to them  
 For their present desolation they may thank themselves, again  
 they might have chosen the worthier alliance, but they  
 wilfully renounced it We never injured them, until  
 they first sinned against us, the spirit of hatred and not  
 of justice possessed them, and even now they are not  
 punished half enough For they are going to suffer  
 by a lawful sentence, not, as they pretend, stretching  
 out their suppliant hands on the field of battle, but  
 delivering themselves up to justice under the terms of  
 a capitulation. Maintain then, Lacedaemonians, the  
 common Hellenic law which they have outraged, and  
 give to us, who have suffered contrary to law, the just  
 recompense of our zeal in your cause. Do not be  
 moved by their words to spurn and reject us<sup>b</sup>, but  
 show Hellas by example that, when a cause is tried  
 at your tribunal, deeds and not words will prevail. If  
 the deeds be good, a brief statement of them is enough,  
 if they be evil, speeches full of fine sentiments do but  
 veil them. If all persons in authority were like you,  
 and would sum up a case in a short question, and pass

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 86 int

<sup>b</sup> Cp. iii 57 fin

III sentence upon all the offenders at once, men would be less tempted to seek out fair words in order to excuse foul deeds' B C 427  
Ol 88, 2

68 Thus spoke the Thebans. The Lacedaemonian judges thought that no objection could be made to their question, whether the Plataeans had done them any service in the war. <sup>a</sup>For they pretended to have expected neutrality from them in the times before the war on the strength of the original treaty concluded with Pausanias after the defeat of the Persians. And just before the siege they had made to them a proposal <sup>a</sup> of neutrality in accordance with the terms of the same treaty, but the Plataeans had refused. Considering that they had been wronged by them, and that they were now released from the obligations of the treaty by the failure of their just intentions, they again brought up the Plataeans one after another, and asked each of them separately, Whether he had done any service to the Lacedaemonians and their allies in the war? When he said No, they took him away and slew him; no one was spared. They put to death not less than two hundred Plataeans, as well as twenty-five Athenians who had shared with them in the siege, and made slaves of the women. For about a year the Thebans gave possession of the city to certain Megarians, who had been driven out by a revolution <sup>b</sup>, and to any surviving Plataeans who were of their own party, but they afterwards razed the whole place to the very foundations, and built near the precinct of Herè an inn forming a square of two hundred feet, it had two stories, and chambers all round. They used the roofs and the doors of the Plataeans, and of the brass and iron articles of furniture found within the walls they made couches, which they

The Plataeans are put to death, and their city razed to the ground

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking ἡξιούον in a different sense, and repeating it before καὶ ὅτε ὑστερον 'For they had been constantly requesting them, as they said, to remain neutral in the times before the war, . . . and they had repeated the request when just before the siege they had made to them a proposal' etc.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. iv 66 init.

B C 427  
Ol 88, 2

dedicated to Herè, they also built in her honour a stone temple a hundred feet long. The Plataean territory they converted into public land, and let it out for terms of ten years, some of their own citizens occupied it. Throughout the whole affair the severity shown by the Lacedaemonians to the Plataeans was mainly promoted by a desire to gratify the Thebans, who seemed likely to be useful allies to them in the war then just beginning. Such was the fate of Plataea, which was overthrown ninety-three years after the Plataeans entered into alliance with Athens<sup>a</sup>.

B C 519  
Ol 65, 2

The forty Peloponnesian ships which had been sent to the aid of Lesbos, as they fled through the open sea pursued by the Athenians<sup>b</sup>, were caught in a storm near Crete, and, making their way in a straggling condition from Crete to the Peloponnesus, found at Cyllene thirteen Leucadian and Ambraciot triremes, and Brasidas the son of Tellis, who had been sent out as a commissioner to advise Alcidas. The Lacedaemonians at home, after the failure of their attempt on Lesbos, had determined to increase their navy and sail to Corcyra, which was in a state of revolution. The Athenian squadron at Naupactus consisted of twelve ships only, and the Lacedaemonians wanted to reach the island before any more vessels could arrive from Athens. Brasidas and Alcidas made their preparations accordingly.

III.

69.

Return of  
Alcidas  
He and  
Brasidas  
make ready  
an expedition to  
Corcyra

Now Corcyra had been in an unsettled state ever since the return of the prisoners who were taken at sea in the Epidamnian war<sup>c</sup>, and afterwards released by the Corinthians. They were nominally ransomed for a sum of eight hundred talents<sup>d</sup> on the security of their proxeni, but in reality they had been induced to try and gain over Corcyra to the Corinthian interest. They went from one citizen to another, and solicited them to revolt from Athens. On the arrival of an Athenian and

70.

Unsettled  
state of  
Corcyra,  
originating  
in the intrigues of  
the prisoners  
who had  
returned  
from  
Corinth

<sup>a</sup> Cp Herod vi. 108.

<sup>c</sup> Cp i 55 med.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. iii 33

<sup>d</sup> £122,000.



III. also of a Corinthian vessel conveying ambassadors, there B C 427  
Ol 88, 2  
 was a discussion in the assembly, and the Corcyraeans  
 voted that they would continue allies of Athens accord-  
 ing to their agreement<sup>a</sup>, but would renew their former  
 friendship with the Peloponnesians. A certain Peithias,  
 who voluntarily acted as the proxenus of the Athenians  
 and was the popular leader, was summoned by the  
 partizans of the Peloponnesians to take his trial, they  
 affirming that he wanted to bring Corcyra under the  
 yoke of Athens. He was acquitted, and then he in turn  
 summoned their five richest men, declaring that they  
 were in the habit of cutting poles for vines in the sacred  
 precinct of Zeus and Alcinous, now for each pole the  
 penalty was fixed at a stater<sup>b</sup>. They were condemned,  
 but the fine was so excessive that they went and sat as  
 suppliants in the temple of Zeus and Alcinous, begging  
 that they might pay the money by instalments. Peithias,  
 who happened to be a member of the senate as well as  
 the popular leader, persuaded the senators to put the law  
 in execution. The culprits, knowing that the law was  
 against them, and perceiving that Peithias<sup>c</sup> as long as he  
 remained in the senate would try to induce the people<sup>c</sup>  
 to make an alliance offensive and defensive with Athens,  
 conspired together, and, rushing into the council chamber  
 with daggers in their hands, slew him and others to the  
 number of sixty, as well private persons as senators. A  
 few who were of the same party with him took refuge in  
 the Athenian trireme, which had not yet left

Trial of  
 Peithias, the  
 popular  
 leader. His  
 acquittal  
 Trial of the  
 oligarchs,  
 and murder  
 of Peithias  
 and of sixty  
 others

71. The next step taken by the conspirators was to  
 assemble the people and tell them that they had  
 acted for the best, and in order to secure them against  
 the tyranny of Athens. For the future they should  
 receive neither Athenians nor Peloponnesians, unless  
 they came peaceably with one ship, to bring more

Temporary  
 triumph of  
 the oli-  
 garchs.

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 44

<sup>b</sup> If the gold stater, about 16s; if the silver Athenian stater, about 3s. 3d, if the silver Corinthian stater (ten Aeginetan obols), about 2s. 2d

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'before he ceased to be a senator would persuade the people.'

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Ol 88, 2

should be deemed the act of an enemy, and this proposal they compelled the people to ratify. They also sent envoys to Athens, who were to put the most favourable colour on the affair, and to dissuade the refugees who had fled thither from taking any inconvenient step which might lead to a counter-revolution. III

When the envoys arrived, the Athenians arrested them as disturbers of the peace, and deposited them in Aegina, together with any of the refugees whom they had gained over. In the meantime, the Corcyraean oligarchs who were now in power, on the arrival of a Corinthian trireme and Lacedaemonian envoys, attacked and defeated the people, who at nightfall took refuge in the Acropolis and the higher parts of the city, and there concentrated their forces. They also held the Hyllaic harbour, the other party seized the Agora, where most of them lived, and the adjacent harbour which looked towards the continent. 72.

Envoys  
from Cor-  
cyra are  
arrested at  
Athens  
Defeat of  
the popular  
party

On the following day they skirmished a little, and both parties sent messengers round the country inviting the slaves to join them, and promising them liberty, the greater number came to the aid of the people, while the other faction was reinforced by eight hundred auxiliaries from the mainland. 73.

Reinforce-  
ments ar-  
rive

After resting a day they fought again, and the people, who had the advantage in numbers and in the strength of their positions, gained the victory. Their women joined vigorously in the fray, hurling tiles from the housetops, and showing amid the uproar a fortitude beyond their sex. The conflict was decided towards evening; the oligarchy, fearing lest the people should take the arsenal with a sudden rush and so make an end of them, set fire to the private houses which surrounded the Agora, as well as to the larger blocks of buildings, sparing neither their own property nor that of any one else in their determination to stop them. Much merchandise was burnt, and the whole city would have been destroyed if the wind had carried the flame in. 74.

In a second  
conflict the  
people are  
victorious

III that direction Both parties now left off fighting, and kept watch in their own positions during the night. When the popular cause triumphed, the Corinthian vessel stole away and most of the auxiliaries crossed over unobserved to the continent B C 427  
Ol 88, 2

75. On the following day, Nicostriatus the son of Dutiephes, an Athenian general, arrived from Naupactus with twelve ships and five hundred Messenian hoplites. He tried to effect a reconciliation between the two parties, and on his suggestion they agreed to bring to trial ten of the most guilty persons, who immediately fled. The rest were to live together, and to make a truce with one another, and with Athens an alliance offensive and defensive. Having accomplished his purpose he was about to sail away, when the leaders of the people induced him to leave five of his own vessels, that the enemy might be less inclined to stir, promising to man five ships of their own and send them with him. He agreed, and they selected the crews of the ships out of the opposite faction. But the men were afraid of being sent to Athens, and sat as suppliants in the temple of the Dioscuri. Nicostratus sought to raise them up and reassure them, but they would not trust him, whereupon the people armed themselves, arguing that their mistrust and unwillingness to sail was a proof of their evil designs. They took their enemies' arms out of their houses, and some of them whom they chanced to meet would have been slain if Nicostratus had not interfered. The rest, to the number of about four hundred, when they saw what was going on took refuge anew in the temple of Herè. But the people, fearing that they would resort to violence, persuaded them to rise and conveyed them at once to the island that lies in front of the temple of Herè, whither provisions were regularly sent to them.

76. At this stage of the revolution, on the fourth or fifth day after the suppliants had been conveyed to the island, the fifty-three Peloponnesian ships from Cyllene, which

Arrival of  
twelve  
Athenian  
ships under  
Nicostratus, who  
vainly tries  
to reconcile  
the contending  
parties

Appearance  
of the Peloponnesian  
fleet.

BC 427 since the expedition to Ionia had been in harbour III.  
 Ol 88, 2 there<sup>a</sup>, arrived on the scene, still under the command  
 of Alcidas. Brasidas his adviser was on board. They  
 anchored for the night at Sybota, a harbour on the  
 mainland, and when the morning broke they sailed  
 upon Corcyra.

The whole place was in an uproar, the people dreaded 77.  
 their enemies within the city no less than the Pelo-  
 ponnesian fleet. They hastened to equip sixty ships, Confused battle of the Corcyraeans and Athenians against the Peloponnesians  
 and as fast as they were manned sent them out against  
 the Peloponnesians, although the Athenians entreated  
 to be allowed to sail out first, leaving them to follow as  
 soon as they had got their fleet together. But when in  
 this straggling fashion their ships approached the enemy,  
 two of them at once deserted, in others the crews were  
 fighting with one another, and everything was in dis-  
 order. The Peloponnesians, seeing the confusion, em-  
 ployed twenty ships only against the Corcyraeans, and  
 opposed the remainder of their fleet to the twelve  
 Athenian ships, of which two were the Salaminia and  
 Paralus.

The Corcyraeans, coming up few at a time and in this 78.  
 disorderly fashion, had trouble enough among themselves. Diversion effected by the Athenians, who slowly retreat  
 The Athenians, afraid of being surrounded by superior  
 numbers, did not attack the main body nor the centre  
 of those opposed to them, but fell upon the wings and  
 sank a single ship, then, the enemy forming in a circle,  
 they sailed round them and endeavoured to throw them  
 into confusion. But those who were opposed to the  
 Corcyraeans, seeing this movement and fearing a repe-  
 tition of what happened at Naupactus<sup>b</sup>, came to the  
 rescue, and the united fleet charged the Athenians.  
 Thereupon they rowed astern, hoping that by retreat-  
 ing very leisurely they might give the Corcyraeans  
 time to escape, especially as the attack of the enemy  
 was now directed against themselves. The naval en-  
 gagement ended at sunset.

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv. 69

<sup>b</sup> Cp ii. 84

III. The Corcyraeans, who were afraid that the victorious enemy would sail to the city and have recourse to some decisive measure, such as taking on board the prisoners in the island, conveyed them back to the temple of Heiè and guarded the city. But the Peloponnesians, although they had won the battle, did not venture to attack the city, but returned to their station on the mainland with thirteen Corcyraean ships which they had taken. On the next day they still hesitated, although there was great panic and confusion among the inhabitants. It is said that Brasidas advised Alcidas to make the attempt, but he had not an equal vote with him. So they only disembarked at the promontory of Leucimmè and ravaged the country

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79. The Peloponnesian fleet, instead of attacking the city, retire,

80.

and soon afterwards, hearing that sixty Athenian vessels are approaching, return home

Meanwhile the people of Corcyra, dreading that the fleet of the Peloponnesians would attack them, held a parley with the other faction, especially with the suppliants, in the hope of saving the city, they even persuaded some of them to go on board the fleet, for the Corcyraeans still contrived to man thirty ships. But the Peloponnesians, after devastating the land till about midday, retired. And at nightfall the approach of sixty Athenian vessels was signalled to them from Leucas. These had been sent by the Athenians under the command of Euymedon the son of Thucles, when they heard of the revolution and of the intended expedition of Alcidas to Corcyra.

81.

Massacre of the oligarchs

The Peloponnesians set out that very night on their way home, keeping close to the land, and transporting the ships over the Leucadian isthmus, that they might not be seen sailing round<sup>a</sup>. When the Corcyraeans perceived that the Athenian fleet was approaching, while that of the enemy had disappeared, they took the Messenian troops, who had hitherto been outside the walls, into the city, and ordered the ships which they had manned to sail round into the Hyllaic harbour. These proceeded on their way. Meanwhile they killed any of

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv. 8 init

B C 427  
Ol 88, 2

their enemies whom they caught in the city. On the arrival of the ships they disembarked those whom they had induced to go on board, and despatched them <sup>a</sup>, they also went to the temple of Herè, and persuading about fifty of the suppliants to stand their trial, condemned them all to death. The majority would not come out, and, when they saw what was going on, destroyed one another in the enclosure of the temple where they were, except a few who hung themselves on trees, or put an end to their own lives in any other way which they could. And, during the seven days which Eurymedon after his arrival remained with his sixty ships, the Corcyraeans continued slaughtering those of their fellow-citizens whom they deemed their enemies, they professed to punish them for their designs against the democracy, but in fact some were killed from motives of personal enmity, and some because money was owing to them, by the hands of their debtors. Every form of death was to be seen, and everything, and more than everything that commonly happens in revolutions, happened then. The father slew the son, and the suppliants were torn from the temples and slain near them, some of them were even walled up in the temple of Dionysus, and there perished. To such extremes of cruelty did revolution go; and this seemed to be the worst of revolutions, because it was the first.

III.

For not long afterwards the whole Hellenic world was in commotion, in every city the chiefs of the democracy and of the oligarchy were struggling, the one to bring in the Athenians, the other the Lacedaemonians. Now in time of peace, men would have had no excuse for introducing either, and no desire to do so, but when they were at war <sup>b</sup> and both sides could easily obtain allies to

82.  
The conflict of democracy and oligarchy, encouraged as it is by the hope of Athenian or Lacedaemonian

<sup>a</sup> Reading, with Poppo, ἀπεχρῶντο instead of ἀνεχώρησαν, which gives no sense

<sup>b</sup> Or, taking ξυμμαχίας with ἐπαγωγαί, and ραδίως in a different sense. 'the introduction of a foreign alliance on one side or the other to the hurt of their enemies and the advantage of themselves was easily effected by the dissatisfied party.'

## III

help, ruins  
states  
and dis-  
organises  
society

the hurt of their enemies and the advantage of themselves, the dissatisfied party were only too ready to invoke foreign aid<sup>b</sup>. And revolution brought upon the cities of Hellas many terrible calamities, such as have been and always will be while human nature remains the same, but which are more or less aggravated and differ in character with every new combination of circumstances. In peace and prosperity both states and individuals are actuated by higher motives, because they do not fall under the dominion of imperious necessities, but war which takes away the comfortable provision of daily life is a hard master, and tends to assimilate men's characters to their conditions.

B C 427  
Ol 88, 2

Changes  
in men's  
moral prin-  
ciples and  
in their use  
of language

When troubles had once begun in the cities, those who followed carried the revolutionary spirit further and further, and determined to outdo the report of all who had preceded them by the ingenuity of their enterprises and the atrocity of their revenges. The meaning of words had no longer the same relation to things, but was changed by them as they thought proper. Reckless daring was held to be loyal courage, prudent delay was the excuse of a coward, moderation was the disguise of unmanly weakness, to know everything was to do nothing. Fiantic energy was the true quality of a man. A conspirator who wanted to be safe was a recreant in disguise. The lover of violence was always trusted, and his opponent suspected. He who succeeded in a plot was deemed knowing, but a still greater master in craft was he who detected one. On the other hand, he who plotted from the first to have nothing to do with plots was a breaker up of parties and a poltroon who was afraid of the enemy. In a word, he who could outstrip another in a bad action was applauded, and so was he who encouraged to evil one who had no idea of it. The tie of party was stronger than the tie of blood, because a partisan was more ready to dare without asking why. (For party associations are not based upon any established law, nor do they seek the public good,

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Ol 88, 2

they are formed in defiance of the laws and from self-interest ) The seal of good faith was not divine law, but fellowship in crime If an enemy when he was in the ascendant offered fair words, the opposite party received them not in a generous spirit, <sup>a</sup> but by a jealous watchfulness of his actions <sup>a</sup> Revenge was dearer than self-preservation Any agreements sworn to by either party, when they could do nothing else, were binding as long as both were powerless. But he who on a favourable opportunity first took courage and struck at his enemy when he saw him off his guard, had greater pleasure in a perfidious than he would have had in an open act of revenge ; he congratulated himself that he had taken the safer course, and also that he had overreached his enemy and gained the prize of superior ability. In general the dishonest more easily gain credit for cleverness than the simple for goodness, men take a pride in the one, but are ashamed of the other.

III.

The cause of all these evils was the love of power, Causes and effects of the revolutionary spirit originating in avarice and ambition, and the party-spirit which is engendered by them when men are fairly embarked in a contest For the leaders on either side used specious names, the one party professing to uphold the constitutional equality of the many, the other the wisdom of an aristocracy, while they made the public interests, to which in name they were devoted, in reality their prize Striving in every way to overcome each other, they committed the most monstrous crimes, yet even these were surpassed by the magnitude of their revenges which they pursued to the very utmost <sup>b</sup>, neither party observing any definite limits either of justice or public expediency, but both alike making the caprice of the moment their law. Either by the help of an unrighteous sentence, or grasping power with the strong hand, they were eager to satiate the impatience of party-spirit. Neither faction cared for religion ; but any fair pretence

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'but by active precautions.'

<sup>b</sup> Placing the comma after *μείζους* instead of after *ἐπεξήσαν τε*.



III which succeeded in effecting some odious purpose was greatly lauded. And the citizens who were of neither party fell a prey to both, either they were disliked because they held aloof, or men were jealous of their surviving.

83

Universal  
distrust  
Force of  
character,  
not intel-  
lect, pre-  
vailed

Thus revolution gave birth to every form of wickedness in Hellas. The simplicity which is so large an element in a noble nature was laughed to scorn and disappeared. An attitude of perfidious antagonism everywhere prevailed, for there was no word binding enough, nor oath terrible enough to reconcile enemies. Each man was strong only in the conviction that nothing was secure, he must look to his own safety, and could not afford to trust others. Inferior intellects generally succeeded best. For, aware of their own deficiencies, and fearing the capacity of their opponents, for whom they were no match in powers of speech, and whose subtle wits were likely to anticipate them in contriving evil, they struck boldly and at once. But the cleverer sort, presuming in their arrogance that they would be aware in time, and disdaining to act when they could think, were taken off their guard and easily destroyed.

84.

(1) Fury of  
the op-  
pressed,  
(2) dis-  
content of  
the poor,  
(3) party  
hatred  
among  
equals,  
were the  
great in-  
centives to  
crime  
Human  
nature when  
inspired by  
revenge is  
too much  
for justice,  
conscience,  
or pru-  
dence

Now in Corcyra most of these deeds were perpetrated, and for the first time. There was every crime which men <sup>a</sup> might be supposed <sup>a</sup> to perpetrate in revenge who had been governed not wisely, but tyrannically, and now had the oppressor at their mercy. There were the dishonest designs of others who were longing to be relieved from their habitual poverty, and were naturally animated by a passionate desire for their neighbour's goods, and there were crimes of another class which men commit, not from covetousness, but from the enmity which equals foster towards one another until they are carried away by their blind rage into the extremes of pitiless cruelty. At such a time the life of the city was all in disorder, and human nature, which is always ready to transgress the laws, having now trampled them under

<sup>a</sup> Or, supplying *as* with the optative 'may be supposed.'

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Ol 88, 2

foot, delighted to show that her passions were ungovernable, that she was stronger than justice, and the enemy of everything above her. If malignity had not exercised a fatal power, how could any one have preferred revenge to piety, and gain to innocence? But, when men are retaliating upon others, they are reckless of the future, and do not hesitate to annul those common laws of humanity to which every individual trusts for his own hope of deliverance should he ever be overtaken by calamity, they forget that in their own hour of need they will look for them in vain.

Such were the passions which the citizens of Corcyra 85.

first of all Hellenes displayed towards one another. After the departure of Eurymedon and the Athenian fleet the surviving oligarchs seize some forts on the opposite coast, but soon return to the island and occupy mount Istonè, had escaped, seized certain forts on the mainland, and thus became masters of the territory on the opposite coast which belonged to Corcyra. Thence issuing forth, they plundered the Corcyraeans in the island, and did much harm, so that there was a great famine in the city. They also sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and Corinth, begging that they might be restored, but, failing of their object, they procured boats and auxiliaries, and passed over to Corcyra about six hundred in all, then, burning their boats, that they might have no hope but in the conquest of the island, they went up the mount Istonè, and building a fort there, became masters of the country, and despoiled the inhabitants of the city.

At the end of the same summer the Athenians sent 86.

twenty ships to Sicily under the command of Laches the son of Melanopus, and Charoeades the son of Euphiletus. Syracuse and Leontini were now at war with one another. All the Dorian cities, except Camarina, were in alliance with Syracuse, they were the same which at the beginning of the war were reckoned in the Lacedaemonian confederacy, but they had taken no active part<sup>a</sup>. The allies of the Leontines were the Chalcidian cities and

The surviving oligarchs seize some forts on the opposite coast, but soon return to the island and occupy mount Istonè

War in Sicily between the Syracusans and Leontines, the latter obtain assistance from Athens

<sup>a</sup> Cp. ii 7 med.

III Camarina In Italy the Locrians sided with the Syracusans, and the Rhegians with the Leontines, who were their kinsmen. The Leontines and their allies sent to Athens, and on the ground, partly of an old alliance, partly of their Ionian descent, begged the Athenians to send them ships, for they were driven off both sea and land by their Syracusan enemies. The Athenians sent the ships, professedly on the ground of relationship, but in reality because they did not wish the Peloponnesians to obtain coin from Sicily. Moreover they meant to try what prospect they had of getting the affairs of Sicily into their hands. So the commanders of the fleet came to Rhegium in Italy, where they established themselves, and carried on the war in concert with their allies. Thus the summer ended.

87. In the following winter the plague, which had never entirely disappeared, although abating for a time, again attacked the Athenians. It continued on this second occasion not less than a year, having previously lasted for two years. To the power of Athens certainly nothing was more ruinous, not less than four thousand four hundred Athenian hoplites who were on the roll died, and also three hundred horsemen, and an incalculable number of the common people. This too was the time when the frequent earthquakes occurred at Athens, in Euboea, and in Boeotia, especially at Orchomenos<sup>a</sup>.

Reappearance of the plague after it had abated. At the same time numerous earthquakes occur.

88. During the same winter the Athenians in Sicily and the Rhegians made an expedition with thirty ships against the islands of Aeolus, as they are called, which in summer time cannot be attacked owing to the want of water. These islands belong to the Liparaeans, who are colonists of the Cnidians. They inhabit one of them, which is not large, and is called Lipara, from this they go and cultivate the rest, Didymè, Strongylè, and Hiera. The inhabitants believe that the forge of Hephaestus is in Hiera, because the island sends up a blaze of fire in the night-time and clouds of smoke by day. The Aeolian

Fruitless expedition against the Aeolian islands.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. ch. 89, and l. 23 med.

B C 427 islands lie off the territory of the Sicels and Messenians , III.  
Ol 88, 2 they were in alliance with Syracuse. The Athenians wasted the country, but finding that the inhabitants would not yield, sailed back to Rhegium And so ended the winter, and with it the fifth year in the Peloponnesian War of which Thucydides wrote the history.

B C 426 In the ensuing summer the Peloponnesians and their 89  
Ol 88, 3 allies, under the command of Agis the son of Archidamus, the Lacedaemonian king, came as far as the Isthmus They intended to invade Attica, but were deterred from proceeding by numerous earthquakes<sup>a</sup>, and no invasion took place in this year About the time when these earthquakes prevailed, the sea at Orobiae in Euboea, retiring from what was then the line of coast and rising in a great wave, overflowed a part of the city, and although it subsided in some places, yet in others the inundation was permanent, and that which was formerly land is now sea All the people who could not escape to the high ground perished A similar inundation occurred in the neighbourhood of Atalantè, an island on the coast of the Opuntian Locri, which carried away a part of an Athenian fort<sup>b</sup>, and dashed in pieces one of two ships which were drawn up on the beach At Peparethus also the sea retired, but no inundation followed ; an earthquake, however, overthrew a part of the wall, the Prytaneum, and a few houses I conceive that, where the force of the earthquake was greatest, the sea was driven back, and the suddenness of the recoil made the inundation more violent , and I am of opinion that this was the cause of the phenomenon, which would never have taken place if there had been no earthquake.

The earthquakes conceived by Thucydides to have been the cause of the great ebb and flow of the sea at Orobiae in Euboea, and at Atalantè

During the same summer war was going on in various 90  
parts of Sicily, the Hellenes in Sicily fighting against one another, the Athenians helping their own allies. I will mention the chief actions in which the Athenians took part, whether by the help of their allies attacking, or

Capture by Laches of Myla in Sicily, and submission of Messenè

<sup>a</sup> Cp ch 87

<sup>b</sup> Cp 11 32

III attacked by their enemies Charoeades, the Athenian <sup>B C 426</sup> general, had been killed in battle by the Syracusans, <sup>Ol 88, 3</sup> and Laches having taken the entire command of the fleet, he and the allies made an expedition against Mylè, a town belonging to Messenè. Two tribes of the Messenians were keeping guard there, and they had set an ambuscade for the force which they were expecting to land, but the Athenians and their allies put to flight with heavy loss the troops which came out of the ambush. Then, attacking the fortress, they compelled its defenders to come to terms, surrender the citadel, and march with them against Messenè. Finally, upon the approach of the Athenians and their allies, the Messenians themselves came to terms, giving hostages and the other pledges which were required of them.

91 In the same summer the Athenians sent thirty ships round the Peloponnese under the command of Demosthenes the son of Alcisthenes, and Procles the son of Theodorus. They also sent sixty ships and two thousand hoplites to Melos, under the command of Nicias the son of Niccratus, wishing to subdue the Melians, who, although they were islanders, resisted them and would not join their alliance<sup>a</sup>. So they ravaged their country, but finding that the Melians would not yield, they sailed away to Oropus, opposite Euboea. There they put in at nightfall, and the hoplites disembarking went at once by land to Tanagra in Boeotia. Meanwhile the entire Athenian force, under the command of Hipponicus the son of Callias, and Eurymedon the son of Thucles, upon a signal given marched to meet them at the same spot. There they encamped, and all together devastated the country, remaining at Tanagra during that day and the following night. On the morrow they defeated the Tanagraeans who sallied out upon them, and also some Thebans who had come to their aid, they then took up the arms of the slain, raised a trophy, and returned, the one part of the forces back again to the

Thirty Athenian ships under Demosthenes sail round the Peloponnese. Sixty more under Nicias go to Melos, and after ravaging the country put in at Oropus. At Tanagra his troops, in concert with the Athenian land-forces, defeat the inhabitants

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 84

B.C. 426  
Ol. 88, 3

city, the other to their ships Nicias with his sixty III  
ships then sailed to the coast of Locris, after ravaging  
the country he returned home

About the same time the Lacedaemonians founded 92  
Heraclea, their colony in Trachinia The intention was  
as follows —The Trachinians are one of the three Malian  
tribes, the other two being the Paralians and the Hie-  
reans These Trachinians, having suffered greatly in war  
from their neighbours the Oetaeans, at first thought of  
attaching themselves to the Athenians, but, fearing that  
they could not trust them, sent Tisamenus, whom they  
appointed their envoy, to Lacedaemon Doris, which  
is the mother state of Lacedaemon, joined in the  
embassy and also requested help, for the Dorians too  
were suffering from the Oetaeans The Lacedaemonians  
heard their appeal, and, being desirous of assisting both  
the Trachinians and Dorians, made up their minds to  
send out a colony They also thought that the situation  
of the new city would be convenient for carrying on the  
war against the Athenians There a navy could be  
equipped if they wanted to attack Euboea, which was  
quite near, and the station would be handy for the  
conveyance of troops to Chalcidicè. For every reason  
they were eager to colonise the place. First they en-  
quired of the God at Delphi, he bade them go, and  
they sent out settlers taken from their own citizens and  
the Perioeci, announcing that any Hellenes who desired,  
not being of the Ionian, Achæan, or certain other races,  
might accompany them The leaders of the colony were  
three Lacedaemonians, Leon, Alcidas, and Damagon.  
They set to work and built afresh the walls of the city,  
which received the name of Heraclea, and is situated  
about four miles and a-half from Thermopylae and a  
little more than two from the sea They also con-  
structed docks, beginning the works near Thermopylae,  
at the pass, that the city might be perfectly defended

To help the  
Trachinians  
and their  
own mother  
state Doris,  
the Lacedaemonians  
found the  
colony of  
Heraclea

While the new colonists were collecting at Heraclea, 93.  
the Athenians grew alarmed, the scheme appeared to be  
The new colony is

## III

gradually worn out by the persistent opposition of the Thessalians, and by the brutality of the Lacedaemonian governors

aimed at Euboea, for Cape Cenaecum on the opposite coast is within a short sail But their fears were not realized; no harm whatever ensued The reasons were these — In the first place the Thessalians are strong in that part of the country, and fearing that Heraclea, which was built to control them, would be a powerful and dangerous neighbour, they carried on uninterrupted war against the new settlers until they completely wore them out, although originally they had been very numerous For every one joined without hesitation, encouraged by the promise of security which a Lacedaemonian colony seemed to offer But another great cause of the ruin and depopulation of the place was the conduct of the governors sent out from Lacedaemon, who frightened the people away by their severe and often unjust administration<sup>a</sup> Thus the Heracleans fell an easy prey to their neighbours

B C 426  
O I 88, 3

## 94

Attack upon Leucas Demosthenes, instead of completing the blockade, is persuaded by the Messenians to invade Aetolia

During the same summer, and about the same time when the Athenians were engaged at Melos, the troops which were cruising in the thirty Athenian ships about Peloponnesus set an ambuscade at Ellomenus in Leucadia and killed a few of the guards of the country. They next attacked Leucas itself with a larger armament, consisting of the Acarnanians, who followed them with their whole forces, all but the inhabitants of Oeniadae<sup>b</sup>, and some Zacynthians and Cephallenians, together with fifteen ships from Corcyra. The Leucadians saw their territory both on the mainland and within the Isthmus, where the town of Leucas and the temple of Apollo are situated, ravaged by the enemy; but being powerless against a superior force, they remained inactive The Acarnanians begged Demosthenes, the Athenian general, to cut them off by a wall, thinking that they could easily take the city and so rid themselves of an old enemy But just then he was persuaded by the Messenians that, having such an army in the field, he

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 52 mit

<sup>b</sup> Cp. ii 102 mit

B C 426 would gain honour by attacking the Aetolians they III.  
Ol 88, 3 were the enemies of Naupactus, and if he defeated them he would easily subjugate the adjoining part of the mainland to the Athenians. The Aetolians, they said, though a warlike nation, dwelt in unwallled villages, which were widely scattered, and as they had only light-armed soldiers, they would be subdued without difficulty before they could combine. They told him that he should first attack the Apodotians, then the Ophioneans, and after them the Eurytanians. The last are the largest tribe of the Aetolians, they speak a language more unintelligible than any of their neighbours, and are believed to eat raw flesh. They said that, if he conquered these, the rest would readily come over to him.

He was influenced by his regard for the Messenians, 95 and still more by the consideration that without reinforcements from Athens, and with no other help than that of the allies on the mainland, to whom he would add the Aetolians, he could make his way by land to attack Boeotia. He might proceed through the Ozolian Locri to the Dorian Cytinium, keeping Mount Parnassus on the right, until he came down upon the Phocians. They would probably be eager to join in the expedition because they had always been friendly to Athens, or, if unwilling, they might be coerced, and once in Phocis he would be on the borders of Boeotia. So he left Leucas with all his army, much against the will of the Acarnanians, and sailed to Solium. He there communicated his design to them, but they would not accompany him because he had refused to blockade Leucas, so with the remainder of his army, which consisted of Cephallenians, Messenians, Zacynthians, and three hundred marines belonging to the Athenian fleet<sup>a</sup>, the fifteen Corcyraean vessels having left, he marched against the Aetolians, starting from Oencon in Locris. The Ozolian Locrians

He determines to make his way through Aetolia and Phocis into Boeotia, which he hopes to attack with an allied force

<sup>a</sup> Cp. ch. 94 init



- III. were allies of the Athenians, and they were to meet him with their whole force in the interior of the country. They dwelt on the border of the Aetolians, and as they were armed in a similar manner and knew their country and ways of fighting, their help in the expedition seemed likely to be very valuable B.C. 426  
Ol. 88, 3

96

The Aetolians collect their forces

He encamped the first night at the temple of Nemean Zeus, where the poet Hesiod is said to have been killed by the inhabitants in fulfilment of an oracle which foretold that he should die at Nemea. Early the next morning he proceeded on his march into Aetolia. On the first day he took Potidania, on the second Crocyleum, on the third Teichium. There he stayed and sent back the spoils to Eupalium in Locris. For he did not intend to attack the Ophioneans yet, when he had subjugated the rest of the country he would return to Naupactus and make a second expedition against them if they continued to resist. The Aetolians were aware of his designs from the very first, and no sooner did he enter their territory than they all collected in great force, even the most distant of the Ophioneans, the Bomieans and Callicians who reach down towards the Malian Gulf, came to the aid of their countrymen.

97

Demosthenes hurries on against the Aetolian villages, but receives a check at Aegitium

The Messenians repeated the advice which they had originally given to Demosthenes. They assured him that there would be no difficulty in conquering the Aetolians, and told him to march as quickly as he could against the villages. He should not wait until they could combine and meet him with an army, but should endeavour to take any place which was nearest. He, trusting to their advice, and confident in his good fortune since everything was going favourably, did not wait for the Locrians, who should have supplied his deficiency in javelin men, but at once marched towards Aegitium, which he attacked, and forced his way in. The inhabitants had stolen away and taken up a position on the top of the hills overhanging the town, which was itself built upon heights at a distance of about nine

B C 426  
Ol 88, 3

miles from the sea The other Aetolians, who had by this time come to the rescue of Aegitium, attacked the Athenians and their allies. Some ran down from one hill and some from another and hurled darts at them; when the Athenian army advanced they retired, and when the Athenians retired they pressed upon them. The battle, which lasted long, was nothing but a series of pursuits and retreats, and in both the Athenians were at a disadvantage

•III.

While their archers had arrows and were able to use them, the Athenians maintained their ground, for the Aetolians, being light-armed, were driven back by the arrows But at length the captain of the archers was slain, and the forces under his command no longer kept together The Athenians themselves grew weary of the long and tedious struggle. The Aetolians came closer and closer, and never ceased hurling darts at them At last they turned and fled, and falling into ravines, out of which there was no way, or losing themselves in a strange country, they perished Their guide, Chromon the Messenian, had been killed The Aetolians, who were light-armed and swift of foot, followed at their heels, hurling darts, and caught and slew many of them in their flight The greater number missed their way and got into the woods, out of which no path led, and their enemies brought fire and burnt the wood about them So the Athenian army tried every means of escape and perished in all manner of ways The survivors with difficulty made their way to the sea at Oeneon in Locris, whence they had set out Many of the allies fell, and of the Athenian heavy-armed about a hundred and twenty, all in the flower of their youth; they were the very finest men whom the city of Athens lost during the war Procles, one of the two generals, was also killed When they had received the bodies of their dead under a flag of truce from the Aetolians, they retreated to Naupactus, and returned in their ships to Athens Demosthenes remained behind in

98.

The Aetolians press upon the Athenians, who at length fly The survivors with difficulty return to Naupactus, and thence to Athens Demosthenes remains behind

III. " Naupactus and the neighbourhood, for, after what had happened, he feared the anger of the Athenians B C 426  
O1 88, 3

99. About the same time the Athenian forces engaged in Sicily, sailing to the territory of Locri and there disembarking, defeated the Locrians who came out to meet them, and took a small garrison fort, which was situated upon the river Halex

100. During the same summer the Aetolians, who had some time before despatched Tolophus the Ophionean, Boriades the Euytanian, and Tisander the Apodotian on an embassy to Corinth and Lacedaemon, induced the Lacedaemonians to aid them by sending an army against Naupactus, in order to punish the inhabitants for inviting the Athenian invasion <sup>a</sup>. So in the autumn they sent out three thousand hoplites of their allies, including five hundred from Heraclea, the newly-founded city in Trachis. Eurylochus, a Spartan, was general, and with him were associated in the command Macarius and Menedacus, also Spartans.

101. When the army was collected at Delphi, Eurylochus sent a herald to the Ozolian Locrians, for he had to pass through their country on the way to Naupactus; and he also wished to detach them from the Athenian alliance. Of the Locrians, the inhabitants of Amphissa were most willing to co-operate with him, wanting to be protected against their enemies the Phocians, they were the first who gave hostages, and by them the other Locrians, who were alarmed at the impending invasion, were persuaded to do the like — first their neighbours the Myonaeans, who commanded the most difficult pass into Locris, then the Ipneans, Messapians, Tritaeans, Chalaean, Tolophonians, Hessians, and Oeantheans, all these tribes also joined the expedition. The Olpaeans gave hostages but did not join, the Hyaeans would not give hostages until the Lacedaemonians had taken one of their villages, called Polis

102. When everything was ready, and Eurylochus had de-

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iii 94 med.

B C 426  
Ol 88, 3

posited the hostages at Cytinium in Doris, he marched with his army against Naupactus, through the territory of the Locrians. On his march he took Oeneon<sup>a</sup> and Eupalium<sup>b</sup>, two Locrian towns which refused to come to terms. When they had arrived in the territory of Naupactus and the Aetolians had at length joined them, they devastated the country, and after taking the unwalled suburbs of the town marched against Molycreium, a colony of the Corinthians subject to Athens, which they captured. But Demosthenes the Athenian, who after his misfortune in Aetolia was still in the neighbourhood of Naupactus, having previous intelligence, and fearing for the town, went and persuaded the Acarnanians, much against their will, for they had not forgotten his withdrawal from Leucas, to assist Naupactus. So they sent with him on board the Athenian ships<sup>c</sup> a thousand hoplites, these got in and saved the place, which was in danger of having to capitulate, owing to the extent of the wall and the paucity of its defenders. Eurylochus and his soldiers, when they saw that the garrison had been reinforced, and that there was no possibility of taking the city by storm, instead of going back to Peloponnesus, retired into the country of Aeolis, which is now called by the names of the towns Calydon and Pleuron, and to other places in the neighbourhood, also to Proschium in Aetolia. For the Ambraciots sent and persuaded them to take part in an attack on the Amphilochian Argos and the rest of Amphilochia and Acarnania, declaring that, if they gained possession of these places, the whole continent would at once come over to the Lacedaemonians. Eurylochus assented, and dismissing the Aetolians, waited with his army in that region until the time came for the Ambraciots to make their expedition and for him to join them in the neighbourhood of Argos. Thus the summer ended.

III  
Demosthenes with the help of the Acarnanians saves Naupactus. The Lacedaemonians retire, and in concert with the Ambraciots project an attack on the Amphilochian Argos.

In the following winter the Athenians in Sicily and their Hellenic allies made an attack upon Inessa, a Sicel

103.  
The Athenians are

<sup>a</sup> Cp iii. 95 fin.

<sup>b</sup> Cp iii. 96 med

<sup>c</sup> Cp iii. 105 fin.

III. town of which the citadel was held by the Syracusans B C 426  
Ol 88, 3  
 They were joined by many of the Sicels, who had  
 defeated at Inessa, but are victorious in Locris  
 formerly been allies of the Syracusans, and having been  
 held down by them, had now revolted to the Athenians. The attempt failed, and they retreated. But during their retreat the Syracusans sallied out and fell upon the allies who were in the rear of the Athenians, routed them, and put to flight a part of their forces with great loss. Soon afterwards, Laches and the Athenians in the fleet made several descents upon Locris. At the river Caecinus they defeated about three hundred Locrians who came out to meet them under Proxenus the son of Capaton, took arms from the slain, and returned.

104. In the same winter the Athenians, by command of an oracle, purified the island of Delos. Pisistratus the tyrant had already purified it, but imperfectly, for the purification only extended to that part which was within sight of the temple. The whole island was now purified in the following manner — The Athenians took away the dead out of all the sepulchres which were in Delos<sup>a</sup>, and passed a decree that henceforward no one should die or give birth to a child there, but that the inhabitants when they were near the time of either should be carried across to Rheneia. Now Rheneia is near to Delos, so near indeed that Polycrates the tyrant of Samos, who for a time had a powerful navy, attached this island, which he conquered with the rest of the islands and dedicated to the Delian Apollo, by a chain to Delos. After the purification, the Athenians for the first time celebrated the Delian games, which were held every four years. There had been in ancient days a great gathering of the Ionians and the neighbouring islanders at Delos, whither they brought their wives and children to be present at the Delian games, as the Ionians now frequent the games at Ephesus. Musical and gymnastic contests were held there, and the cities celebrated choral dances. The character of the festival is attested by

The Athenians renew the purification of Delos and restore the Delian games

<sup>a</sup> Cp. 18 mit, v 1

BC 426  
Ol 88, 3

Homer in the following verses, which are taken from III  
the hymn to Apollo —

‘At other times, Phoebus, Delos is dearest to thy heart,  
Where are gathered together the Ionians in flowing robes,  
With their wives and children in thy street  
There do they delight thee with boxing and dancing and song,  
Making mention of thy name at the meeting of the assembly’

The old  
festival of  
Delos is  
celebrated  
by Homer.

And that there were musical contests which attracted competitors is implied in the following words of the same hymn After commemorating the Delian dance of women, Homer ends their praises with these lines, in which he alludes to himself —

‘And now may Apollo and Artemis be gracious,  
And to all of you, maidens, I say farewell  
Yet remember me when I am gone,  
And if some other toiling pilgrim among the sons of men  
Comes and asks O maidens,  
Who is the sweetest minstrel of all who wander hither,  
And in whom do you delight most?  
Make answer with one voice, in gentle words,  
The blind old man of Chios’ rocky isle’

Thus far Homer, who clearly indicates that even in days of old there was a great gathering and festival at Delos In after ages the islanders and the Athenians sent choruses and sacrificed But the games and the greater part of the ceremonies naturally fell into disuse, owing to the misfortunes of Ionia The Athenians now restored the games and for the first time introduced horse-races.

During the same winter the Ambraclots, in fulfilment 105.  
of the promise by which they had induced Eurylochus and his army to remain <sup>a</sup>, made an expedition against the Amphilochean Argos with three thousand hoplites. They invaded the Argive territory and seized Olpae, a strong fort on a hill by the sea-side, which in former days the Acarnanians had fortified and used as a common hall of justice. The place is about three miles from Argos, which is also on the sea-shore One division of the Acarnanians came to the aid of Argos, while another encamped at a spot called the Wells, where they could

Eurylochus  
and the  
Ambraclots  
combine  
their forces  
against the  
Amphilo-  
chean  
Argos,  
which the  
Amphilo-  
cheans,  
Acarna-  
nians, and  
Athenians  
unite to  
protect

<sup>a</sup> Cp III 102 fin

## III

The Ambraciots seize Olpae, and send for reinforcements

lie in wait for Eurylochus and the Peloponnesians, and prevent them from joining the Ambraciots unobserved. They also despatched a messenger to Demosthenes, who had led the Athenian expedition into Aetolia, asking him to be their commander, and sent for twenty Athenian ships which were just then cruising about the Peloponnese under the command of Aristoteles the son of Timocrates, and Hierophon the son of Antimnestus. The Ambraciots sent a messenger from Olpae to their own citizens, bidding them come and help them with their entire force, for they were afraid that Eurylochus and his followers might not be able to make their way through the Acarnanians, and then they would have either to fight alone, or to attempt a hazardous retreat.

B.C. 426  
Ol. 88, 3

## 106.

March of the Peloponnesians, who effect a junction with the Ambraciots at Olpae

Eurylochus and the Peloponnesians, when they heard that the Ambraciots had arrived at Olpae, left Proschium and went with all speed to help them. Passing over the river Achelous they marched through Acarnania, leaving the city and garrison of Stratus on the right hand, and the rest of Acarnania on their left. The land was deserted, for the inhabitants had gone to the assistance of Aigos. Crossing the territory of Stratus they proceeded through Phytia and by the extreme border of Medeon, and so through Limnaea, at last they left Acarnania, and reached the friendly country of the Agraeans. Then taking to Mount Thyamus, which is a wild district, they marched on and descended into the plain of Argos after dark. Making their way unobserved between the city of Argos and the Acarnanian force stationed at the Wells, they at length reached the Ambraciots at Olpae.

## 107

Athenian reinforcements arrive. Demosthenes takes the command. He encamps near Olpae,

The two armies having effected this junction moved at break of day to a place called Metiopolis, and there encamped. Soon afterwards the Argives received the expected reinforcement of twenty Athenian ships, which arrived in the Ambracian Gulf. With them came Demosthenes, who brought two hundred Messenian hoplites and sixty Athenian archers. The ships anchored about the

B C 426  
Ol 88, 3

hill of Olpae, while the Acarnanians and a few of the III.

Amphilochians (the greater part of them were prevented from stirring by the Ambraciots<sup>a</sup>), having mustered at Argos, were now preparing to give battle. They associated Demosthenes with their own generals in the command of the allied forces. He led them to the neighbourhood of Olpae, and there encamped at a place where they were divided from the enemy by a great ravine. During five days they remained inactive; on the sixth day both armies drew up in battle array. Demosthenes, fearing that he would be surrounded by the Peloponnesians who were more numerous and extended beyond his own line, placed hoplites and light-armed troops, numbering altogether four hundred, in a deep lane overgrown with brushwood, intending them to lie in wait until the moment of conflict, when they were to rush out from the rear on the line of the enemy where it overlapped. The preparations of both armies were now complete and they engaged. Demosthenes led his own right wing, on which were the Messenians and a few Athenians, while the other was held by the Acarnanians, who were disposed according to their cities, and by the Amphilochian javelin-men who were in the battle. The Peloponnesians and Ambraciots were intermingled, with the exception of the Mantineans, who were all collected on the left wing, but the extremity of the wing was occupied by Eurylochus and his division, who were opposed to the Messenians under Demosthenes.

When the two armies were at close quarters, the left 108.

wing of the Peloponnesians out-flanked the right wing of their opponents and threatened to surround them, whereupon the Acarnanians, coming upon them from behind out of the ambuscade, charged and turned them. They fled without striking a blow, and their panic caused the greater part of the army to run with them. For, when they saw Eurylochus and their best troops routed, they

where preparing for action he places troops in an ambuscade

The Peloponnesian left wing is panic-stricken by the troops coming out of the ambuscade, and flies. The right wing is victorious

<sup>a</sup> Cp III 114 fin



lost whatever courage they had. The Messenians, who were in this part of the field under the command of Demosthenes, were foremost in the work. The right wing of the enemy, however, and the Ambraciots, who are the most warlike nation in those parts, vanquished their opponents and drove them back to Argos. But, retreating, they saw the greater part of the army defeated, and were hard pressed by the victorious division of the Acarnanians, whereupon, escaping with difficulty, they made their way to Olpae. Numbers of the defeated were killed, for they dashed into the fort wildly and in confusion, except the Mantineans, who kept together and retreated in better order than any other part of the army. The battle, which had lasted until evening, now ended.

109. On the next day Menedaeus took the command, for Eurylochus and Macarius, the two other generals, had been slain<sup>a</sup>. He knew not what to do after so serious a defeat. He could not hope, if he remained, to stand a siege, hemmed in as he was by land, and at sea blockaded by the Athenian ships, neither could he safely retire, so entering into a parley with Demosthenes and the Acarnanian generals about the burial of the dead, he tried to negotiate with them at the same time for a retreat. The Athenians gave back to the enemy their dead, erected a trophy, and took up their own dead, in number about three hundred. They would not openly agree to the proposal for a general retreat, but Demosthenes and his Acarnanian colleagues made a secret treaty with the Mantineans, and Menedaeus, and the other Peloponnesian generals and chief persons, allowing their army to depart. He wanted partly to isolate the Ambraciots and their foreign mercenary troops, but much more to take away the character of the Lacedaemonians and Peloponnesians among the Hellenes in those parts and convict them of selfishness and treachery. Accordingly the Peloponnesians took up their dead, and

Difficulties  
of the Lacedaemonian  
commander,  
who negotiates with  
Demosthenes a  
secret treaty  
for the Peloponnesians  
only

<sup>a</sup> Cp. 17. 38 init.

B C 426 burying them quickly as well as they could, consulted III.  
Ol 88, 3 secretly how those who had permission could best depart.

Meanwhile news was brought to Demosthenes and the IIO.  
Acarnanians that the whole remaining force of the Am-  
braciots, who some time previously had been summoned Approach  
of the main  
army of the  
Ambraciots  
from the city<sup>a</sup> to join the troops in Olpae, were now  
on their way through the territory of the Amphilochians  
and were in entire ignorance of what had occurred. Demos-  
thenes pre-  
pares to cut  
them off  
Whereupon he at once sent forward a part of his army  
to lie in ambush in the roads and to occupy the strong  
places, himself at the same time preparing to support  
them with the rest of his forces.

In the meantime the Mantineans and the others who III.  
were included in the truce went out on pretence of The Pelo-  
ponnesians  
steal away  
from Olpae,  
and escape  
to Agraea  
gathering herbs and sticks, and stole away one by one,  
picking up as they went along what they pretended The Am-  
braciots who  
try to follow  
them are  
slain  
to be looking for But, as they got farther away from  
Olpae, they quickened their steps, and then the Am-  
braciots and others who happened to collect on the  
instant, when they saw that they were leaving, ran after  
them at full speed, wanting to get up with them. The  
Acarnanians at first thought that none of those who  
were going away were protected by a truce, and pur-  
sued the Peloponnesians Some of the generals tried  
to keep them back and explained how matters stood,  
whereupon a soldier, suspecting that there was treachery,  
hurled a javelin at them. At length the soldiers unde-  
stood, and let the Mantineans and Peloponnesians go,  
but began to kill the Ambraciots There was great  
dispute and uncertainty as to who was an Ambraciot  
and who a Peloponnesian. Of the former they killed  
about two hundred, the Peloponnesians escaped into  
the neighbouring country of Agraea, and were received  
by king Salynthius who was their friend

Meanwhile the reinforcement from the city of Am- I 12.  
bracia had reached Idomenè, which is the name of two Demos-  
thenes,  
having sent  
lofty peaks. The higher of the two had been already

<sup>a</sup> Cp. III 105 fin

III. occupied unobserved at nightfall by the troops which <sup>B C 426</sup>  
 Demosthenes had sent forward, of the lower the Am- <sup>Ol 88, 3</sup>  
 braciots first obtained possession and encamped there  
 As soon as it was dark, after supper, Demosthenes ad-  
 vanced with the rest of his army, himself leading half  
 of them towards the pass between the mountains, while  
 the rest made their way through the Amphilochian hills  
 At the first dawn of day he fell upon the Ambraciots, who  
 were still half-asleep, and so far from knowing anything  
 of what had happened, that they imagined his troops to  
 be their own comrades. For Demosthenes had taken  
 care to place the Messenians in the first rank and desired  
 them to speak to the enemy in their own Doric dialect,  
 thereby putting the sentinels off their guard, and as it was  
 still dark, their appearance could not be distinguished.  
 So they fell upon the Ambraciots and routed them  
 Most of them were slain on the spot, the remainder  
 fled over the mountains But the paths were beset,  
 the Amphilochians were lightly-armed and in their own  
 country which they knew, while their enemies were  
 heavy-armed and the country was strange to them.  
 And so, not knowing which way to turn, they fell into  
 ravines and into ambuscades which had been set for  
 them, and perished Every means of escape was tried.  
 Some even fled to the sea which was not far distant,  
 and seeing the Athenian ships which were sailing by  
 while the action was taking place, swam out to them,  
 thinking in the terror of the moment that they had  
 better be killed, if die they must, by the Athenians in  
 the ships than by their barbarous and detested enemies  
 the Amphilochians So the Ambraciots were cut to  
 pieces, and but few out of many returned home to their  
 city. The Acarnanians, having despoiled the dead and  
 raised trophies, returned to Argos

III. On the following day there arrived a herald from the  
 Ambraciots who had escaped out of Olpae to the  
 Agraeans. He came to recover the bodies of the dead  
 who had been slain subsequently to the first engagement,

on forces  
 which oc-  
 cupy the hill  
 opposite to  
 that where-  
 on the Am-  
 braciots are  
 encamped,  
 at Idomenè,  
 surprises  
 and routs  
 them

III.

Despair of  
 the herald  
 who came  
 from the  
 fugitive

BC 426  
OI 88, 3

when, unprotected by the treaty, they tried to get out III.

of Olpae in company with the Mantineans and others Ambraciots when he heard of the second and greater defeat protected by it The herald saw the arms of the Ambraciot troops from the city and wondered at the number of them; he knew nothing of the later disaster, and he imagined that they belonged to his own division of the army Some one else thought that the herald had come from the army defeated at Idomenè, and asked why he looked so astonished, and how many of their men had fallen, he replied, 'about two hundred<sup>a</sup>,' whereupon the other rejoined, 'These which you see are not the arms of two hundred men, but of more than a thousand' The herald replied, 'Then they cannot be the arms of our men' The other answered, 'They must be, if you were fighting yesterday at Idomenè' 'But yesterday we did not fight at all, it was the day before, in the retreat.' 'All I know is that we fought yesterday with these men, who were marching to your aid from Ambracia.' When the herald heard these words, and knew that the army coming from the city had perished, he uttered a cry of anguish, and, overwhelmed by the greatness of the blow, went away at once without doing his errand, no longer caring to demand the dead. And indeed in the whole war no such calamity happened within so few days to any Hellenic state<sup>b</sup> I have not ventured to set down the number of those who fell, for the loss would appear incredible when compared with the size of the city. Of this I am certain, that if the Acarnanians had been willing to destroy Ambracia as Demosthenes and the Athenians desired, they might have taken it at the first onset But they were afraid that the Athenians, if they once got possession of the place, would be more troublesome neighbours than the Ambraciots<sup>c</sup>.

After assigning a third part of the spoils to the Athenians, the Acarnanians divided the remainder among their cities. The spoils of the Athenians were captured on the voyage But three hundred panoplies which

<sup>a</sup> Cp III 111 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp. VII 30 fin

<sup>c</sup> Cp III. 92 init.

III were allotted to Demosthenes he brought home with him, and they are still preserved in the Athenian temples. This good service of his enabled him to return to Athens with less apprehension after his misfortune in Actolia. The twenty Athenian ships sailed away to Naupactus. The Acarnanians and Amphilochians, after the Athenians and Demosthenes had left them, granted a truce to the Ambraciots and Peloponnesians who had fled to Salynthus and the Agraeans, they were thus enabled to return home from Oeniadae, whither they had removed from the country of Salynthus. The Acarnanians and Amphilochians now made a treaty of alliance for one hundred years with the Ambraciots, of which the terms were as follows — ‘The Ambraciots shall not be required to join the Acarnanians in making war on the Peloponnesians, nor the Acarnanians to join the Ambraciots in making war on the Athenians. But they shall aid in the defence of one another’s territory. The Ambraciots shall give up such places or hostages of the Amphilochians as they possess<sup>a</sup>, and they shall not assist Anactorium’ (which was hostile to the Acarnanians)<sup>b</sup>. Upon these terms they put an end to the war. Soon afterwards the Corinthians sent a force of their own, consisting of three hundred hoplites under the command of Xenocleidas the son of Euthycles, to guard Ambracia, whither they made their way with some difficulty by land. Such was the end of the Ambracian war.

II 5. During the same winter the Athenian fleet in Sicily, sailing to Himera, made a descent upon the country in concert with the Sicels, who had invaded the extreme border of the Himeraeans from the interior, they also attacked the Aeolian Isles. Returning to Rhegium, they found that Pythodorus son of Isolochus, one of the Athenian generals, had superseded Laches in the command of the fleet. The allies of the Athenians in Sicily had sailed to Athens, and persuaded the Athenians to

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iii. 107 init.

<sup>b</sup> Cp i 55 init.

Return of  
Demosthenes  
and the  
Athenian  
fleet  
Treaty  
between the  
Acarnanians  
and  
Amphilo-  
chians

B C 426  
Ol 88, 3

B C 426  
Ol 88, 3

send a larger fleet to their aid, for their territory was in the power of the Syracusans, and they were kept off the sea by a few ships only, so they were preparing to resist, and had begun to collect a navy. The Athenians manned forty ships for their relief, partly hoping to finish the war in Sicily the sooner, partly because they wanted to exercise their fleet. They despatched one of the commanders, Pythodorus, with a few ships, intending to send Sophocles the son of Sostratides, and Eurymedon the son of Thucles, with the larger division of the fleet afterwards. Pythodorus, having now succeeded Laches in the command, sailed at the end of the winter against the Locrian fort which Laches had previously taken<sup>a</sup>, but he was defeated by the Locrians and retired. III.

In the early spring a stream of fire, not for the first time, issued from Mount Aetna, which is the highest mountain in Sicily, and devastated a portion of the territory of the Catanaeans who dwell on the skirts of Aetna. The last eruption is said to have taken place fifty years before, and altogether three eruptions are recorded since the Hellenes first settled in Sicily. Such were the events of the winter; and so ended the sixth year in the Peloponnesian War of which Thucydides wrote the history. II 6.

Eruption  
of Aetna

<sup>a</sup> Cp III. 99.

## BOOK IV.

- IV. 1.     In the following summer, about the time when the B C 425  
Ol 88, 4  
The Syracusans and Locrians induce Messenè to revolt from the Athenians. The Locrians at the same time invade the territory of Rhegium
corn comes into ear, ten Syracusan and ten Locrian ships took possession of Messenè in Sicily, whither they had gone by the invitation of the inhabitants. And so Messenè revolted from the Athenians. The Syracusans took part in this affair chiefly because they saw that Messenè was the key to Sicily. They were afraid that the Athenians would one day establish themselves there and come and attack them with a larger force. The Locrians took part because the Rhegians were their enemies, and they wanted to crush them by sea as well as by land. They had already invaded the territory of Rhegium with their whole army, in order to hinder the Rhegians from assisting the Messenians, they were also partly instigated by certain Rhegian exiles who had taken refuge with them. For the Rhegians had been for a long time torn by revolution, and in their present condition could not resist the Locrians, who for this very reason were the more disposed to attack them. After wasting the country, the Locrians withdrew their land forces, but the ships remained to protect Messenè. Another fleet which the allies were manning was intended to lie in the harbour of Messenè, and to carry on the war from thence.
2.     During the spring and about the same time, before the corn was in full ear, the Peloponnesians and their allies invaded Attica, under the command of Agis the
- Fifth invasion of Attica

B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

son of Archidamus, the Lacedaemonian king They IV.  
encamped and ravaged the country.

The Athenians send forty additional ships to Sicily Demosthenes accompanies them on a special commission

The Athenians sent to Sicily the forty ships<sup>a</sup>, which were now ready, under the command of Eurymedon and Sophocles, the third general Pythodorus, having gone thither beforehand. Orders were given to them, as they passed Corcyra, to assist the Corcyraeans in the city, who were harassed by the exiles in the mountain<sup>b</sup>. The Peloponnesians had already sent sixty ships to the assistance of the exiles, expecting to make themselves masters of the situation with little difficulty, for there was a great famine in the city. Demosthenes, since his return from Acarnania, had been in no command, but now at his own request the Athenians allowed him to make use of the fleet about the Peloponnese according to his judgment.

When they arrived off the coast of Laconia and heard 3  
that the Peloponnesian ships were already at Corcyra, Eurymedon and Sophocles wanted to hasten thither, but Demosthenes desired them first to put in at Pylos and not to proceed on their voyage until they had done what he wanted. They objected, but it so happened that a storm came on and drove them into Pylos. Instantly Demosthenes urged them to fortify the place; this being the project which he had in view when he accompanied the fleet<sup>c</sup>. He pointed out to them that there was abundance of timber and stone ready to their hand, and that the position was naturally strong, while both the place itself and the country for a long way round was uninhabited. Pylos is distant about forty-six miles from Sparta, and is situated in the territory which once belonged to the Messenians, by the Lacedaemonians it is called Coryphasium. The other generals argued that there were plenty of desolate promontories on the coast of Peloponnesus which he might occupy if he wanted to waste the public money. But Demosthenes thought that this

Demosthenes wants the generals to fortify Pylos. They ridicule his arguments

<sup>a</sup> Cp iii. 115 med

<sup>b</sup> Cp iii 85 fin

<sup>c</sup> Reading with many good MSS. *ἐνέπλευσε*.



- IV. particular spot had exceptional advantages There was a harbour ready at hand, the Messenians, who were the ancient inhabitants of the country and spoke the same language with the Lacedaemonians, would make descents from the fort and do the greatest mischief, and they would be a trusty garrison. B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

4 As neither generals nor soldiers would listen to him, he at last communicated his idea to the officers of divisions, who would not listen to him either. The weather was still unfit for sailing, he was therefore compelled to remain doing nothing, until at length the soldiers, who were standing about idle, were themselves seized with a desire to fortify the place forthwith. So they put their hands to the work, and, being unprovided with iron tools, brought stones which they picked out and put them together as they happened to fit, if they required to use mortar, having no hods, they carried it on their backs, which they bent so as to form a resting-place for it, clasping their hands behind them that it might not fall off. By every means in their power they hurried on the weaker points, wanting to finish them before the Lacedaemonians arrived. The position was in most places so strongly fortified by nature as to have no need of a wall.

5. The Lacedaemonians, who were just then celebrating a festival<sup>a</sup>, made light of the news, being under the impression that they could easily storm the fort whenever they chose to attack it, even if the Athenians did not run away of themselves at their approach. They were also delayed by the absence of their army in Attica. In six days the Athenians finished the wall on the land side, and in places towards the sea where it was most required, they then left Demosthenes with five ships to defend it, and with the rest hastened on their way to Corcyra and Sicily.

6 The Peloponnesian army in Attica, when they heard that Pylos had been occupied, quickly returned home,

The Athenians are detained by stress of weather. At length the idea is taken up and carried out by the common soldiers.

The fort is completed in six days, five ships are left with Demosthenes, the rest go on to Corcyra.

Recall of the Peloponnesians.

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 54, v. 82 mit

B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

Agis and the Lacedaemonians thinking that this matter IV.  
touched them very nearly. The invasion had been made ponnesians from Attica  
quite early in the year while the corn was yet green,  
and they were in want of food for their soldiers, more-  
over the wet and unseasonable weather had distressed  
them, so that on many grounds they were inclined to  
return sooner than they had intended. This was the  
shortest of all the Peloponnesian invasions, they only  
remained fifteen days in Attica.

About the same time Simonides, an Athenian general, 7.  
collecting a few troops from the Athenian garrisons, and Temporary capture and subsequent loss of a place called Eion  
a larger force from their allies in that neighbourhood,  
took Eion in Chalcidicè, a colony of Mendè, which had  
been hostile to Athens, the place was betrayed to  
him. But the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans quickly came  
to the rescue, and he was driven out with consider-  
able loss.

On the return of the Peloponnesians from Attica, the 8.  
Spartans and the Perioeci <sup>a</sup> in the neighbourhood of the The Spar-  
tans go to  
Pylos, they  
summon  
their allies  
and sixty  
ships which  
they had  
sent to  
Corcyra.  
city <sup>a</sup> went at once to attack Pylos, but the other Lacedaemonians, having only just returned from an expedition, were slower in arriving. A message was sent round the Peloponnesus bidding the allies come without a moment's delay and meet at Pylos, another message summoned the sixty Peloponnesian ships from Corcyra. These were carried over the Leucadian isthmus <sup>b</sup>, and, undiscovered by the Athenian ships, which were by this time at Zacynthus, reached Pylos, where their land forces had already assembled. While the Peloponnesian fleet was still on its way, Demosthenes succeeded in despatching unobserved two vessels to let Eurymedon and the Athenian fleet know of his danger, and to bid them come at once.

While the Athenian ships were hastening to the assistance of Demosthenes in accordance with his request, the Lacedaemonians prepared to attack the fort both by sea and by land, they thought that there would be

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'in the neighbourhood of Pylos.'

<sup>b</sup> Cp. iii 81 init

IV little difficulty in taking a work hastily constructed and defended by a handful of men But as they expected the speedy arrival of the Athenian fleet they meant to close the entrances to the harbour, and prevent the Athenians from anchoring there should they fail in taking the fort before their arrival

The Lacedaemonians prepare to attack the fort  
The harbour of Pylos is formed by the island Sphacteria, which the Lacedaemonians occupy with four hundred and twenty men

B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

The island which is called Sphacteria stretches along the land and is quite close to it, making the harbour safe and the entrances narrow; there is only a passage for two ships at the one end, which was opposite Pylos and the Athenian fort, while at the other the strait is wide enough to admit eight or nine. The length of the island is about a mile and three-quarters, it was wooded, and being uninhabited had no roads. The Lacedaemonians were intending to block up the mouths of the harbour by ships placed close together with their prows outwards, meanwhile, fearing lest the Athenians should use the island for military operations, they conveyed thither some hoplites, and posted others along the shore of the mainland. Thus both the island and the mainland would be hostile to the Athenians; and nowhere on the mainland would there be a possibility of landing. For on the shore of Pylos itself, outside the entrance of the strait, and where the land faced the open sea, there were no harbours, and the Athenians would find no position from which they could assist their countrymen. Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians, avoiding the risk of an engagement at sea, might take the fort, which had been occupied in a hurry and was not provisioned. Under this impression they conveyed their hoplites over to the island, selecting them by lot out of each division of the army. One detachment relieved another, those who went over last and were taken in the island were four hundred and twenty men, besides the Helots who attended them, they were under the command of Epitadas the son of Molobrus.

9. Demosthenes, seeing that the Lacedaemonians were about to attack him both by sea and by land, made his own preparations. He drew up on shore under

Skilful use made by Demos-

B.C. 425  
Ol. 88, 4

the fort the three triremes remaining to him out of the five which had not gone on to Corcyra, and protected them by a stockade, their crews he armed with shields, but of a poor sort, most of them made of wicker-work. In an uninhabited country there was no possibility of procuring arms, and these were only obtained from a thirty-oared privateer and a light boat belonging to some Messenians who had just arrived. Of these Messenians about forty were hoplites, whom Demosthenes used with the others. He placed the greater part both of his heavy and light-armed forces upon the side of the place which looks towards the mainland and was stronger and better fortified; these he ordered, if they should be attacked, to repel the land forces, while he himself selected out of the whole body of his troops sixty hoplites and a few archers, and marched out of the fort to the sea-shore at the point where the Lacedaemonians seemed most likely to attempt a landing. The spot which he chose lay towards the open sea, and was rocky and dangerous, but he thought that the enemy would be attracted thither and would be sure to make a dash at that point because the fortifications were weaker. For the Athenians, not expecting to be defeated at sea, had left the wall just there less strong, knowing that if their enemies could once force a landing the place would in any case easily be taken. Accordingly, marching down to the very edge of the sea, he there posted his hoplites; he was determined to keep the enemy off if he could, and in this spirit he addressed his men —

‘My companions in danger, let none of you now on

the eve of battle desire to display his wits by reckoning up the sum of the perils which surround us, let him rather resolve to meet the enemy without much thought, but with a lively hope that he will survive them all. In cases like these, when there is no choice, reflection is useless, and the sooner danger comes the better. I am sure that our chances are more than equal if we will

IV  
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Demos-  
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vises his  
men not  
to think  
too much  
before they  
fight  
The  
chances are  
in their  
favour

## IV

The place is inaccessible if they keep their ground, but if they retire, very accessible indeed. They are on land, the enemy on water. Let them stand firm, and keep him off the beach.

only stand firm, and, having so many advantages, do not take fright at the numbers of the enemy and throw them all away. The inaccessibility of the place is one of them, this, however, will only aid us if we maintain our position, when we have once retreated, the ground, though difficult in itself, will be easy enough to the enemy, for there will be no one to oppose him. And if we turn and press upon him he will be more obstinate than ever, for his retreat will be next to impossible. On ship-board the Peloponnesians are easily repelled, but once landed they are as good as we are. Of their numbers again we need not be so much afraid, for, numerous as they are, few only can fight at a time, owing to the difficulty of bringing their ships to shore. We are contending against an army superior indeed in numbers, but they are not our equals in other respects, for they are not on land but on water, and ships require many favourable accidents before they can act with advantage. So that I consider their embarrassments to counterbalance our want of numbers. You are Athenians, who know by experience the difficulty of disembarking in the presence of an enemy, and that if a man is not frightened out of his wits at the splashing of oars and the threatening look of a ship bearing down upon him, but is determined to hold his ground, no force can move him. It is now your turn to be attacked, and I call on you to stand fast and not to let the enemy touch the beach at all. Thus you will save yourselves and the place.

B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

## I I.

Difficulty of effecting a landing. Brasidas greatly distinguishes himself.

The Athenians, inspired by the words of Demosthenes, went down to the shore and formed a line along the water's edge. The Lacedaemonians now began to move, and assaulted the fort with their army by land, and with their fleet, consisting of forty-three ships, by sea. The admiral in command was Thrasymelidas, son of Cratesicles, a Spartan, he made his attack just where Demosthenes expected. The Athenians defended themselves both by sea and land. The Peloponnesians had divided their fleet into relays of a few ships—the space

B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

would not allow of more—and so resting and fighting by IV  
turns they made their attack with great spirit, loudly exhorting one another to force back the enemy and take the fort. Brasidas distinguished himself above all other men in the engagement, he was captain of a ship, and seeing his fellow-captains and the pilots, even if they could touch anywhere, hesitating and afraid of running their ships on the rocks, he called out to them ‘Not to be sparing of timber when the enemy had built a fort in their country, let them wreck their ships and force a landing’ this he said to his own countrymen, and to the allies that ‘they should not hesitate at such a moment to make a present of their ships to the Lacedaemonians, who had done so much for them, they must run aground, and somehow or other get to land and take the fort and the men in it’

While thus upbraiding the others he compelled his I 2.  
own pilot to run his ship aground, and made for the gangway. But in attempting to disembark he was struck by the Athenians, and, after receiving many wounds, he swooned away and fell into the fore part of the ship, his shield slipped off his arm into the sea, and, being washed ashore, was taken up by the Athenians and used for the trophy which they raised after their victory. The Peloponnesians in the other ships made great efforts to disembark, but were unable on account of the roughness of the ground and the tenacity with which the Athenians held their position. It was a singular turn of fortune which drove the Athenians to repel the Lacedaemonians, who were attacking them by sea, from the Lacedaemonian coast, and the Lacedaemonians to fight for a landing on their own soil, now hostile to them, in the face of the Athenians. For in those days it was the great glory of the Lacedaemonians to be an inland people distinguished for their military prowess, and of the Athenians to be a nation of sailors and the first naval power in Hellas.

But he is wounded and loses his shield. Paradoxical character of the battle.

The Peloponnesians, having continued their efforts I 3.

IV. during this day and a part of the next, at length B C 425  
Ol 88, 4.  
 desisted, on the third day they sent some of their ships to Asinè for timber with which to make engines, hoping by their help to take the part of the fort looking towards the harbour where the landing was easier, although it was built higher. Meanwhile the Athenian ships arrived from Zacynthus, they had been increased in number to fifty by the arrival of some guard-ships from Naupactus and of four Chian vessels. Their commanders saw that both the mainland and the island were full of hoplites, and that the ships were in the harbour and were not coming out so, not knowing where to find anchorage, they sailed away for the present to the island of Protè, which was close at hand and uninhabited, and there passed the night. Next day, having made ready for action, they put off to sea, intending, if, as they hoped, the Peloponnesians were willing to come out against them, to give battle in the open, if not, to sail into the harbour. The Peloponnesians did not come out, and had somehow neglected to close the mouths as they had intended. They showed no sign of moving, but were on shore, manning their ships and preparing to fight, if any one entered the harbour, which was of considerable size.

I 4. The Athenians, seeing how matters stood, rushed in upon them at both mouths of the harbour. Most of the enemies' ships had by this time got into deep water and were facing them. These they put to flight and pursued them as well as they could in such a narrow space, damaging many and taking five, one of them with the crew. They charged the remaining vessels even after they had reached the land, and there were some which they disabled while the crews were getting into them and before they put out at all. Others they succeeded in tying to their own ships and began to drag them away empty, the sailors having taken flight. At this sight the Lacedaemonians were in an agony, for their friends were being cut off in the island, they hurried to the rescue, and dashing armed as they were into the sea,

For two days the Peloponnesians continue their efforts  
 Fifty Athenian ships arrive and pass the night at Prote

The Athenians rush in at both mouths of the harbour, which the enemy had neglected to close  
 The Lacedaemonians are defeated after a sharp conflict, and the men stationed in the island are cut off

B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

took hold of the ships and pulled them back, <sup>a</sup>that  
was a time when every one thought that the action  
was at a stand where he himself was not engaged <sup>a</sup>  
There was a tremendous conflict, the two combatants  
in this battle for the ships interchanging their usual  
manner of fighting, for the Lacedaemonians in their  
excitement and desperation did, as one may say, carry  
on a sea-fight from the land, and the Athenians, who  
were victorious and eager to push their good-fortune  
to the utmost, waged a land fight from their ships At  
length, after great efforts and much damage inflicted on  
both sides, they parted. The Lacedaemonians saved  
their empty ships, with the exception of those which were  
first taken. Both sides retired to their encampments,  
the Athenians then raised a trophy, gave up the dead,  
and took possession of the wrecks They lost no time  
in sailing round the island and establishing a guard over  
the men who were cut off there But the Peloponnesians  
on the mainland, who had now been joined by all their  
contingents, remained in their position before Pylos.

IV.

At Sparta, when the news arrived, there was great  
consternation, it was resolved that the magistrates  
should go down to the camp and see for themselves,  
they could then take on the spot any measures which  
they thought necessary. Finding on their arrival that  
nothing could be done for their soldiers in the island,  
and not liking to run the risk of their being starved to  
death or overcome by force of numbers <sup>b</sup>, they decided  
that with the consent of the Athenian generals they  
would suspend hostilities at Pylos, and sending ambas-  
sadors to ask for peace at Athens, would endeavour to  
recover their men as soon as possible

I 5.

Consterna-  
tion at  
Sparta  
Finding  
that nothing  
can be  
done, the  
Spartans  
make a  
truce and  
send am-  
bassadors  
to ask for  
peace

The Athenian commanders accepted their proposals, 16  
and a truce was made on the following conditions —

Terms of  
the truce  
The Lace-

‘The Lacedaemonians shall deliver into the hands of

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking *κεκωλύσθαι* with *ἕκαστος* ‘that was a time when  
every one felt that he was under a restraint because he was unable  
to be everywhere and to do everything’

<sup>b</sup> Omitting *ἢ* after *βιασθέντας*



- IV. the Athenians at Pylos the ships in which they fought, <sup>BC 425</sup> and shall also bring thither and deliver over any other <sup>Ol 88, 4</sup> ships of war which are in Laconia, and they shall make no assault upon the fort either by sea or land. The Athenians shall permit the Lacedaemonians on the mainland to send to those on the island a fixed quantity of kneaded flour, viz two Attic quarts<sup>a</sup> of barley-meal for each man, and a pint of wine, and also a piece of meat, for an attendant, half these quantities, they shall send them into the island under the inspection of the Athenians, and no vessel shall sail in by stealth. The Athenians shall guard the island as before, but not land, and shall not attack the Peloponnesian forces by land or by sea. If either party violate this agreement in any particular, however slight, the truce is to be at an end. The agreement is to last until the Lacedaemonian ambassadors return from Athens, and the Athenians are to convey them thither and bring them back in a truce. When they return the truce is to be at an end, and the Athenians are to restore the ships in the same condition in which they received them'. Such were the terms of the truce. The ships, which were about sixty in number, were given up to the Athenians. The ambassadors went on their way, and arriving at Athens spoke as follows —
- I 7. 'Men of Athens, the Lacedaemonians have sent us to negotiate for the recovery of our countrymen in the island, in the hope that you may be induced to grant us terms such as will be at once advantageous to you and not inglorious to us in our present misfortune. If we speak at length, this will be no departure from the custom of our country. On the contrary, it is our manner not to say much where few words will suffice, but to be more liberal of speech<sup>b</sup> when some weighty communication has to be made and words are the ministers of action<sup>b</sup>.
- We use few or many words as the occasion requires. You have now a great opportunity of placing yourselves above the chances of fortune.

<sup>a</sup> The choenix was about two pints, dry measure; the cotylê about half a pint.

<sup>b</sup> Or, taking λόγους with διδάσκοντας 'when some weighty communication has to be made by words, if anything is to be really done.'

BC 425  
OI 88, 4

Do not receive what we say in a hostile spirit, or imagine that we deem you ignorant and are instructing you, but regard us simply as putting you in mind<sup>a</sup> of what you already know to be good policy. For you may turn your present advantage to excellent account, not only keeping what you have won, but gaining honour and glory as well. You will then escape the reverse which is apt to be experienced by men who attain any unusual good fortune, for, having already succeeded beyond all expectation, they see no reason why they should set any limit to their hopes and desires. Whereas they who have oftenest known the extremes of either kind of fortune ought to be most suspicious of prosperity, and this may naturally be expected to be the lesson which experience has taught both us and you.

‘Look only at the calamity which has just overtaken us, who formerly enjoyed the greatest prestige of any Hellenic state, but are now come hither to ask of you the boon which at one time we should have thought ourselves better able to confer. You cannot attribute our mishap to any want of power; nor to the pride which an increase of power fosters. We were neither stronger nor weaker than before, but we erred in judgment, and to such errors all men are liable. Therefore you should not suppose that, because your city and your empire are powerful at this moment, you will always have fortune on your side. The wise ensure their own safety by not making too sure of their gains, and when disasters come they can tell better where they are, they know that war will go on its way whithersoever chance may lead, and will not be bound by the rules which he who begins to meddle with it would fain prescribe. They of all men will be least likely to meet with reverses, because they are not puffed up with military success, and they will be most inclined to end the struggle in the hour of victory. It will be for your honour, Athenians, to act thus towards us. And then the victories which you have

IV.

18.

Take warn-  
ing from our  
disaster  
In your  
hour of  
prosperity  
show that  
you know  
when to  
stop

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iv. 95 init, iv. 126 init; v. 69 fin.

IV gained already cannot be attributed to mere luck, as they certainly will be if, rejecting our prayer, you should hereafter encounter disasters, a thing which is not unlikely to happen. But you may if you will leave to posterity a reputation for power and wisdom which no danger can affect B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

19 'The Lacedaemonians invite you to make terms with them and to finish the war. They offer peace and alliance and a general friendly and happy relation, and they ask in return their countrymen who are cut off in the island. They think it better that neither city should run any further risk, you of the escape of the besieged, who may find some means of forcing their way out, we of their being compelled to surrender and passing absolutely into your hands. We think that great enmities are most effectually reconciled, not when one party seeks revenge and, getting a decided superiority, binds his adversary by enforced oaths and makes a treaty with him on unequal terms, but when, having in his power to do all this, he from a generous and equitable feeling overcomes his resentment, and by the moderation of his terms surprises his adversary, who, having suffered no violence at his hands, is bound to recompense his generosity not with evil but with good, and who therefore, from a sense of honour, is more likely to keep his word. And mankind are more ready to make such a concession to their greater enemies than to those with whom they have only a slight difference<sup>a</sup>. Again, they joyfully give way to those who first give way themselves, although against overbearing power they will risk a conflict even contrary to their own better judgment.

20. 'Now, if ever, is the time of reconciliation for us both, before either has suffered any irremediable calamity, which must cause, besides the ordinary antagonism of contending states, a personal and inveterate hatred, and will deprive you of the advantages which we now offer. While the contest is still undecided, while you may

We invite you to make peace. Great enmities are best reconciled when the victor is generous and binds his adversary to him by ties of gratitude.

Reconciliation is still possible, for nothing irreparable has happened. Who began the war is a

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 91 init

BC 425 acquire reputation and our friendship, and while our IV.  
 Ol 88, 4 disaster can be repaired on tolerable terms, and disgrace disputed  
 averted, let us be reconciled, and choosing peace instead point, but  
 of war ourselves, let us give relief and rest to all the you will  
 Hellenes. The chief credit of the peace will be yours have the  
 Whether we or you drove them into war is uncertain, credit of  
 but to give them peace lies with you, and to you they ending it  
 will be grateful. If you decide for peace, you may assure Once  
 to yourselves the lasting friendship of the Lacedaemo- united, we  
 nians freely offered by them, you on your part em- are the  
 ploying no force but kindness only. Consider the great lords of  
 advantages which such a friendship will yield. If you Hellas  
 and we are at one, you may be certain that the rest of  
 Hellas, which is less powerful than we, will pay to both  
 of us the greatest deference.'

Thus spoke the Lacedaemonians, thinking that the 21.  
 Athenians, who had formerly been desirous of making The Athe-  
 terms with them, and had only been prevented by their nians at the  
 refusal<sup>a</sup>, would now, when peace was offered to them, instigation  
 joyfully agree and would restore their men. But the of Cleon  
 Athenians reflected that, since they had the Lacedae- insist on  
 monians shut up in the island, it was at any time in impossible  
 their power to make peace, and they wanted more terms  
 These feelings were chiefly encouraged by Cleon the  
 son of Cleaenetus, a popular leader of the day who had  
 the greatest influence over the multitude<sup>b</sup>. He per-  
 suaded them to reply that the men in the island must  
 first of all give up themselves and their arms and be  
 sent to Athens, the Lacedaemonians were then to re-  
 store Nisaea, Pegae, Troezen, and Achaia. Now these  
 places had not been taken in war, but had been sur-  
 rendered under a former treaty<sup>c</sup> in a time of reverse,  
 when the Athenians<sup>d</sup> were more anxious to obtain peace  
 than they now were<sup>d</sup>. On these conditions they might  
 recover the men and make a treaty of such duration as  
 both parties should approve

<sup>a</sup> Cp ii 59.<sup>b</sup> Cp iii. 36 fin.<sup>c</sup> Cp i 115 init.<sup>d</sup> Ol, 'were making and not receiving offers of peace'

IV To this reply the Lacedaemonians said nothing, but B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

22. only requested that the Athenians would appoint commissioners to discuss with them the details of the agreement and quietly arrive at an understanding about them if they could. This proposal was assailed by Cleon in unmeasured language: he had always known, he said, that they meant no good, and now their designs were unveiled, for they were unwilling to speak a word before the people, but wanted to be closeted with a select few<sup>a</sup>; if they had any honesty in them, let them say what they wanted to the whole city. But the Lacedaemonians knew that, although they might be willing to make concessions under the pressure of their calamities, they could not speak openly before the assembly, (for if they spoke and did not succeed, the terms which they offered might injure them in the opinion of their allies), they saw too that the Athenians would not grant what was asked of them on any tolerable conditions. So, after a fruitless negotiation, they returned home.

23. Upon their return the truce at Pylos instantly came to an end, and the Lacedaemonians demanded back their ships according to the agreement. But the Athenians accused them of making an assault upon the fort, and of some other petty infractions of the treaty which seemed hardly worth mentioning. Accordingly they refused to restore them, insisting upon the clause which said that if 'in any particular, however slight,' the agreement were violated, the treaty was to be at an end. The Lacedaemonians remonstrated, and went away protesting against the injustice of detaining their ships. Both parties then renewed the war with the utmost vigour. The Athenians had two triemes sailing round Sphacteria in opposite directions throughout the day, and at night their whole fleet was moored about the island, except on the side towards the sea when the wind was high. Twenty additional ships had come from Athens to assist in the blockade, so that the entire number was

<sup>a</sup> Cp v. 85

B C 425 seventy The Peloponnesians lay encamped on the IV  
 Ol 88, 4 mainland and made assaults against the fort, watching  
 for any opportunity which might present itself of rescuing  
 their men

Meanwhile in Sicily the Syracusans and the allies 24  
 brought up the fleet which they had been equipping<sup>a</sup> The Syra-  
 to Messenè, and joining the other fleet which was keep- cusans and  
 ing guard there, carried on the war from thence Locrians  
 They were instigated chiefly by the Locrians, who hated the renew the  
 Rhegians, and had already invaded their territory with war against  
 their whole force They were eager to try their fortune Rhegium  
 in a naval engagement, for they saw that the Athenians from  
 had only a few ships actually on the spot, the larger Messenè  
 portion of the fleet which had been despatched to Sicily Hopes of  
 being, as they heard, engaged in the siege of Sphac- the Syra-  
 teria If they conquered at sea they hoped to blockade cusans  
 Rhegium both by sea and land, they would easily master  
 the place, and their affairs would then be really gaining  
 strength Rhegium, the extreme point of Italy, and  
 Messenè, of Sicily, are close to one another; and if  
 Rhegium were taken the Athenians would not be able  
 to lie there and command the strait Now the strait  
 is that portion of sea between Rhegium and Messenè  
 where Sicily is nearest to the continent, it is the so-  
 called Charybdis by which Odysseus is said to have  
 passed The channel was naturally considered dangerous,  
 for the strait is narrow, and the sea flowing into it from  
 two great oceans, the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian, is full of  
 currents

In this strait the Syracusans and their allies, who had 25  
 somewhat more than thirty ships, were compelled to Partial de-  
 fight late in the day for a vessel which was sailing feat of the  
 through They put out against sixteen Athenian and Syracusan  
 eight Rhegian ships, but, being defeated by the Athe- fleet by the  
 nians, they made a hasty retreat, each ship as it best Athenians  
 could, to their stations at Messenè and near Rhegium, and Rhe-  
 one ship was lost Night closed the engagement After gians in the  
 straits of  
 Messenè

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv 1 fin.

IV this the Locrians quitted the Rhegian territory, and the B.C. 425  
 Partial suc- Syracusans and their confederates united their fleet and Ol. 88, 4  
 cess of the Syracusans, anchored at the promontory of Pelorus near Messenè, where their land-forces were also stationed. The Athenians and Rhegians, sailing up to them, and seeing that the crews were not there, fell upon the empty vessels, but an iron grapnel was thrown out at them, and they in their turn lost a ship, from which the crew escaped by swimming. Then the Syracusans embarked, and, as they were being towed along the shore towards Messenè, the Athenians again attacked them. Making a sudden twist outwards they struck the first blow at the Athenians, who lost another ship. Thus both in the movement along the coast and in the naval engagement which ensued, the Syracusans proved themselves quite a match for the Athenians, and at length made their way into the harbour at Messenè.

Unsuccess- The Athenians, hearing that Camarina was being  
 ful attempts of the betrayed to the Syracusans by a certain Archias and  
 Messenians his confederates, sailed thither. Meanwhile the Messe-  
 upon nians, with their whole power by land and with the  
 Naxos, and allied fleet, made war upon Naxos, a Chalcidian city  
 of the which was their neighbour. On the first day they forced  
 Leontines and Athe- the Naxians to retire within their walls and ravaged the  
 nians upon country, on the morrow they sailed round to the river  
 Messenè Acesines, again ravaged the country, and with their land-  
 The Athe- forces made incursions in the neighbourhood of the city.  
 nians for a time But in the meantime a large body of Sicels came down  
 withdrew from the over the heights to assist the Naxians against the Messe-  
 contest nians. Perceiving this they took heart, and shouting to  
 one another that the Leontines and their other Hellenic  
 allies were coming to succour them, they sallied out of  
 the city, charged the Messenians, and put them to flight  
 with a loss of more than a thousand men, the rest with  
 difficulty escaped, for the barbarians fell upon them in  
 the roads and destroyed most of them. The allied  
 fleet putting into Messenè, broke up and returned home.  
 Whereupon the Leontines and their allies, in concert with

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the Athenians, marched against the now enfeebled Messenians. The Athenian fleet attempted an assault of the harbour while the army attacked the city. But the Messenians and a Locrian garrison under Demoteles, which after their disaster at Naxos had been left to protect the place, suddenly falling upon them put to flight the main body of the Leontines with great loss, whereupon the Athenians disembarked, came to their aid, and, falling on the Messenians while they were still in confusion, chased them back to the city. They then erected a trophy and retired to Rhegium. After this the Hellenes in Sicily went on fighting against one another by land, but the Athenians took no part in their operations.

IV

At Pylos meanwhile the Athenians continued to blockade the Lacedaemonians in the island, and the Peloponnesian army on the mainland remained in their old position. The watch was harassing to the Athenians, for they were in want both of food and water, there was only one small well, which was inside the fort, and the soldiers were commonly in the habit of scraping away the shingle on the sea-shore, and drinking any water which they could get. The Athenian garrison was crowded into a narrow space, and, their ships having no regular anchorage, the crews took their meals on land by turns, one half of the army eating while the other lay at anchor in the open sea. The unexpected length of the siege was a great discouragement to them, they had hoped to starve their enemies out in a few days, for they were on a desert island, and had only brackish water to drink. The secret of this protracted resistance was a proclamation issued by the Lacedaemonians offering large fixed prices, and freedom if he were a Helot, to any one who would convey into the island meal, wine, cheese or any other provision suitable for a besieged place. Many braved the danger, especially the Helots, they started from all points of Peloponnesus, and before daybreak bore down upon the

26  
The blockade of Pylos was difficult, owing (1) to want of food and water, (2) to the confined space, (3) to the impossibility of anchoring in shoal, (4) to the measures taken by the Lacedaemonians for the introduction of supplies



IV shore of the island looking towards the open sea They <sup>B C 425</sup>  
 took especial care to have a strong wind in their favour, <sup>Ol 88, 4</sup>  
 since they were less likely to be discovered by the  
 triremes when it blew hard from the sea The blockade  
 was then impracticable, and the crews of the boats  
 were perfectly reckless in running them aground, for  
 a value had been set upon them, and Lacedaemonian  
 hoplites were waiting to receive them about the landing-  
 places of the island All however who ventured when  
 the sea was calm were captured Some too dived and  
 swam by way of the harbour, drawing after them by a  
 cord skins containing pounded linseed and poppy-seeds  
 mixed with honey At first they were not found out,  
 but afterwards watches were posted. The two parties  
 had all sorts of devices, the one determined to send in  
 food, the other to detect them

27

The situation is reported to be critical  
 Cleon denies the reports  
 The Athenians want to send commissioners to Pylos  
 Cleon blames the generals, and proposes to send, not commissioners, but a fleet  
 He would soon take the men if he were general

When the Athenians heard that their own army was suffering and that supplies were introduced into the island, they began to be anxious and were apprehensive that the blockade might extend into the winter They reflected that the conveyance of necessities round the Peloponnese would then be impracticable Their troops were in a desert place, to which, even in summer, they were not able to send a sufficient supply The coast was without harbours; and therefore it would be impossible to maintain the blockade Either the watch would be relaxed and the men would escape, or, taking advantage of a storm, they might sail away in the ships which brought them food \* Above all they were afraid that the Lacedaemonians, feeling the strength of their position, would make no more overtures to them\*, and they regretted having rejected their advances Cleon, knowing that he was an object of general mistrust because he had stood in the way of peace, challenged the reports of the messengers from Pylos, who re-

\* Or, 'Above all they feared that the Lacedaemonians, who no longer made overtures to them, must now be reassured of the strength of their own position'

BC 425  
OI 88, 4

joined that, if their words were not believed, the Athenians should send commissioners of their own And so Theagenes and Cleon himself were chosen commissioners As he knew that he could only confirm the report of the messengers whom he was calumniating, or would be convicted of falsehood if he contradicted them, observing too that the Athenians were disposed to take active measures, he advised them not to send commissioners, which would only be a loss of valuable time, but, if they were themselves satisfied with the report, to send a fleet against the island Pointedly alluding to Nicias the son of Niceratus, who was one of the generals and an enemy of his, he declared sarcastically that, if the generals were good for anything, they might easily sail to the island and take the men, and that this was what he would certainly do himself if he were general.

IV.

Nicias perceived that the multitude were murmuring at Cleon, and asking 'why he did not sail—now was his time<sup>a</sup> if he thought the capture of Sphacteria to be such an easy matter,' and hearing him attack the generals, he told him that, as far as they were concerned, he might take any force which he required and try Cleon at first imagined that the offer of Nicias was only a pretence, and was willing to go, but finding that he was in earnest, he tried to back out, and said that not he but Nicias was general He was now alarmed, for he never imagined that Nicias would go so far as to give up his place to him Again Nicias bade him take the command of the expedition against Pylos, which he formally gave up to him in the presence of the assembly And the more Cleon declined the proffered command and tried to retract what he had said, so much the more the multitude, as their manner is, urged Nicias to resign and shouted to Cleon that he should sail At length, not knowing how to escape from his own words, he undertook the expedition, and, coming forward, said that he was not afraid of the

28

The people murmur at him  
Nicias resigns in his favour  
He at first holds back, but is afterwards compelled to sail  
He then declares that he will return victorious within twenty days  
The Athenians laugh at him

<sup>a</sup> Reading δ τι.

- IV. Lacedaemonians, and that he would sail without with-  
drawing a single man from the city if he were allowed B C 425  
O1 88, 4  
to have the Lemnian and Imbrian forces now at Athens,  
the auxiliaries from Aenus, who were targeteers, and four  
hundred archers from other places. With these and  
with the troops already at Pylos he gave his word that  
within twenty days he would either bring the Lacedaemonians alive or kill them on the spot. His vain words moved the Athenians to laughter, nevertheless the wiser sort of men were pleased when they reflected that of two good things they could not fail to obtain one—either there would be an end of Cleon, which they would have greatly preferred, or, if they were disappointed, he would put the Lacedaemonians into their hands.

29

He selects Demosthenes to be his colleague, knowing that he is already meditating an attack upon the island. The design is encouraged by an accidental fire.

When he had concluded the affair in the assembly, and the Athenians had passed the necessary vote, he made choice of Demosthenes, one of the commanders at Pylos, to be his colleague, and proceeded to sail with all speed. He selected Demosthenes because he heard that he was already intending to make an attack upon the island, for the soldiers, who were suffering much from the discomfort of the place, in which they were rather besieged than besiegers<sup>a</sup>, were eager to strike a decisive blow. He had been much encouraged by a fire which had taken place in the island. It had previously been nearly covered with wood and was pathless, having never been inhabited, and he had feared that the nature of the country would give the enemy an advantage. For, however large the force with which he landed, the Lacedaemonians might attack him from some place of ambush and do him much injury. Their mistakes and the character of their forces would be concealed by the wood, whereas all the errors made by his own army would be palpable, and so the enemy, with whom the power of attack would rest, might come upon them suddenly wherever they liked. And if they were compelled to go into the wood and there engage, a smaller force

<sup>a</sup> Cp vii 11 fin.

B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

which knew the ground would be more than a match IV  
for the larger number who were unacquainted with it  
Their own army, however numerous, would be destroyed  
without knowing it, for they would not be able to see  
where they needed one another's assistance

Demosthenes was led to make these reflections from 30  
his experience in Aetolia<sup>a</sup>, where his defeat had been in  
a great measure owing to the forest However, while the  
Athenian soldiers were taking their midday meal, with a  
guard posted in advance, at the extremity of the island,  
being compelled by want of room to land on the edge of  
the shore at meal-times, some one unintentionally set fire  
to a portion of the wood, a wind came on, and from this  
accident, before they knew what was happening, the  
greater part of it was burnt. Demosthenes, who had  
previously suspected that the Lacedaemonians when  
they sent in provisions to the besieged had exaggerated  
their number, saw that the men were more numerous  
than he had imagined He saw too<sup>b</sup> the increased zeal  
of the Athenians, who were now convinced that the  
attempt was worth making, and the island seemed to him  
more accessible So he prepared for the descent and  
despatched messengers to the allies in the neighbour-  
hood for additional forces Cleon sent and announced  
to Demosthenes his approach, and soon afterwards,  
bringing with him the army which he had requested,  
himself arrived at Pylos On the meeting of the two  
generals they first of all sent a herald to the Lace-  
daemonian force on the mainland, proposing that they  
should avoid any further risk by ordering the men in  
the island to surrender with their arms, they were to  
be placed under surveillance but well treated until a  
general peace was concluded

The burn-  
ing of the  
wood dis-  
covers the  
number and  
position of  
the enemy

Finding that their proposal was rejected, the Athe- 31  
nians waited for a day, and on the night of the day  
following put off, taking with them all their heavy-  
armed troops, whom they had embarked in a few ships

Disposition  
of the Lace-  
daemonian  
forces in  
three sta-  
tions, the

<sup>a</sup> Cp. III. 98

<sup>b</sup> Reading *τό τέ*

IV A little before dawn they landed on both sides of the <sup>B C 425</sup>  
 main body occupying the centre of the island, towards the sea and towards the harbour, a force <sup>Ol 88, 4</sup>  
 amounting in all to about eight hundred men. They then ran as fast as they could to the first station on the island. Now the disposition of the enemy was as follows. This first station was garrisoned by about thirty hoplites, while the main body under the command of Epitadas was posted near the spring in the centre of the island, where the ground was most level. A small force guarded <sup>b</sup> the furthest extremity of the island opposite Pylos, which was precipitous towards the sea, and on the land side the strongest point of all, being protected to some extent by an ancient wall made of rough stones, which the Spartans thought would be of use to them if they were overpowered and compelled to retreat. Such was the disposition of the Lacedaemonian troops.

32. The Athenians rushed upon the first garrison and cut them down, half asleep as they were and just snatching up their arms. They had not seen the enemy land, and fancied that their ships were only gone to keep the customary watch for the night. When the dawn appeared, the rest of the army began to disembark. They were the crews of rather more than seventy ships, including all but the lowest rank of rowers, variously equipped. There were also archers to the number of eight hundred, and as many targeteers, besides the Messenian auxiliaries and all who were on duty about Pylos, except the guards who could not be spared from the walls of the fortress. Demosthenes divided them into parties of two hundred more or less, who seized the highest points of the island in order that the enemy, being completely surrounded and distracted by the number of their opponents, might not know whom they should face first, but might be exposed to missiles on every side. For if they attacked those who were in front, they would be assailed by those behind, and if those on one flank, by those posted on the other, and whichever way they moved, the light-armed

The Athenian hoplites land. The first of the three garrisons is cut down. The rest of the Athenian forces which land later are distributed in small parties and occupy the higher points of the island.

<sup>a</sup> Reading *αὐτὸ τὸ ἔσχατον*, or, *αὐτὸ τοῦσχατον*

B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

troops of the enemy were sure to be in their rear. These IV.  
were their most embarrassing opponents, because they  
were armed with bows and javelins and slings and stones,  
which could be used with effect at a distance. Even to  
approach them was impossible, for they conquered in  
their very flight, and when an enemy retreated, pressed  
close at his heels. Such was the plan of the descent  
which Demosthenes had in his mind, and which he  
now carried into execution.

The main body of the Lacedaemonians on the island 33  
under Epitadas, when they saw the first garrison cut to  
pieces and an army approaching them, drew up in battle  
array. The Athenian hoplites were right in front, and  
the Lacedaemonians advanced against them, wanting  
to come to close quarters, but having light-armed ad-  
versaries both on their flank and rear, they could not get  
at them or profit by their own military skill, for they were  
impeded by a shower of missiles from both sides. Mean-  
while the Athenians instead of going to meet them re-  
mained in position, while the light-armed again and  
again ran up and attacked the Lacedaemonians, who  
drove them back where they pressed closest. But  
though compelled to retreat they still continued fight-  
ing, being lightly equipped and easily getting the start  
of their enemies. The ground was difficult and rough,  
the island having been uninhabited, and the Lacedae-  
monians, who were incumbered by their arms, could not  
pursue them in such a place.

The Lacedaemonian hoplites are unable to cope with the light-armed Athenian troops

For some little time these skirmishes continued. But 34.  
soon the Lacedaemonians became too weary to rush out  
upon their assailants, who began to be sensible that their  
resistance grew feebler. The sight of their own number,  
which was many times that of the enemy, encouraged  
them more than anything, they soon found that their  
losses were trifling compared with what they had ex-  
pected, and familiarity made them think their oppo-  
nents much less formidable than when they first landed  
cowed by the fear of facing Lacedaemonians. They now

They are sorely distressed

IV despised them and with a loud cry rushed upon them in a body, hurling at them stones, arrows, javelins, whichever came first to hand. The shout with which they accompanied the attack dismayed the Lacedaemonians, who were unaccustomed to this kind of warfare. Clouds of dust arose from the newly-burnt wood, and there was no possibility of a man's seeing what was before him, owing to the showers of arrows and stones hurled by their assailants which were flying amid the dust. And now the Lacedaemonians began to be sorely distressed, for their felt cuirasses did not protect them against the arrows, and the points of the javelins broke off where they struck them. They were at their wits' end, not being able to see out of their eyes or to hear the word of command, which was drowned by the cries of the enemy. Destruction was staring them in the face, and they had no means or hope of deliverance.

35. At length, finding that so long as they fought in the same narrow spot more and more of their men were wounded, they closed their ranks and fell back on the last fortification of the island, which was not far off, and where their other garrison was stationed. Instantly the light-armed troops of the Athenians pressed upon them with fresh confidence, redoubling their cries. Those of the Lacedaemonians who were caught by them on the way were killed, but the greater number escaped to the fort and ranged themselves with the garrison, resolved to defend the heights wherever they were assailable. The Athenians followed, but the strength of the position made it impossible to surround and cut them off, and so they attacked them in face and tried to force them back. For a long time, and indeed during the greater part of the day, both armies, although suffering from the battle and thirst and the heat of the sun, held their own, the one endeavouring to thrust their opponents from the high ground, the other determined not to give way. But the Lacedaemonians now defended themselves with greater ease, because they were not liable to be taken in flank.

They retired to the fortification at the extremity of the island, and defend themselves with greater success because they are now less exposed

B C 425  
O1 88, 4

BC 425  
OI 88, 4

There was no sign of the end. At length the general IV.  
of the Messenian contingent came to Cleon and Demos- 36.

thenes and told them that the army was throwing away The Mes-  
its pains, but if they would give him some archers and senian  
light-armed troops and let him find a path by which he general  
might get round in the rear of the Lacedaemonians, he finds a way  
he thought that he could force his way in round by  
Having obtained the rocks  
his request he started from a point out of sight of the and reap-  
enemy, and making his way wherever the broken ground pears sud-  
afforded a footing and where the cliff was so steep that denly in  
no guards had been set, he and his men with great diffi- their rear  
culty got round unseen and suddenly appeared in the  
rear, striking panic into the astonished enemy and red-  
doubling the courage of his own friends who were  
watching for his reappearance The Lacedaemonians  
were now assailed on both sides, and to compare a  
smaller thing to a greater, were in the same case with  
their own countrymen at Thermopylae For as they  
perished when the Persians found a way round by the  
path, so now the besieged garrison were attacked on both  
sides, and no longer resisted The disparity of numbers,  
and the failure of bodily strength arising from want of  
food, compelled them to fall back, and the Athenians  
were at length masters of the approaches

Cleon and Demosthenes saw that if the Lacedae- 37.

monians gave way one step more they would be de- Cleon and  
stroyed by the Athenians, so they stopped the engage- Demos-  
ment and held back their own army, for they wanted, thenes  
if possible, to bring them alive to Athens. They were in invite the  
hopes that when they heard the offer of terms their Lacedae-  
courage might be broken, and that they might be in- monians to  
duced by their desperate situation to yield up their arms surrender  
Accordingly they proclaimed to them that they might,  
if they would, surrender at discretion to the Athenians  
themselves and their arms

Upon hearing the proclamation most of them lowered 38.

their shields and waved their hands in token of their The Lace-  
willingness to yield. A truce was made, and then Cleon daemonians  
on the main-



IV. and Demosthenes on the part of the Athenians, and Styphon the son of Pharax on the part of the Lacedaemonians, held a parley. Epitadas, who was the first in command, had been already slain, Hippagietas, who was next in succession, lay among the slain for dead, and Styphon had taken the place of the two others, having been appointed, as the law prescribed, in case anything should happen to them. He and his companions expressed their wish to communicate with the Lacedaemonians on the mainland as to the course which they should pursue. The Athenians allowed none of them to stir, but themselves invited heralds from the shore, and after two or three communications, the herald who came over last from the body of the army brought back word, 'The Lacedaemonians bid you act as you think best, but you are not to dishonour yourselves.' Whereupon they consulted together, and then gave up themselves and their arms. During that day and the following night the Athenians kept guard over them, on the next day they set up a trophy on the island and made preparations to sail, distributing the prisoners among the trierarchs. The Lacedaemonians sent a herald and conveyed away their own dead. The number of the dead and the prisoners was as follows — Four hundred and twenty hoplites in all passed over into the island, of these, two hundred and ninety-two were brought to Athens alive, the remainder had perished. Of the survivors the Spartans numbered about a hundred and twenty. But few Athenians fell, for there was no regular engagement.

39. Reckoned from the sea-fight to the final battle in the island, the time during which the blockade lasted was ten weeks and two days. For about three weeks the Lacedaemonians were supplied with food while the Spartan ambassadors were gone to solicit peace, but during the rest of this time they lived on what was brought in by stealth. A store of corn and other provisions was found in the island at the time of the capture, for Epitadas the general had not served out

land gave their consent, and the offer is accepted. The prisoners brought to Athens number two hundred and ninety-two, of whom a hundred and twenty are Spartans.

Duration of the blockade. Supply of food.

B.C. 425  
Oli 88, 4

B C 425  
O1 88, 4

fulliations The Athenians and Peloponnesians now IV.  
withdrew their armies from Pylos and returned home.  
And the mad promise of Cleon was fulfilled, for he  
did bring back the prisoners within twenty days as he  
had said.

Nothing which happened during the war caused 40.  
greater amazement in Hellas, for it was universally  
imagined that the Lacedaemonians would never give  
up their arms, either under the pressure of famine or  
in any other extremity, but would fight to the last and  
die sword in hand. No one would believe that those  
who surrendered were men of the same quality with  
those who perished. There is a story of a reply made  
by a captive taken in the island to one of the Athenian  
allies who had sneeringly asked 'Where were their brave  
men—all killed?'\* He answered that 'The spindle'  
(meaning the arrow) 'would be indeed a valuable weapon  
if it picked out the brave' He meant to say that the  
destruction caused by the arrows and stones was in-  
discriminate.

Astonish-  
ment of  
Hellas at  
the surren-  
der of the  
Lacedae-  
monians

On the arrival of the captives the Athenians resolved 41.  
to put them in chains until peace was concluded, but  
if in the meantime the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica,  
to bring them out and put them to death. They placed  
a garrison in Pylos, and the Messenians of Naupactus,  
regarding the place as their native land (for Pylos is  
situated in the territory which was once Messenia), sent  
thither some of themselves, being such troops as were  
best suited for the service, who ravaged Laconia and did  
great harm, because they spoke the same language with  
the inhabitants. The Lacedaemonians had never before  
experienced this irregular and predatory warfare; and  
finding the Helots desert, and dreading some serious  
domestic calamity, they were in great trouble. Although  
not wishing to expose their condition before the Athe-  
nians, they sent envoys to them and endeavoured to

The pri-  
soners are  
detained as  
security for  
Attica  
The Mes-  
senians of  
Naupactus  
garrison  
Pylos  
The Lace-  
daemonians  
are dis-  
tressed and  
sue for  
peace

\* Literally, 'Were their dead brave?' implying that the living  
were not.

- IV. recover Pylos and the prisoners. But the Athenians only raised their terms, and at last, after they had made many fruitless journeys, dismissed them. Thus ended the affair of Pylos. B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

42. During the same summer and immediately afterwards the Athenians attacked the Corinthian territory with eighty ships, two thousand heavy-armed, and cavalry to the number of two hundred conveyed in horse transports. They were accompanied by allies from Miletus, Andios, and Caiystus. Nicias the son of Niceratus, and two others, were in command. Very early in the morning they put in between the promontory Chersonesus and the stream Rhetus, to that part of the coast which is overhung by the Solygeian ridge, there in ancient times Dorian invaders had taken up their position and fought against their Acolian enemies in Corinth, and to this day there is a village, called Solygeia, on the hill which they occupied. From the beach where the crews landed this village is distant nearly a mile and a-half, the city of Corinth about seven miles, and the Isthmus about two miles and a quarter. The Corinthians, having had previous intimation from Argos of the intended invasion, came in good time to the Isthmus. The whole population, with the exception of those who dwelt to the north of the Isthmus and five hundred troops who were employed in protecting Ambracia and Leucadia<sup>a</sup>, was on the watch to see where the Athenians would land. But, having sailed in before day-light, they were not discovered, the Corinthians however were soon informed by signals of their landing, and so, leaving half their troops at Cenchiæe in case the Athenians should attack Crommyon, they came to the rescue with all speed.

43. Battus, one of the two generals who were present in the engagement, taking a single division of the force, went to Solygeia, intending to protect the village, which was not fortified; Lycophron with the remainder of the army attacked the enemy. The Corinthians first

Obstinate  
conflict on  
the hill of  
Solygeia.  
The two  
armies drive  
one another

<sup>a</sup> Cp III. 114 fin

B.C. 425  
Oli. 88, 4

of all assailed the right wing of the Athenians, which had only just landed in front of the Chersonesus, and then engaged with the rest. The conflict was stubborn, and all hand to hand. The Athenians, who were on the right wing, and the Carystians, who were on the extreme right, received the Corinthians, and with some difficulty drove them back. They retired behind a loose stone wall, and the whole place being a steep hill-side, threw the stones down from above, but soon they raised the Paean and again came on. Again the Athenians received them, and another hand to hand fight ensued, when a division of the Corinthians coming to the aid of their left wing, forced back the right wing of the Athenians and pursued them to the sea, but the Athenians and Carystians in their turn again drove them back from the ships. Meanwhile the rest of the two armies had been fighting steadily. On the right wing of the Corinthians, where Lycophron was opposed to the Athenian left, the defence was most energetic, for he and his troops were apprehensive that the Athenians would move on the village of Solygeia. For a long time neither would give way, but at length the Athenians, having an advantage in cavalry, with which the Corinthians were unprovided, drove them back, and they retired to the summit of the ridge, where they grounded their arms and remained inactive, refusing to come down. In this defeat of their right wing the Corinthians incurred the heaviest loss, and Lycophron their general was slain. The whole army was now forced back upon the high ground, where they remained in position, they were not pursued far, and made a leisurely retreat. The Athenians seeing that they did not return to the attack, at once erected a trophy and began to spoil the enemies' dead and take up their own. The other half of the Corinthians who were keeping guard at Cenchreae, lest the Athenians should sail against Crommyon, had their view of the battle intercepted by Mount Oneum. But when they saw the dust and knew what was going on,

IV

backwards  
and forwards

44.

The Athenians gain a partial victory, but, alarmed at the approach of a reinforcement, they retreat to their ships

- IV. they instantly came to the rescue The elder men of Corinth hearing of the defeat likewise hastened to the spot The united army then advanced against the Athenians, who fancying that a reinforcement had come from the neighbouring states of Peloponnesus, quickly retreated to their ships, taking their spoils and their own dead, with the exception of two whom they could not find, they then embarked and sailed to the neighbouring islands Thence they sent a herald asking for a truce, and recovered the two dead bodies which were missing. The Corinthians lost two hundred and twelve men, the Athenians hardly so many as fifty

45 On the same day the Athenians sailed from the islands to Crommyon, which is in the territory of Corinth, nearly fourteen miles from the city, and, there anchoring, they ravaged the country and encamped during the night On the following day they sailed along the coast to Epidaurus, where they made a descent, and then passed onward and came to Methonè, which is situated between Epidaurus and Troezen. They built a wall across the isthmus, and so cut off the peninsula on which Methonè stands Leaving a garrison, they continued for some time to ravage the country of Troezen, Halieis, and Epidaurus The fleet, when the fortification was completed, returned home

46. Just about this time Eurymedon and Sophocles, who had started from Pylos on their voyage to Sicily with the Athenian fleet, arrived at Corcyra, and in concert with the popular party attacked the Corcyraean oligarchs, who after the revolution had crossed over into the island and settled in Mount Istonè They became masters of the country again, and were doing great mischief<sup>a</sup> The Athenians assaulted and took their fortress, the garrison, who had fled in a body to a peak of the hill, came to terms, agreeing to give up their auxiliaries and surrender their arms, but stipulating that their own fate should be decided by the Athenian

B C 425 people The garrison themselves were conveyed by the IV.  
Ol 88, 4 generals to the island of Ptychia and kept there under  
a promise of safety until they could be sent to Athens ,  
on condition however that if any of them were caught  
attempting to escape, they should all lose the benefit  
of the agreement Now the leaders of the Corcyraean  
democracy feared that when the captives arrived at Athens  
they would not be put to death , so they devised the fol-  
lowing trick —They sent to the island friends of the  
captives, whom with seeming good-will they instructed  
to tell them that they had better escape as fast as they  
could, for the fact was that the Athenian generals were  
about to hand them over to the Corcyraean democracy,  
they would themselves provide a vessel

The friends of the captives persuaded a few of them, 47  
and the vessel was provided The prisoners were taken  
sailing out , the truce was at an end, and they were all  
instantly delivered up to the Corcyraeans. The feeling  
which the Athenian generals displayed greatly con-  
tributed to the result, for, being compelled to proceed  
to Sicily themselves, they were well known to wish that  
no one else should gain the credit of bringing the prisoners  
to Athens, <sup>a</sup> and therefore the agreement was interpreted  
to the letter<sup>b</sup>, and the contrivers of the trick thought  
that they could execute it with impunity The Cor-  
cyraeans took the prisoners and shut them up in a large  
building, then leading them out in bands of twenty at  
a time, they made them pass between two files of armed  
men, they were bound to one another and struck and  
pierced by the men on each side, whenever any one saw  
among them an enemy of his own , and there were men  
with whips, who accompanied them to the place of exe-  
cution and quickened the steps of those who lingered.

In this manner they brought the prisoners out of 48  
the building, and slew them to the number of sixty  
undiscovered by the rest, who thought that they were  
They are  
cruelly  
massacred

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'and so the pretext turned out to be the exact truth,' or,  
'and so the pretext seemed to correspond to the facts'

IV. taking them away to some other place But soon they found out what was happening, for some one told them, and then they called upon the Athenians, if they wanted them to die, to take their lives themselves Out of the building they refused to stir, and threatened that into it, if they could help, no one should enter The Corcyraean populace had not the least intention of forcing a way in by the door, but they got upon the roof and, making an opening, threw tiles and shot arrows down from above The prisoners sought to shelter themselves as they best could Most of them at the same time put an end to their own lives, some thrust into their throats arrows which were shot at them, others strangled themselves with cords taken from beds which they found in the place, or with strips which they tore from their own garments This went on during the greater part of the night, which had closed upon their sufferings, until in one way or another, either by their own hand or by missiles hurled from above, they all perished At day-break the Corcyraeans flung the dead bodies cross-wise on waggons and carried them out of the city The women who were taken in the fortress on Mount Istonè were reduced to slavery Thus the Corcyraeans in the mountain were destroyed by the people, and, at least while the Peloponnesian war lasted, there was an end of the great sedition, for there was nothing left of the other party worth mentioning. The Athenians then sailed for Sicily, their original destination, and there fought in concert with their allies.

49 At the end of the summer the Athenian forces in Naupactus and some Acarnanians made an expedition against Anactorium, a Corinthian town at the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf, which was betrayed to them The Acarnanians expelled the Corinthians, and sent a colony of their own, taken from the whole nation, to occupy the place. So the summer ended

50. During the ensuing winter Aristides the son of Ar-  
Seizure of a Persian chippus, one of the commanders of the Athenian vessels

The Athenian commanders, who did not want them to be carried by others to Athens, look on with indifference They now pursue their voyage to Sicily

B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

Anactorium is occupied by the Acarnanians

B C 425  
Ol 88, 4

which collected tribute from the allies, captured at Eion, IV  
upon the Strymon, Artapheines a Persian, who was on  
his way from the King to Sparta. He was brought to  
Athens, and the Athenians had the despatches which he  
was carrying and which were written in the Assyrian  
character translated, and read them, there were many  
matters contained in them, but the chief point was a  
remonstrance addressed to the Lacedaemonians by the  
King, who said that he could not understand what they  
wanted, for, although many envoys had come to him,  
no two of them agreed. If they meant to make them-  
selves intelligible, he desired them to send to him another  
embassy with the Persian envoy. Shortly afterwards  
the Athenians sent Artaphernes in a trireme to Ephesus,  
and with him an embassy of their own, but they found  
that Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes had recently died,  
for the embassy arrived just at that time. Whereupon  
they returned home.

envoy bearing despatches from the King, in which he complains of the Spartans. The Athenians send him back with an envoy of their own, but, arriving at the time of Artaxerxes' death, the embassy returns.

During the same winter the Chians dismantled their  
new walls by order of the Athenians, who suspected that  
they meant to rebel, not however without obtaining from  
the Athenians such pledges and assurances as they  
could, that no violent change should be made in their  
condition. So the winter came to an end, and with it  
the seventh year in the Peloponnesian War of which  
Thucydides wrote the history.

51. The Chians, suspected of rebellion, are required to dismantle their walls.

B C 424  
Ol 89

Early in the ensuing summer there was a partial eclipse  
of the sun at the time of the new moon, and within the  
first ten days of the same month an earthquake.

52. An eclipse of the sun and an earthquake occur.

The main body of the refugees who had escaped from  
Mitylenè and the rest of Lesbos had established them-  
selves on the continent. They hired mercenaries from  
Peloponnesus or collected them on the spot, and took  
Rhoeteium, but on receiving a payment of two thousand  
Phocaean staters<sup>a</sup>, they restored the town uninjured.  
They then made an expedition against Antandrus and

The Lesbian refugees, who had settled on the continent, take Rhoeteium and Antandrus.

<sup>a</sup> The value of the Phocaean stater is not precisely known. It was somewhat less than that of the Attic stater (about 16s.)



IV took the city, which was betrayed into their hands. They hoped to liberate the other so-called 'cities of the coast,' which had been formerly in the possession of the Mitylenaeans and were now held by the Athenians<sup>a</sup>, but their principal object was Antandius itself, which they intended to strengthen and make their head-quarters. Mount Ida was near and would furnish timber for ship-building, and by the help of a fleet and in other ways they could easily harass Lesbos which was close at hand, and reduce the Aeolian towns on the continent. Such were their designs.

53 During the same summer the Athenians with sixty ships, two thousand hoplites, and a few cavalry, taking also certain Milesian and other allied forces, made an expedition against Cythera, under the command of Nicias the son of Niceratus, Nicostratus the son of Diotrophes, and Autocles the son of Tolmaeus. Cythera is an island which lies close to Laconia off Cape Malea, it is inhabited by Lacedaemonian Perioeci, and a Spartan officer called the Judge of Cythera was sent thither every year. The Lacedaemonians kept there a garrison of hoplites, which was continually relieved, and took great care of the place. There the merchant vessels coming from Egypt and Libya commonly put in, the island was a great protection to the Lacedaemonians against depredation by sea, on which element, though secure by land, they were exposed to attack, for the whole of Laconia runs out towards the Sicilian and Cretan seas<sup>b</sup>.

54 The Athenian fleet appeared off Cythera, and with a detachment of ten ships and two thousand Milesian hoplites took Scandea, one of the cities on the sea-shore. The rest of their army disembarked on the side of the island looking towards Malca, and moved on to the lower city of the Cytherians, which is also on the sea-coast, there they found all the inhabitants encamped in force. A battle was fought in which the Cytherians

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iii. 50 fin.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. Herod. vii. 235.

The Athenians send an expedition against Cythera. Importance of the island.

The Athenians capture Scandea. An engagement takes place in which the Cytherians are defeated, and the

B C 424  
Ol 89

B C 424  
Ol 89

held their ground for some little time, and then, be- IV

taking themselves to flight, retired to the upper city island capitulates  
They at length surrendered to Nicias and his colleagues, The Athenians  
placing themselves at the disposal of the Athenians, but ravage the coast of Laconia  
stipulating that their lives should be spared Nicias  
had already contrived to enter into communication with  
some of them, and in consequence the negotiations were  
speedier, and lighter terms were imposed upon them  
both at the time and afterwards<sup>a</sup> Else the Athenians  
would have expelled them, because they were Lacedae-  
monians and their island was close to Laconia After  
the capitulation they took into their own hands Scandeia,  
the city near the harbour, and secured the island by a  
garrison. They then sailed away, made descents upon  
Asinè, Helos, and most of the other maritime towns of  
Laconia, and, encamping wherever they found convenient,  
ravaged the country for about seven days

The Lacedaemonians seeing that the Athenians had 55

got possession of Cythera, and anticipating similar de- The Lacedaemonians  
scents on their own shores, nowhere opposed them with lose confidence in themselves  
their united forces, but distributed a body of hoplites They act on the defensive  
in garrisons through the country where their presence Hesitation in their counsels and panic at their reverses  
seemed to be needed. They kept strict watch, fearing  
lest some domestic revolution should break out Already  
a great and unexpected blow had fallen upon them at  
Sphacteria, Pylos and Cythera were in the hands of the  
Athenians, and they were beset on every side by an  
enemy against whose swift attacks precaution was vain.  
Contrary to their usual custom they raised a force of  
four hundred cavalry and archers Never in their his-  
tory had they shown so much hesitation in their military  
movements. They were involved in a war at sea, an  
element to which they were strange, against a power  
like the Athenians, in whose eyes to miss an opportunity  
was to lose a victory<sup>b</sup> Fortune too was against them,  
and they were panic-stricken by the many startling  
reverses which had befallen them within so short a

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv 57 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp i. 70 med.

IV time They feared lest some new calamity like that of the island might overtake them, and therefore they dared not venture on an engagement but expected all their undertakings to fail, they had never hitherto known misfortune, and now they lost all confidence in their own powers B.C. 424  
O1 89

56. While the Athenians were ravaging their coasts they hardly ever stirred, for each garrison at the places where they happened to land considered in their depressed state of mind that they were too few to act. One of them however, which was in the neighbourhood of Cotyia and Aphrodisia, did offer some resistance, and by a sudden rush put to flight the scattered light-armed troops, but, being encountered by the hoplites, they again retired with the loss of some few men and arms. The Athenians, raising a trophy, sailed away to Cythra. Thence they coasted round to Epidaurus Limera and, after devastating some part of its territory, to Thyrea, which is situated in the country called Cynuria, on the border of Argolis and Laconia. The Lacedaemonians, who at that time held the town, had settled there the Aeginetan exiles<sup>a</sup>, whom they wished to requite for services rendered to them at the time of the earthquake and the Helot revolt, and also because they had always been partizans of theirs, although subjects of the Athenians.

57. Before the Athenian ships had actually touched, the Aeginetans quitted a fort on the sea-shore which they were just building and retired to the upper city, where they lived, a distance of rather more than a mile. One of the country garrisons of the Lacedaemonians which was helping to build the fort was entreated by the Aeginetans to enter the walls, but refused, thinking that to be shut up inside them would be too dangerous. So they ascended to the high ground, and then, considering the enemy to be more than a match for them, would not come down. Meanwhile the Athenians landed,

Athenian attack upon Thyrea, where the Aeginetan exiles are settled. The Lacedaemonian garrisons refuse to enter the town, which is taken, and its inhabitants put to death by the Athenians.

<sup>a</sup> Cp II. 27

BC 424 marched straight upon Thyrea with their whole army, IV  
 Ol 89 and took it. They burnt and plundered the city, and carried away with them to Athens all the Aeginetans who had not fallen in the battle, and the Lacedaemonian governor of the place, Tantalus the son of Patiocles, who had been wounded and taken prisoner. They also had on board a few of the inhabitants of Cythera, whose removal seemed to be required as a measure of precaution. These the Athenians determined to deposit in some of the islands, at the same time they allowed the other Cytherians to live in their own country, paying a tribute of four talents<sup>a</sup>. They resolved to kill all the Aeginetans whom they had taken in satisfaction of their long standing hatred, and to put Tantalus in chains along with the captives from Sphacteria.

During the same summer the people of Camarina and 58.  
 Gela in Sicily made a truce, in the first instance with one another only. But after a while all the other Sicilian states sent envoys to Gela, where they held a conference in the hope of effecting a reconciliation. Many opinions were expressed on both sides, and the representatives of the different cities wrangled and put in claims for the redress of their several grievances. At length Hermocrates the son of Hermon, a Syracusan, <sup>b</sup> who had been the chief agent in bringing them together<sup>b</sup>, stood forward in the assembly and spoke as follows —

‘Sicilians, the city to which I belong is not the least 59  
 in Sicily, nor am I about to speak because Syracuse suffers more than other cities in the war, but because I want to lay before you the policy which seems to me best fitted to promote the common good of the whole country. You well know, and therefore I shall not rehearse to you at length, all the misery of war. Nobody is compelled to go to war by ignorance, and no one who thinks that he will gain anything from it is deterred by fear. The

A conference is held at Gela between the representatives of the Sicilian states

Speech of Hermocrates  
 Why do men go to war?  
 Because they expect to gain more than they will lose  
 But if they will lose

<sup>a</sup> £960

<sup>b</sup> Ol, ‘whose words chiefly influenced their decision’

IV  
more than  
they gain  
they had  
better make  
peace

truth is that the aggressor deems the advantage to be greater than the suffering, and the side which is attacked would sooner run any risk than suffer the smallest immediate loss. But when such feelings on the part of either operate unseasonably, the time for offering counsels of peace has arrived, and such counsels, if we will only listen to them, will be at this moment invaluable to us. Why did we go to war? Simply from a consideration of our own individual interests, and with a view to our interests we are now trying by means of discussion to obtain peace, and if, after all, we do not before we separate succeed in getting our respective rights, we shall go to war again. But at the same time we should have the sense

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60.

The inter-  
ests of the  
whole  
country and  
not of indi-  
vidual  
cities only  
are at stake  
For the  
Athenians  
are upon us

to see that this conference is not solely concerned with our private interests, but with those of the whole country. Sicily is at this moment imperilled by the designs of the Athenians, and we must try, if not too late, to save her. The Athenians are a much more convincing argument of peace than any words of mine can be. They are the greatest power in Hellas, they come hither with a few ships to spy out our mistakes, though we are their natural enemies, they assume the honourable name of allies, and under this flimsy pretence turn our enmity to good account. For when we go to war and invite their assistance (and they are fond of coming whether they are invited or not) we are taxing ourselves for our own destruction, and at the same time paving the way for the advance of their empire. And at some future day, when they see that we are exhausted, they are sure to come again with a larger armament, and attempt to bring all Sicily under their yoke<sup>a</sup>.

61.

We gain  
nothing by  
war.  
We only  
invite the  
common  
enemy  
The Athe-  
nians care

‘And yet if we must call in allies and involve ourselves in dangers, as men of sense, looking to the interest of our several states, we should set before us the prospect of gaining an increase of dominion, not of losing what we already have. We should consider that internal quarrels more than anything else are the ruin of Sicily

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv. 1 med.

BC 424 and her cities, we Sicilians are fighting against one IV.  
 Ol 89 another at the very time when we are threatened by a common enemy. Knowing this, we should be reconciled <sup>nothing about</sup> man to man, city to city, and make an united effort for <sup>Dorian and</sup> the preservation of all Sicily. Let no one say to him- <sup>Ionian</sup> self, "The Dorians among us may be enemies to the <sup>they want</sup> Athenians, but the Chalcidians, being Ionians, are safe <sup>Sicily</sup> because they are their kinsmen." For the Athenians do not attack us because we are divided into two races, of which one is their enemy and the other their friend, but because they covet the good things of Sicily which we all share alike.<sup>a</sup> Is not their reception of the Chalcidian appeal a proof of this?<sup>b</sup> They have actually gone out of their way to grant the rights and privileges of their old treaty to those who up to this hour have never aided them as required by the terms of that treaty. The ambition and craft of the Athenians are pardonable enough. I blame not those who wish to rule, but those who are willing to serve. The same human nature which is always ready to domineer over the subservient, bids us defend ourselves against the aggressor. And if, knowing all these things, we continue to take no thought for the future, and have not every one of us made up our minds already that first and foremost we must all deal wisely with the danger which threatens all, we are grievously in error.

'Now a mutual reconciliation would be the speediest <sup>Let us</sup> way of deliverance from this danger, for the Athenians <sup>make peace</sup> do not come direct from their own country, but first <sup>and then</sup> plant themselves in that of the Sicilians who have <sup>they will</sup> invited them. Instead of finishing one war only to <sup>have no</sup> begin another, we should then quietly end our differ- <sup>footing in</sup> ences by peace. And those who came at our call and <sup>Sicily</sup> had so good a reason for doing wrong will have a still better reason for going away and doing nothing.

'Such is the great advantage which we obtain by 62  
 sound policy as against the Athenians. And why, if <sup>Why</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi. 77, 79.

<sup>b</sup> Cp iii. 86

<sup>Why</sup>  
 should we

IV. peace is acknowledged by all to be the greatest of blessings, should we not make peace among ourselves? What-  
 not secure the blessings of peace instead of relying on the chances of war? ever good or evil is the portion of any of us, is not peace more likely than war to preserve the one and to alleviate the other? And has not peace honour and glory of her own unattended by the dangers of war? (But it is unnecessary to dilate on the blessings of peace any more than on the miseries of war.) Consider what I am saying, and instead of despising my words, may every man seek his own safety in them! And should there be some one here present who was hoping to gain a permanent advantage either by right or by force, let him not take his disappointment to heart. For he knows that many a man before now who has sought a righteous revenge, far from obtaining it, has not even escaped himself, and many an one who in the consciousness of power has grasped at what was another's, has ended by losing what was his own. The revenge of a wrong is not always successful merely because it is just, nor is strength most assured of victory when it is most full of hope. The inscrutable future is the controller of events, and, being the most treacherous of all things, is also the most beneficent, for when there is mutual fear, men think twice before they make aggressions upon one another.

63 'And now, because we know not what this hidden future may bring forth, and because the Athenians, who are dangerous enemies, are already at our gates,—having these two valid reasons for alarm, let us acquiesce in our disappointment, deeming that the obstacles<sup>a</sup> to the fulfilment of our individual hopes<sup>a</sup> are really insuperable. Let us send out of the country the enemies who threaten us, and make peace among ourselves, if possible for ever, but if not, for as long as we can, and let our private enmities bide their time. If you take my advice, rest assured that you will maintain the freedom of your several cities, from which you will go forth your own masters,

<sup>a</sup> Or, reading *ἐκαστός τι* 'to the accomplishment of those things which each of us in whatever degree was hoping to effect.'

B C 424  
Ol 89

and recompense, like true men, the good or evil which is done to you. But if you will not believe me, and we are enslaved by others, the punishment of our enemies will be out of the question. Even supposing we succeed in obtaining vengeance to our hearts' content, we may perhaps become the friends of our greatest enemies, we certainly become the enemies of our real friends.

'As I said at first, I am the representative of a great city which is more likely to act on the aggressive than on the defensive, and yet with the prospect of these dangers before me I am willing to come to terms, and not to injure my enemies in such a way that I shall doubly injure myself. Nor am I so obstinate and foolish as to imagine that, because I am master of my own will, I can control fortune, of whom I am not master, but I am disposed to make reasonable concessions. And I would ask the other Sicilians to do the same of their own accord, and not to wait until the enemy compels them. There is no disgrace in kinsmen yielding to kinsmen, whether Dorians to Dorians, or Chalcidians to the other Ionians. Let us remember too that we are all neighbours, inhabitants of one island home, and called by the common name of Sicilians. When we see occasion we will fight among ourselves, and will negotiate and come to terms among ourselves. But we shall always, if we are wise, unite as one man against the invader, for when a single state suffers, all are imperilled. We will never again introduce allies from abroad, no, nor pretended mediators. This policy will immediately secure to Sicily two great blessings; she will get rid of the Athenians, and of civil war. And for the future we shall keep the island free and our own, and none will be tempted to attack us.'

Such were the words of Hermocrates. The Sicilians took his advice and agreed among themselves to make peace, on the understanding that they should all retain what they had, only Morgantina was handed over to the Camarinaeans, who were to pay in return a fixed sum to the Syracusans. The cities in alliance with Athens sent

IV.

64

Though I represent a great city I am willing to make concessions, and I ask others to do the like. We are brethren Sicily for the Sicilians

65

Terms of the treaty: uti possidetis. The Athenians are dissatisfied with their



IV. for the Athenian generals and told them that a treaty B C 424  
Ol 89  
 generals, and believe that they might have conquered Sicily if they had not been bribed  
 was about to be made in which they might join if they pleased. They assented, the treaty was concluded, and so the Athenian ships sailed away from Sicily. When the generals returned the Athenians punished two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, with exile, and imposed a fine on the third, Euymedon, believing that they might have conquered Sicily but had been bribed to go away. For in their present prosperity they were indignant at the idea of a reverse, they expected to accomplish everything, possible or impossible, with any force, great or small. The truth was that they were elated by the unexpected success of most of their enterprises, which inspired them with the liveliest hope.

66. During the same summer the citizens of Megara were  
 The citizens of Megara, thinking it better to have one enemy than two, propose to restore the exiles. The popular leaders in alarm enter into negotiation with the Athenians  
 hard pressed by the Athenians, who twice every year invaded the country with their whole army<sup>a</sup>, as well as by their own exiles in Pegae, who had been driven out by the people in a revolution<sup>b</sup>, and were continually harassing and plundering them. So they conferred together upon the advisability of recalling the exiles, lest they should expose the city to destruction from the attacks of two enemies at once. The friends of the exiles became aware of the movement and ventured to urge the measure more openly than hitherto. But the popular leaders, knowing that their partisans were in great extremity and could not be trusted to hold out in support of them much longer, took alarm and entered into negotiation with the Athenian generals, Hippocrates the son of Ariphron, and Demosthenes the son of Alcisthenes. They thought that they would incur less danger by surrendering the city to them than by the restoration of the exiles whom they had themselves expelled. So they agreed that the Athenians should in the first place seize their Long Walls<sup>c</sup>, which were a little less than a mile in length and extended from the city to their harbour Nisaea. They wanted to prevent the Peloponnesians interfering from Nisaea, of

<sup>a</sup> Cp. II 31.<sup>b</sup> Cp. III 68 med.<sup>c</sup> Cp. I 103 fin.

B C 424 which they formed the sole garrison, being stationed IV.  
 Ol 89 there to secure Megara The conspirators were then to try and place in the hands of the Athenians the upper city, which would be more ready to come over when they once had possession of the Long Walls

Both parties had now made all necessary preparations, 67  
 both in word and act The Athenians sailed at nightfall to Minoa, the island in front of Megara, with six hundred hoplites under the command of Hippocrates They then took up their position not far from the Long Walls, in a trench out of which the bricks for the walls had been dug A second division of the Athenian army, consisting of light-armed Plataeans and of a part of the force employed in guarding the frontier, under the command of Demosthenes the other general, lay in ambush at the temple of Ares, which is nearer still During the night no one knew what they were about, except the men who were immediately concerned Just before daybreak the conspirators executed their plan. They had long ago provided that the gates should be open when required ; for by the permission of the commander, who supposed them to be privateering, they had been in the habit of conveying a sculling-boat out of the town by night. This they placed upon a waggon, and carried it down to the sea through the trench , they then sailed out, and just before day broke the boat was brought back by them on the waggon and taken in at the gates, their object being, as they pretended, to baffle the Athenian watch at Minoa, since the vessel would never appear in the harbour at all. The waggon had just arrived at the gates, which were opened for the boat to enter, when the Athenians, with whom the whole affair had been preconcerted, seeing this movement, rushed out of the ambuscade, wanting to get in before the gates were shut again and while the waggon was still in them, and prevented them from being closed At the same instant their Megarian confederates cut down the guards stationed at the gates. First of all the Plataeans and the frontier guard under Demosthenes

Disposition  
 of the  
 Athenian  
 troops  
 before  
 Megara  
 The gates  
 are opened  
 to them  
 by their  
 Megarian  
 confeder-  
 ates, and  
 they mount  
 the Long  
 Walls

IV rushed in where the trophy now stands. No sooner <sup>B C 421</sup> were they within the gates than the Peloponnesians <sup>Ol 89</sup> who were nearest and saw what was going on hastened to the rescue, but they were overpowered by the Plataeans, who secured the gates for the entrance of the Athenian hoplites as they came running up.

68 Then the Athenians entered, and one after another proceeded to mount the wall. A few Peloponnesian guards at first resisted and some of them were killed, but the greater part took to flight, they were terrified at the night attack of the enemy, and fancied, when they saw the Megarians who were in the conspiracy fighting against them, that all the Megarians had betrayed them. It had occurred at the same time to the Athenian herald, without orders, to make proclamation that any Megarian who pleased might join the ranks of the Athenians. When the Lacedaemonians heard the proclamation none of them remained any longer, but thinking that the Athenians and Megarians had really combined against them they fled into Nisaea.

The Peloponnesians, supposing the Megarians to have gone over to the enemy, fly to Nisaea. The plot is detected by the oligarchical party in time to save Megara itself.

When the morning dawned and the Long Walls were already captured, Megara was in a tumult, and those who had negotiated with the Athenians and a large number of others who were in the plot insisted upon opening the gates and going out to battle. Now they had agreed that the Athenians should immediately rush in, and they were themselves to be anointed with oil, this was the mark by which they were to be distinguished, that they might be spared in the attack. There was the less danger in opening the gates, since there had now arrived four thousand Athenian hoplites and six hundred horse, who by a previous arrangement had come from Eleusis during the night. When they were anointed and had collected about the gates some one in the secret acquainted the other party, who instantly came upon them in a compact body and declared that there should be no going out, even when they were stronger than at present they had not ventured to take the field, the danger to the city

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was too palpable, if any one opposed them the battle would have to be fought first within the walls. They did not betray their knowledge of the plot, but assumed the confident tone of men who were recommending the best course. At the same time they kept watch about the gates, and thus the conspiracy was foiled. IV.

The Athenian generals became aware that some difficulty had arisen, and that they could not carry the city by storm. So they immediately set about the circumvallation of Nisaea, thinking that, if they could take it before any assistance arrived, Megara itself would be more likely to capitulate. Iron and other things needful, as well as masons, were quickly procured from Athens. Beginning from the wall which they already held they intercepted the approach from Megara by a cross wall, and from that drew another on either side of Nisaea down to the sea. The army divided among them the execution of the trench and walls, obtaining stones and bricks from the suburbs of the town. They also cut down timber and fruit-trees and made palisades where they were needed. The houses in the suburbs were of themselves a sufficient fortification, and only required battlements. All that day they continued working, on the following day, towards evening, the wall was nearly finished, and the terrified inhabitants of Nisaea having no food (for they depended for their daily supplies on the upper city), and imagining that Megara had gone over to the enemy, despairing too of any aid soon arriving from Peloponnesus, capitulated to the Athenians. The conditions were as follows — They were to go free, every man paying a fixed ransom and giving up his arms, but the Athenians might deal as they pleased with the Lacedaemonian commander and any Lacedaemonian who was in the place. Upon these terms they came out, and the Athenians, having severed the communication of Megara with the Long Walls, took possession of Nisaea and prepared for further action. 69.

The Athenians cut off Nisaea by a cross wall. The town, which is in danger of starvation, capitulates.

It so happened that Brasidas, son of Tellis, the Lacedaemonian, 70.

## IV

Brasidas  
collects  
troops and  
sends to  
the Boeo-  
tians for an  
army

daemonian, who was equipping an expedition intended for Chalcidicè, was in the neighbourhood of Sicyon and Corinth at the time Hearing of the capture of the Long Walls and fearing for the safety of the Peloponnesians in Nisaea, and of Megara itself, he sent to the Bocotians, desiring them to bring an army and meet him with all speed at Tripodiscus. The place so called is a village of Megara situated under Mount Geranea Thithci he also came himself, bringing two thousand seven hundred Corinthian, four hundred Phliasian, and six hundred Sicyonian hoplites, as well as the followers whom he had previously collected<sup>a</sup> He had hoped to find Nisaea still untaken, but the news of the capture reached him at Tripodiscus, where he did not arrive until night He immediately took with him a body of three hundred chosen men, and before his arrival in the country was reported reached Megara, undiscovered by the Athenians, who were near the sea He professed that he wanted, and he really meant if he could, to attempt the recovery of Nisaea, but the great point was to get into Megara and make that safe So he demanded admission and held out hopes of regaining Nisaea

## 71.

He tries  
to enter  
Megara,  
but neither  
faction is  
as yet  
willing to  
receive him

The two factions in Megara were both equally afraid to receive him—the one lest he should introduce the exiles and drive them out, the other lest the people, fearing this very thing, should set upon them and ruin the city, which would then be distracted by civil war and at the same time beset by the Athenians And so both parties determined to wait and see what would happen For they both expected a battle to ensue between the Athenians and the army which had come to the relief of the city, and when the victory was won the party whose friends had conquered could more safely join them Brasidas, thus failing in his purpose, returned to the main body of his troops

## 72

The Boeo-  
tians arrive

At dawn of day the Bocotians appeared Even before they were summoned by Brasidas they had intended to

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv 80 fin

B C 424  
Ol 89

relieve Megara, for the danger came home to them, and their whole force was already collected at Plataea. When his messenger arrived they were more resolved than ever, and sent forward two thousand two hundred heavy-armed and six hundred horse, allowing the greater number to return. The entire army of Brasidas now amounted to six thousand hoplites. The Athenian hoplites were drawn up near Nisaea and the sea, their light-armed troops were scattered over the plain, when the Boeotian cavalry came riding up, fell upon the light-armed, and drove them to the shore. The attack was unexpected, for in no former invasion had aid come to the Megarians from any quarter. The Athenian cavalry now rode forward and there was a long engagement, in which both parties claim to have won a victory. The Athenians drove the general of the Boeotian cavalry and a few other horsemen up to the walls of Nisaea, and there slew them and took their arms. As they retained possession of the dead bodies, and only restored them under a flag of truce, they raised a trophy. Still in respect of the whole engagement neither side when they parted had a decided advantage. The Boeotians retired to their main body, and the Athenians to Nisaea.

IV.  
Indecisive  
Boeotian  
action of  
and Athe-  
nian  
cavalry

Brasidas and his army then moved nearer to the sea and to the town of Megara, and there, taking up a convenient position and marshalling their forces, they remained without moving. They were expecting the Athenians to attack them, and knew that the Megarians were waiting to see who would be the conquerors. They were very well satisfied, for two reasons. In the first place they were not the assailants, and had not gone out of their way to risk a battle, although they had clearly shown that they were ready to engage, and so they might fairly claim a victory without fighting. Again, the result in regard to Megara was good for if they had not put in an appearance they would have had no chance at all, but would have been as good as beaten, and beyond a doubt would immediately have lost the city. Whereas

73.  
The Peloponnesians, having shown that they are ready to engage, do not care to risk a battle. The Athenians are even more unwilling to fight than the Peloponnesians. The result is that Brasidas is admitted into Megara by the oligarchical party.

IV. now the Athenians themselves might be unwilling to fight, and, if so, they would gain their object without striking a blow. And this turned out to be the fact, for the Megarians did in the end receive Brasidas. At first the Athenians came out and drew up near the Long Walls, but not being attacked they likewise remained inactive. The generals on their side were restrained by similar reflections. They had gained the greater part of what they wanted, they would be offering battle against a superior force, and their own danger would be out of proportion to that of the enemy. They might be victorious and take Megara, but if they failed the loss would fall on the flower of their infantry. Whereas the Peloponnesians were naturally more willing to encounter a risk which would be divided among the several contingents making up the army now in the field, and each of these was but a part of their whole force, present and absent. Both armies waited for a time, and, when neither saw the other moving, the Athenians first of the two retired into Nisaea and the Peloponnesians returned to their previous position. Whereupon the party in Megara friendly to the exiles took courage, opened the gates, and received Brasidas and the generals of the other cities, considering that the Athenians had finally made up their minds not to fight, and that he was the conqueror. They then entered into negotiations with him, for the other faction which had conspired with the Athenians was now paralysed.

74 After this the allies dispersed to their several cities and Brasidas returned to Corinth, where he made preparations for his expedition into Chalcidicè, his original destination. When the Athenians had also gone home, such of the Megarians as had been chiefly concerned with them, knowing that they were discovered, at once slipped away. The rest of the citizens after conferring with the friends of the exiles recalled them from Pegae, first binding them by the most solemn oaths to consider the interests of the state and to forget old quarrels. But

Megara now passes into the hands of the Oligarchs, who cruelly and treacherously put to death their opponents

B C 424  
Ol 89

B C 424  
Ol 89

no sooner had they come into office than, taking the opportunity of a review and drawing up the divisions apart from one another, they selected about a hundred of their enemies, and of those who seemed to have been most deeply implicated with the Athenians, and compelled the people to give sentence upon them by an open vote, having obtained their condemnation, they put them to death. They then established in the city an extreme oligarchy. And no government based on a counter revolution effected by so few ever lasted so long a time.

During the same summer Demodocus and Aristides, two commanders of the Athenian fleet which collected the tribute from the allies, happened to be in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, there were only two of them, the third, Lamachus, having sailed with ten ships into the Pontus. They saw that the Lesbian exiles were going to strengthen Antandrus as they had intended<sup>a</sup>, and they feared that it would prove as troublesome an enemy to Lesbos as Anaea had been to Samos<sup>b</sup>, for the Samian refugees, who had settled there, aided the Peloponnesian navy by sending them pilots, they likewise took in fugitives from Samos and kept the island in a state of perpetual alarm. So the Athenian generals collected troops from their allies, sailed to Antandrus, and, defeating a force which came out against them, recovered the place. Not long afterwards Lamachus, who had sailed into the Pontus and had anchored in the territory of Heiaclea at the mouth of the river Calix, lost his ships by a sudden flood which a fall of rain in the upper country had brought down. He and his army returned by land through the country of the Bithynian Thracians who dwell on the Asiatic coast, and arrived at Chalcedon, a Megarian colony at the mouth of the Pontus.

In the same summer, and immediately after the withdrawal of the Athenians from Megara, the Athenian general Demosthenes arrived at Naupactus with forty ships. A party in the cities of Boeotia who wanted to

IV

75

Antandrus, which had become the head-quarters of the Lesbian exiles, is taken by the Athenians

76

The Athenians enter into communication with the

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv 52

<sup>b</sup> Cp iii. 19, iii 32 mit



IV. overthrow their constitution and set up a democracy like that of Athens, had entered into communications with him and with Hippocrates, and a plan of operations had been concerted, chiefly under the direction of Ptoeodorus, a Theban exile. Some of the democratical party undertook to betray Siphæ, which is a seaport on the C1risæan Gulf in the Thespian territory, and certain Orchomenians were to deliver up to the Athenians Chaeronea, which is a dependency of the Boeotian, or as it was formerly called the Minyan, Orchomenus. A body of Orchomenian exiles had a principal hand in this design and kept a Peloponnesian force in their pay. The town of Chaeronea is at the extremity of Boeotia near the territory of Phanoteus in Phocis, and some Phocians took part in the plot. The Athenians meanwhile were to seize Delium, a temple of Apollo which is in the district of Tanagia looking towards Euboea. In order to keep the Boeotians occupied with disturbances at home, and prevent them from marching in a body to Delium, the whole movement was to be made on a single day, which was fixed beforehand. If the attempt succeeded and Delium was fortified, even though no revolution should at once break out in the states of Boeotia, they might hold the places which they had taken and plunder the country. The partizans of democracy in the several cities would have a refuge near at hand to which in case of failure they might retreat. Matters could not long remain as they were; and in time, the Athenians acting with the rebels, and the Boeotian forces being divided, they would easily settle Boeotia in their interest. Such was the nature of the proposed attempt.

77. Hippocrates himself with a force from the city was ready to march into Boeotia when the moment came. He had sent Demosthenes beforehand with the forty ships to Naupactus, intending him to collect an army of Acarnanians and other allies of the Athenians in that region and sail against Siphæ, which was to be betrayed

democrati-  
cal party  
in Boeotia,  
who under-  
take to  
betray Si-  
phæ, while  
the Athe-  
nians seize  
Delium

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Demos-  
thenes with  
a fleet from  
Naupactus  
and Hippo-  
crates with  
an army  
from

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to them. These operations were to be carried out simultaneously on the day appointed

Demosthenes on his arrival found that the confederate Acarnanians had already compelled Oeniadae to enter the Athenian alliance. He then himself raised all the forces of the allies in those parts and proceeded first to make war upon Salynthius and the Agraeans<sup>a</sup>. Having subdued them, he took the necessary steps for keeping his appointment at Siphæe

IV.

Athens agree to invade Boeotia on a fixed day Oeniadae forced into the Athenian alliance

During this summer, and about the same time, 78.

Brasidas set out on his way to Chalcidicæ with seventeen hundred hoplites. When he arrived at Heraclea in Trachis he despatched a messenger to Pharsalus, where he had friends, with a request that they would conduct him and his army through the country. Accordingly there came to meet him at Melitia, in Achæa Phthiotis, Panaerus, Dorus, Hippolochidas, Toilylus, and Strophacus who was the proxenus of the Chalcidians. Under their guidance he started. Other Thessalians also conducted him; in particular, Niconidas a friend of Perdicas from Larissa. Under any circumstances it would not have been easy to cross Thessaly without an escort, and certainly for an armed force to go through a neighbour's country without his consent was a proceeding which excited jealousy among all Hellenes. Besides, the common people of Thessaly were always well disposed towards the Athenians. And if the traditions of the country had not been in favour of a close oligarchy, Brasidas could never have gone on, even as it was, some of the opposite party met him on his march at the river Enipeus and would have stopped him, saying that he had no business to proceed without the consent of the whole nation. His escort replied that they would not conduct him if the others objected, but that he had suddenly presented himself and they were doing the duty of hosts in accompanying him. Brasidas himself added that he came as a friend to the Thessalian land

Brasidas, escorted by the leading men of the country, makes his way through Thessaly. His political language

<sup>a</sup> Cp III III fin

- IV. and people, and that he was making war upon his enemies the Athenians, and not upon them. He had never heard that there was any ill-feeling between the Thessalians and Lacedaemonians which prevented either of them from passing through the territory of the other, however, if they refused their consent, he would not and indeed could not go on, but such was not the treatment which he had a right to expect from them. Upon this they departed, and he by the advice of his escort, fearing that a large force might collect and stop him, marched on at full speed and without a halt. On the same day on which he started from Melitia he arrived at Pharsalus, and encamped by the river Apidanus. Thence he went on to Phacium, and thence to Perihæbia. Here his Thessalian escort returned, and the Perihæbians, who are subjects of the Thessalians, brought him safe to Diium in the territory of Perdiccas, a city of Macedonia which is situated under Mount Olympus on the Thessalian side.

79  
Brasidas  
reaches  
Perdiccas

Thus Brasidas succeeded in running through Thessaly before any measures were taken to stop him, and reached Perdiccas and Chalcidicè. He and the revolted tributaries of the Athenians, alarmed at their recent successes, had invited the Peloponnesians. The Chalcidians were expecting that the first efforts of the Athenians would be directed against them. The neighbouring cities, although they had not revolted, secretly joined in the invitation. Perdiccas was not a declared enemy of Athens, but was afraid that the old differences between himself and the Athenians might revive, and he was especially anxious to subdue Arhibæus, king of the Lyncestians.

80  
The Lacedaemonians encourage the expedition of Brasidas in the hope of making a

The Lacedaemonians were the more willing to let the Chalcidians have an army from Peloponnesus owing to the unfortunate state of their affairs. For now that the Athenians were infesting Peloponnesus, and especially Laconia, they thought that a diversion would be best effected if they could retaliate on them by sending

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B.C. 424  
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troops to help their dissatisfied allies, who moreover were offering to maintain them, and had asked for assistance from Sparta with the intention of revolting. They were also glad of a pretext for sending out of the way some of the Helots, fearing that they would take the opportunity of rising afforded by the occupation of Pylos. Most of the Lacedaemonian institutions were specially intended to secure them against this source of danger. Once, when they were afraid of the number and vigour of the Helot youth, this was what they did — They proclaimed that a selection would be made of those Helots who claimed to have rendered the best service to the Lacedaemonians in war, and promised them liberty. The announcement was intended to test them, it was thought that those among them who were foremost in asserting their freedom would be most high-spirited, and most likely to rise against their masters. So they selected about two thousand, who were crowned with garlands and went in procession round the temples, they were supposed to have received their liberty, but not long afterwards the Spartans put them all out of the way, and no man knew how any one of them came by his end. And so they were only too glad to send with Brasidas seven hundred hoplites who were Helots. The rest of his army he hired from Peloponnesus<sup>a</sup>. He himself was even more willing to go than they were to send him. The Chalcidians too desired to have him, for at Sparta he had always been considered a man of energy. And on this expedition he proved invaluable to the Lacedaemonians. At the time he gave an impression of justice and moderation in his behaviour to the cities, which induced many of them to revolt, while others were betrayed into his hands. Thus the Lacedaemonians were able to lighten the pressure of war upon Peloponnesus, and when shortly afterwards they desired to negotiate, they had places to give in return for what they sought to recover.

IV  
diversion,  
and getting  
rid of the  
Helots  
Their  
monstrous  
cruelty and  
treachery

81

Justice and  
moderation  
of Brasidas  
remembered  
after-  
wards in  
Hellas<sup>a</sup> Cp. iv 70 med.

- IV. And at a later period of the war, after the Sicilian expedition, the honesty and ability of Brasidas which some had experienced, and of which others had heard the fame, mainly attracted the Athenian allies to the Lacedaemonians. <sup>B C 424</sup>  
<sup>Ol 89</sup> For he was the first Spartan who had gone out to them, and he proved himself to be in every way a good man. Thus he left in their minds a firm conviction that the others would be like him.

82. The Athenians, hearing of the arrival of Brasidas in Chalcidicè, and believing that Perdicas was the instigator of the expedition, declared the latter an enemy and kept a closer watch over their allies in that region.

83. Perdicas, at once uniting the soldiers of Brasidas with his own forces, made war upon Arrhibaeus the son of Bromerus, king of the Lyncestians, a neighbouring people of Macedonia, for he had a quarrel with him and wanted to subdue him. But when he and Brasidas and the army arrived at the pass leading into Lyncus, Brasidas said that before appealing to arms he should like to try in person the effect of negotiations, and see if he could not make Arrhibaeus an ally of the Lacedaemonians. He was partly influenced by messages which came from Arrhibaeus expressing his willingness to submit any matter in dispute to the arbitration of Brasidas and the Chalcidian ambassadors who accompanied the expedition recommended him not to remove from Perdicas' path all his difficulties, lest, when they were wanting him for their own affairs, his ardour should cool. Besides, the envoys of Perdicas when at Sparta had said something to the Lacedaemonians about his making many of the neighbouring tribes their allies, and on this ground Brasidas claimed to act jointly with Perdicas in the matter of Arrhibaeus. But Perdicas answered that he had not brought Brasidas there to arbitrate in the quarrels of Macedonia, he had meant him to destroy

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking *πρῶτος* closely with *δόξας* 'For of all the Spartans who had been sent out, he was the first who proved himself' etc.

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his enemies when he pointed them out. While he, Perdicas, was maintaining half the Lacedaemonian army, Brasidas had no business to be holding parley with Arrhibaeus. But in spite of the opposition and resentment of Perdicas, Brasidas communicated with Arrhibaeus, and was induced by his words to withdraw his army without invading the country. From that time Perdicas thought himself ill-used, and paid only a third instead of half the expenses of the army.

IV.

During the same summer, immediately on his return from Lyncus, and a little before the vintage, Brasidas, reinforced by Chalcidian troops, marched against Acanthus, a colony of Andros. The inhabitants of the city were not agreed about admitting him, those who in concert with the Chalcidians had invited him being opposed to the mass of the people. So he asked them to receive him alone, and hear what he had to say before they decided, and to this request the multitude, partly out of fear for their still ungathered vintage, were induced to consent. Whereupon, coming forward to the people (and for a Lacedaemonian he was not a bad speaker), he addressed them as follows —

84  
Brasidas is  
admitted  
into Acan-  
thus and  
addresses  
the citizens

‘Men of Acanthus, the Lacedaemonians have sent me out at the head of this army to justify the declaration which we made at the beginning of the war—that we were going to fight against the Athenians for the liberties of Hellas. If we have been long in coming, the reason is that we were disappointed in the result of the war nearer home, for we had hoped that, without involving you in danger, we might ourselves have made a speedy end of the Athenians. And therefore let no one blame us, we have come as soon as we could, and with your help will do our best to overthrow them. But how is it that you close your gates against me, and do not greet my arrival? We Lacedaemonians thought that we were coming to those who even before we came in act were our allies in spirit, and would joyfully receive us; having this hope we have braved the greatest dangers,

85  
We come  
to you as  
the libera-  
tors of  
Hellas  
why do  
you close  
your gates  
against us?  
Your re-  
fusal to  
admit us  
will have a  
bad effect  
on other  
cities  
We are  
able and  
willing to  
help you  
We were  
too strong  
for the  
Athenians  
at Nisaea

- IV marching for many days through a foreign country, and have shown the utmost zeal in your cause. And now, for you to be of another mind and to set yourselves against the liberties of your own city and of all Hellas would be monstrous! The evil is not only that you resist me yourselves, but wherever I go people will be less likely to join me, they will be offended when they hear that you to whom I first came, representing a powerful city and reputed to be men of sense, did not receive me, and I shall not be able to give a satisfactory explanation, <sup>B C 424</sup> <sup>Ol 89</sup> but shall have to confess either that I offer a spurious liberty, or that I am weak<sup>a</sup> and incapable of protecting you against the threatened attack of the Athenians. And yet when I brought assistance to Nisaea in command of the army which I have led hither, the Athenians, though more numerous, refused to engage with me, and they are not likely now, when their forces must be conveyed by sea, to send an army against you equal to that which they had at Nisaea. And I myself, why am I here? I come, not to injure, but to emancipate the Hellenes. And I have bound the government of Lacedaemon by the most solemn oaths to respect the independence of any states which I may bring over to their side. I do not want to gain your alliance by force or fraud, but to give you ours, that we may free you from the Athenian yoke. I think that you ought not to doubt my word when I offer you the most solemn pledges, nor should I be regarded as an inefficient champion, but you should confidently join me.
86. I am not the representative of a faction, and shall not enslave either the few or the many. The Lacedaemonians, unlike the Athenians, have a character to lose.

'If any one among you hangs back because he has a personal fear of anybody else, and is under the impression that I shall hand over the city to a party, him above all I would reassure. For I am not come hither to be the tool of a faction, nor do I conceive that the liberty which I bring you is of an ambiguous character, I

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking ἐπιφέρειν after αἰτίαν ἔξω 'but shall be deemed either to offer a spurious liberty, or to be weak'

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should forget the spirit of my country were I to enslave the many to the few, or the minority to the whole people. Such a tyranny would be worse than the dominion of the foreigner, and we Lacedaemonians should receive no thanks in return for our trouble, but instead of honour and reputation, only reproach. We should lay ourselves open to charges far more detestable than those which are our best weapons against the Athenians, who have never been great examples of virtue. For to men of character there is more disgrace in seeking aggrandisement by specious deceit than by open violence<sup>a</sup>, the violent have the justification of strength which fortune gives them, but a policy of intrigue is insidious and wicked.

IV.

‘So careful are we where our highest interests are at stake. And not to speak of our oaths, you cannot have better assurance than they give whose actions, when compared with their professions, afford a convincing proof that it is their interest to keep their word.’

87  
If you will not be our friends, we must be your enemies. Having a duty to perform, we cannot tolerate your opposition.

‘But if you plead that you cannot accept the proposals which I offer, and insist that you ought not to suffer for the rejection of them because you are our friends, if you are of opinion that liberty is perilous and should not in justice be forced upon any one, but gently brought to those who are able to receive it,—I shall first call the Gods and heroes of the country to witness that I have come hither for your good, and that you would not be persuaded by me. I shall then use force and ravage your country without any more scruple. I shall deem myself justified by two overpowering arguments. In the first place, I must not permit the Lacedaemonians to suffer by your friendship, and suffer they will through the revenues which the Athenians will continue to derive from you if you do not join me, and in the second place, the Hellenes must not lose their hope of liberation by your fault. On any other ground we should certainly be wrong in taking such a step, it

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 77 med.



IV. is only for the sake of the general weal that we Lacedaemonians have any right to be forcing liberty upon those who would rather not have it. For ourselves, we are far from desiring empire, but we want to overthrow the empire of others. And having this end in view, we should do injustice to the majority if, while bringing independence to all, we tolerated opposition in you. Wherefore be well advised. Strive to take the lead in liberating Hellas, and lay up a treasure of undying fame. You will save your own property, and you will crown your city with glory.' B.C. 424  
O1. 89

88. Thus spoke Brasidas. The Acanthians, after much had been said on both sides, partly under the attraction of his words, and partly because they were afraid of losing their vintage, determined by a majority, voting secretly to revolt from Athens. They pledged Brasidas to stand by the engagement to which the government of Sparta had sworn before they sent him out, and to respect the independence of all whom he brought over to the Lacedaemonian alliance. They then admitted his army, and shortly afterwards Stageirus, a colony of the Andrians, revolted also. Such were the events of the summer.

89. Meanwhile the betrayal of Boeotia into the hands of Hippocrates and Demosthenes, the Athenian generals, was on the eve of accomplishment. At the beginning of the ensuing winter Demosthenes and his fleet were to appear at Siphæ, and Hippocrates simultaneously to march upon Delium. But there was a mistake about the day, and Demosthenes, with his Acarnanian and numerous other allies drawn from that neighbourhood, sailed to Siphæ too soon. His attempt failed; for the plot was betrayed by Nicomachus a Phocian, of the town of Phanoteus, who told the Lacedaemonians, and they the Boeotians. Whereupon there was a general levy of the Boeotians, for Hippocrates, who was to have been in the country and to have distracted their attention, had not yet arrived, and so they forestalled the Athe-

The Acanthians, who are afraid of losing their vintage, determine to revolt from Athens

The plot for the betrayal of Boeotia is discovered

B C 424 nians by the occupation of Siphæ and Chaeronea IV  
 Ol 89 When the conspirators in the Boeotian cities saw that  
 there had been a mistake they made no movement from  
 within.

Hippocrates had called out the whole force of Athens, 90  
 metics as well as citizens, and all the strangers who The Athe-  
 nians under  
 were then in the city But he did not arrive at Delium Hippo-  
 crates  
 until after the Boeotians had retired from Siphæ He fortify  
 Delium  
 encamped and fortified Delium, which is a temple of The main  
 body of the  
 army then  
 leaves the  
 Boeotian  
 territory  
 Apollo His army dug a trench around the temple and  
 the sacred precinct, the earth which they threw up out  
 of the trench forming a rampart, along this rampart  
 they drove in a palisade, and cutting down the vines  
 in the neighbourhood of the temple threw them on  
 the top They made a like use of the stones and  
 bricks of the houses near, which they pulled down, and  
 by every means in their power strove to increase the  
 height of the rampart Where the temple buildings  
 did not extend they erected wooden towers at con-  
 venient places, the cloister which had once existed  
 had fallen down. They began their work on the third  
 day after their departure from Athens, and continued  
 all this and the two following days until the mid-day  
 meal When it was nearly finished the army retired  
 from Delium to a distance of a little more than a mile,  
 intending to go home The greater part of the light-  
 armed troops proceeded on their march, but the hoplites  
 piled their arms and rested Hippocrates, who had  
 remained behind, was occupied in placing the guards at  
 their posts, and in superintending the completion of that  
 part of the outworks which was still unfinished.

Meanwhile the Boeotians were gathering at Tanagra 91  
 All the forces from the different cities had now arrived The Boeo-  
 tians at the  
 They saw that the Athenians were already marching insurrection  
 of Pagon-  
 das deter-  
 mine to  
 pursue the  
 Athenians  
 across the  
 border  
 homewards, and most of the Boeotarchs (who are in  
 number eleven) disapproved of giving battle, because the  
 enemy had left the Boeotian territory For when the  
 Athenians rested in their march they were just on the

IV      borders of Oropia But Pagondas the son of Aeoladas, <sup>B.C. 424</sup>  
 one of the two Bocotarchs from Thebes, who was in <sup>OI. 89</sup>  
 command at the time (the other being Amantidas the  
 son of Lysimachidas), <sup>a</sup>wanted to fight<sup>3</sup>, believing that  
 the risk was worth encountering So calling the sol-  
 diers to him in successive divisions, that they might not  
 all leave their arms at once, he exhorted the Boeotians  
 to march against the Athenians and to hazard battle, in  
 the following words —

92

The Athe-  
 nians are  
 our in-  
 veterate  
 enemies,  
 whoever  
 we find  
 them  
 They are  
 the aggres-  
 sors, and  
 we must  
 defend  
 ourselves  
 against  
 them  
 without  
 stopping  
 to think  
 Neighbours  
 are always  
 dangerous,  
 and they are  
 the most  
 dangerous  
 of all  
 Once we  
 were at their  
 mercy, but  
 we re-  
 covered our  
 liberty at  
 Coronea,  
 and must  
 again show  
 them that  
 we cannot  
 be attacked  
 with im-  
 punity

‘Men of Boeotia, no one among us generals should  
 ever have allowed the thought to enter his mind that  
 we ought not to fight with the Athenians, even although  
 we may not overtake them on Boeotian soil They  
 have crossed our frontier, it is Boeotia in which they  
 have built a fort, and Bocotia which they intend to lay  
 waste Our enemies they clearly are wherever we find  
 them, and therefore in that country out of which they  
 came and did us mischief But perhaps not to fight  
 may appear to some one to be the safer course. Well  
 then, let him who thinks so think again When a man  
 being in full possession of his own goes out of his way  
 to attack others because he covets more, he cannot re-  
 flect too much, but when a man is attacked by another  
 and has to fight for his own, prudence does not allow  
 of reflection In you the temper has been hereditary  
 which would repel the foreign invader, whether he be in  
 another’s country or in your own, the Athenian invader  
 above all others should be thus repelled, because he  
 is your next neighbour For among neighbours an-  
 tagonism is ever a condition of independence, and  
 against men like these, who are seeking to enslave not  
 only near but distant countries, shall we not fight to  
 the last? Look at their treatment of Euboea just over  
 the strait, and of the greater part of Hellas I would  
 have you know, that whereas other men fight with their  
 neighbours about the lines of a frontier, for us, if we

<sup>a</sup> Or, omitting the words ‘who was in command at the time’  
 ‘wanted to fight while he held the command’

B.C. 424  
O1 89 are conquered, there will be no more disputing about frontiers, but one fixed boundary, including our whole country, for the Athenians will come in and take by force all that we have. So much more dangerous are they than ordinary neighbours. And men who, like them, wantonly assail others, will not hesitate to attack him who remains quietly at home and only defends himself, but they are not so ready to overbear the adviser who goes out of his own country to meet them, and when there is an opportunity strikes first. We have proved this in our own dealings with the Athenians. Once, owing to our internal dissensions, they took possession of our land, but we overcame them at Coronea, and gave Boeotia that complete security which has lasted to this day.<sup>a</sup> Remember the past! Let the elder men among us emulate their own earlier deeds, and the younger who are the sons of those valiant fathers do their best not to tarnish the virtues of their race. Confident that the God whose temple they have impiously fortified and now occupy will be our champion, and relying on the sacrifices, which are favourable to us, let us advance to meet them. They may satisfy their greed by attacking those who do not defend themselves, but we will show them that from men whose generous spirit ever impels them to fight for the liberties of their country, and who will not see that of others unjustly enslaved,—from such men they will not part without a battle.

B.C. 447  
O1 83, 2

With this exhortation Pagondas persuaded the Boeotians to march against the Athenians, and quickly moved his army forward (for the day was far advanced). As soon as he approached the enemy he took up a position where a hill intercepted the view, and there drew up his army and prepared for action. Hippocrates, who was still at Delium, heard that the Boeotians were advancing, and sent a message to the army bidding them get into position. He himself came up shortly afterwards,

93  
The Boeotian army, numbering about eighteen thousand five hundred in all, the Theban division arranged twenty-five deep, ap-

IV  
appears over  
the crest  
of a hill

having left three hundred cavalry at Delium, in order that they might protect the place if assailed, and also might watch their opportunity and attack the Boeotians while the battle was going on. To these the Boeotians opposed a separate force. When everything was ready they appeared over the crest of the hill, and halted in the order which they proposed to maintain in the engagement, they numbered about seven thousand hoplites, more than ten thousand light-armed troops, a thousand cavalry, and five hundred targeteers. The Thebans and the Boeotians of the adjoining district occupied the right wing. In the centre were the men of Haliartus, Coronea, and Copae, and the other dwellers about the Lake Copais. On the left wing were the Thespians, Tanagraeans, and Oichomenians, the cavalry and light-armed troops were placed on both wings. The Thebans were formed in ranks of five and twenty deep, the formation of the others varied. Such was the character and array of the Boeotian forces.

94  
Numbers  
of the  
Athenian  
hoplites  
about the  
same as of  
the Boeo-  
tians they  
are drawn  
up eight  
deep

All the hoplites of the Athenian army were arranged in ranks eight deep, their numbers equalled those of their opponents, the cavalry were stationed on either wing. No regular light-armed troops accompanied them, for Athens had no organised force of this kind. Those who originally joined the expedition were many times over the number of the enemy, but they were to a great extent without proper arms, for the whole force, strangers as well as citizens, had been called out. Having once started homewards, there were but few of them forthcoming in the engagement. When the Athenians were ranged in order of battle and on the point of advancing, Hippocrates the general, proceeding along the lines, exhorted them as follows —

95  
We are  
fighting not  
only to gain

‘Men of Athens, there is not much time for exhortation, but to the brave a few words are as good as many, I am only going to remind, not to admonish you.’ Let

B.C. 424  
Oli 89

no man think that because we are on foreign soil we are running into great danger without cause. Although in Boeotian territory we shall be fighting for our own. If we are victors, the Peloponnesians, deprived of the Boeotian cavalry, will never invade our land again, so that in one battle you win Boeotia and win at the same time for Attica a more complete freedom. Meet them in a spirit worthy of the first city in Hellas—of that Athens which we are all proud to call our country, in a spirit too worthy of our fathers, who in times past under Myronides at Oenophyta overcame these very Boeotians and conquered their land.

IV.  
Boeotia,  
but for the  
safety and  
liberties of  
Athens  
We ought  
to have  
a spirit  
worthy of  
her, worthy  
of the  
victors at  
Oenophyta

Thus spoke Hippocrates, and had gone over half the army, not having had time for more, when the Boeotians (to whom Pagondas just before engaging had been making a second short exhortation) raised the Paean, and came down upon them from the hill. The Athenians hastened forward, and the two armies met at a run. The extreme right and left of either army never engaged, for the same reason, they were both prevented by water-courses. But the rest closed, and there was a fierce struggle and pushing of shield against shield. The left wing of the Boeotians as far as their centre was worsted by the Athenians, who pressed hard upon this part of the army, especially upon the Thespians. For the troops ranged at their side having given way they were surrounded and hemmed in, and so the Thespians who perished were cut down fighting hand to hand. Some of the Athenians themselves in surrounding the enemy were thrown into confusion and unwittingly slew one another. On this side then the Boeotians were overcome, and fled to that part of the army which was still fighting, but the right wing, where the Thebans were stationed, overcame the Athenians, and forcing them back, at first step by step, were following hard upon them, when Pagondas, seeing that his left wing was in distress, sent two squadrons of horse unperceived round the hill. They suddenly appeared over the ridge, the victorious wing of the Athe-

96  
The right  
wing of the  
Athenians  
overcomes  
the Boeo-  
tians, and  
the right  
wing of the  
Boeotians  
overcomes  
the Athe-  
nians  
On the  
sudden  
appearance  
of some  
Boeotian  
cavalry the  
Athenians  
are finally  
defeated

IV mians, fancying that another army was attacking them, <sup>B C 424</sup> was struck with panic, and so at both points, partly <sup>Ol 89</sup> owing to this diversion, and partly to the pressure of the advancing Thebans who broke their line, the rout of the Athenian army became general. Some fled to the sea at Delium, others towards Oropus, others to Mount Parnes, or in any direction which gave hope of safety. The Boeotians, especially their cavalry and that of the Locrians which arrived when the rout had begun, pursued and slaughtered them. Night closed upon the pursuit, and aided the mass of the fugitives in their escape. On the next day those of them who had reached Oropus and Delium, which, though defeated, they still held, were conveyed home by sea. A garrison was left in the place.

97. The Boeotians, after raising a trophy, took up their own dead, and despoiled those of the enemy. They then left them under the care of a guard, and retiring to Tanagia concerted an attack upon Delium. The herald of the Athenians, as he was on his way to ask for their dead, met a Boeotian herald, who turned him back, declaring that he would get no answer until he had returned himself. He then came before the Athenians and delivered to them the message of the Boeotians, by whom they were accused of transgressing the universally recognised customs of Hellas. Those who invaded the territory of others ever abstained from touching the temples, whereas the Athenians had fortified Delium and were now dwelling there, and doing all that men usually do in an unconsecrated place. They were even drawing, for common use, the water which the Boeotians themselves were forbidden to use except as holy water for the sacrifices. They therefore on behalf both of the God and of themselves, invoking Apollo and all the divinities who had a share in the temple, bade the Athenians depart and carry off what belonged to them.

98. Upon the delivery of this message the Athenians sent

The Athenians are refused permission to bury their dead, on the ground that they have been guilty of sacrilege

B.C. 424  
Ol. 89

to the Boeotians a herald of their own, who on their behalf declared that they had done no injury to the temple, and were not going to do any if they could help, they had not originally entered it with any injurious intent, but in order that from it they might defend themselves against those who were really injuring them. According to Hellenic practice, they who were masters of the land, whether much or little, invariably had possession of the temples, to which they were bound to show the customary reverence, but in such ways only as were possible. There was a time when the Boeotians themselves and most other nations, including all who had driven out the earlier inhabitants of the land which they now occupied, attacked the temples of others, and these had in time become their own. So the Boeotian temples would have become theirs if they had succeeded in conquering more of Boeotia. So much of the country as they did occupy was their own, and they did not mean to leave it until compelled. As to meddling with the water, they could not help themselves, the use of it was a necessity which they had not incurred wantonly, they were resisting the Boeotians who had begun by attacking their territory. When men were constrained by war, or by some other great calamity, there was every reason to think that their offence was forgiven by the God himself. He who has committed an involuntary misdeed finds a refuge at the altar and men are said to transgress, not when they presume a little in their distress, but when they do evil of their own free-will. The Boeotians, who demanded a sacred place as a ransom for the bodies of the dead, were guilty of a far greater impiety than the Athenians who refused to make such an unseemly bargain. They desired the Boeotians to let them take away their dead, not adding the condition "if they would quit Boeotia," for in fact they were in a spot which they had fairly won by arms and not in Boeotia, but simply saying "if they would make a truce according to ancestral custom."

IV

The Athenians defend themselves against the charge of sacrilege, which they retort upon their opponents



IV. The Boeotians replied that if they were in Boeotia B C 424  
Ol 89  
 99 they might take what belonged to them, but must

The  
Boeotians  
quibble  
about the  
spot in  
which the  
dead  
bodies lie

depart out of it, if they were in their own land they could do as they pleased. They knew that the territory of Oropus, in which the dead lay (for the battle took place on the border), was actually in the possession of Athens, but that the Athenians could not take them away without their leave, <sup>a</sup> and they were unwilling as they pretended to make a truce respecting a piece of ground which did not belong to them <sup>a</sup>. And to say in their reply 'that if they would quit Boeotian ground they might take what they asked for,' sounded plausible. Thereupon the Athenian herald departed, leaving his purpose unaccomplished.

100

They  
attack, and,  
by the help  
of an in-  
genious  
machine,  
take Delium  
seventeen  
days after  
the battle

The Boeotians immediately sent for javelin-men and slingers from the Malian Gulf. They had been joined after the battle by the Corinthians with two thousand hoplites, and by the Peloponnesian garrison which had evacuated Nisaca <sup>b</sup>, as well as by some Megarians. They now marched against Delium and attacked the rampart, employing among other military devices an engine, with which they succeeded in taking the place, it was of the following description. They sawed in two and hollowed out a great beam, which they joined together again very exactly, like a flute, and suspended a vessel by chains at the end of the beam, the iron mouth of a bellows directed downwards into the vessel was attached to the beam, of which a great part was itself overlaid with iron. This machine they brought up from a distance on carts to various points of the rampart where vine stems and wood had been most extensively used, and when it was quite near the wall they applied a large bellows to their own end of the beam, and blew through it. The blast, prevented from escaping, passed

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking *δῆθεν* with *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων* 'and they were unwilling to make a truce respecting a piece of ground which was claimed by the Athenians'

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1v 69 fin.

B C 424 into the vessel which contained burning coals and sulphur and pitch, these made a huge flame, and set fire to the rampart, so that no one could remain upon it. The garrison took flight, and the fort was taken. Some were slain, two hundred were captured, but the greater number got on board their ships and so reached home.

IV.

Delium was captured seventeen days after the battle. The Athenian herald came shortly afterwards in ignorance of its fate to ask again for the dead, and now the Boeotians, instead of repeating their former answer, gave them up. In the battle the Boeotians lost somewhat less than five hundred, the Athenians not quite a thousand, and Hippocrates their general, also a great number of light-armed troops and baggage-bearers.

IOI. They now give up the dead, numbering about a thousand, among them is Hippocrates the general.

Shortly after the battle of Delium, Demosthenes, on the failure of the attempt to betray Siphæ, against which he had sailed with forty ships<sup>a</sup>, employed the Agræan and Acarnanian troops together with four hundred Athenian hoplites whom he had on board in a descent on the Sicyonian coast. Before all the fleet had reached the shore the Sicyonians came out against the invaders, put to flight those who had landed, and pursued them to their ships, killing some, and making prisoners of others. They then erected a trophy, and gave back the dead under a flag of truce.

Failure of a descent made by Demosthenes on Sicyonia

While the affair of Delium was going on, Sitalces the Odrysian king died, he had been engaged in an expedition against the Triballi, by whom he was defeated in battle. Seuthes the son of Spardocus<sup>b</sup>, his nephew, succeeded him in the kingdom of the Odrysians and the rest of his Thracian dominions.

Death of Sitalces, who is succeeded by his nephew Seuthes

During the same winter, Brasidas and his Chalcidian allies made an expedition against Amphipolis upon the river Stymon, the Athenian colony. The place where the city now stands is the same which Aristagoras of Miletus in days of old, when he was flying from King Darius, attempted to colonise, he was driven out by

IO2 The first, second, and third foundation of Amphipolis

B C 497  
Ol 70, 4

<sup>a</sup> Cp ix 77 init, 89

<sup>b</sup> Cp ii 101 fin.

IV the Edonians<sup>a</sup>. Two and thirty years afterwards the Athenians made another attempt, they sent a colony of ten thousand, made up partly of their own citizens, partly of any others who liked to join, but these also were attacked by the Thracians at Diabescus, and perished<sup>b</sup>. Twenty-nine years later the Athenians came again, under the leadership of Hagnon the son of Nicias, drove out the Edonians, and built a town on the same spot, which was formerly called 'The Nine Ways'. Their base of operations was Eion, a market and seaport which they already possessed, at the mouth of the river, about three miles from the site of the present town, which Hagnon called Amphipolis, because on two sides it is surrounded by the river Strymon, and strikes the eye both by sea and land. Wanting to enclose the newly-founded city, he cut it off by a long wall reaching from the upper part of the river to the lower

B C 424  
O1 89

B C 465  
O1 78, 4

B C 437  
O1 85, 4

103

Brasidas is received by the inhabitants of Argilus, who conduct his army to the bridge near Amphipolis

Against Amphipolis Brasidas now led his army. Starting from Aïnac in Chalcidicè, towards evening he reached Aulon and Bromiscus at the point where the lake Bolbè flows into the sea, having there supped, he marched on during the night. The weather was wintry and somewhat snowy, and so he pushed on all the quicker, he was hoping that his approach might be known at Amphipolis only to those who were in the secret. There dwelt in the place settlers from Argilus, a town which was originally colonised from Andros, these and others aided in the attempt, instigated some by Peidiccas, others by the Chalcidians. The town of Argilus is not far off, and the inhabitants were always suspected by the Athenians, and were always conspiring against Amphipolis. For some time past ever since the arrival of Brasidas had given them an opportunity, they had been concerting measures with their countrymen inside the walls for the surrender of the city. They now revolted from the Athenians, and received him into their town. On that very night they conducted the army onwards

<sup>a</sup> Cp Herod v. 124

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1. 100 fin

B.C. 124  
O1 89

to the bridge over the river, which is at some distance from the town. At that time no walls had been built down to the river, as they have since been, a small guard was posted there. Brasidas easily overcame the guard, owing partly to the plot within the walls, partly to the severity of the weather and the suddenness of his attack, he then crossed the bridge, and at once became master of all the possessions of the Amphipolitans outside the walls. For they lived scattered about in the country.

IV

The passage of the river was a complete surprise to the citizens within the walls. Many who dwelt outside were

104  
The  
country  
outside the  
walls is  
now at  
his mercy  
He is  
anxious to  
take the  
place before  
Thucydides  
arrives,

taken. Others fled into the town. The Amphipolitans were in great consternation, for they suspected one another. <sup>a</sup>It is even said that Brasidas, if, instead of allowing his army to plunder, he had marched direct to the place, would probably<sup>a</sup> have captured it. But he merely occupied a position, and overran the country outside the walls, and then, finding that his confederates within failed in accomplishing their part, he took no further step. Meanwhile the opponents of the conspirators being superior in number prevented the immediate opening of the gates, and acting with Eucles, the general to whose care the place had been committed by the Athenians, sent for help to the other general in Chalcidicè, Thucydides the son of Olorus, who wrote this history, he was then at Thasos, an island colonised from Paros, and distant from Amphipolis about half a day's sail. As soon as he heard the tidings he sailed quickly to Amphipolis with seven ships which happened to be on the spot, he wanted to get into Amphipolis if possible before it could capitulate, or at any rate to occupy Eion.

Meanwhile Brasidas, fearing the arrival of the ships from Thasos, and hearing that Thucydides had the right of working gold mines in the neighbouring district of Thiacè, and was consequently one of the leading

105.  
and there-  
fore offers  
moderate  
terms,

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'It is said to have been the impression that Brasidas' etc, omitting 'probably.'

IV men of the country, did his utmost to get possession of the city before his arrival. He was afraid that, if Thucydides once came, the people of Amphipolis would no longer be disposed to surrender. For their hope would be that he would bring in allies by sea from the islands, or collect troops in Thrace, and relieve them. He therefore offered moderate terms, proclaiming that any Amphipolitan or Athenian might either remain in the city and have the enjoyment of his property on terms of equality, or if he preferred, might depart, taking his goods with him, within five days.

106. When the people heard the proclamation they began to waver, for very few of the citizens were Athenians, the greater number being a mixed multitude. Many within the walls were relatives of those who had been captured outside. In their alarm they thought the terms reasonable, the Athenian population because they were too glad to withdraw, reflecting how much greater their share of the danger was, and not expecting speedy relief, the rest of the people because they retained all their existing rights, and were delivered from a fate which seemed inevitable. The partisans of Brasidas now proceeded to justify his proposals without disguise, for they saw that the mind of the whole people had changed, and that they no longer paid any regard to the Athenian general who was on the spot. So his terms were accepted, and the city was surrendered and delivered up to him. On the evening of the same day Thucydides and his ships sailed into Eion, but not until Brasidas had taken possession of Amphipolis, missing Eion only by a night. For if the ships had not come to the rescue with all speed, the place would have been in his hands on the next morning.

107. Thucydides now put Eion in a state of defence, desiring to provide not only against any immediate attempt of Brasidas, but also against future danger. He received the fugitives who had chosen to quit Amphipolis according to the agreement and wished to come into Eion

which are  
accepted  
by the in-  
habitants  
Thucydides  
saves Eion,  
but is too  
late to  
save Am-  
phipolis

Brasidas  
sails down  
the river to  
Eion, but  
fails in  
taking the  
place

B C 424  
O1 89

B.C. 424  
O1 89

Brasidas suddenly sailed with a number of small craft down the river to Eion, hoping that he might take the point which runs out from the wall, and thereby command the entrance to the harbour, at the same time he made an attack by land. But in both these attempts he was foiled. Whereupon he returned, and took measures for the settlement of Amphipolis. The Edonian town of Myrcinus joined him, Pittacus the king of the Edonians having been assassinated by the children of Goaxis and Brauro his wife. Soon afterwards Galepsus and Aesymè (both colonies from Thasos) came over to him. Peidiccas likewise arrived shortly after the taking of Amphipolis, and assisted him in settling the newly-acquired towns.

IV.

The Athenians were seriously alarmed at the loss of Amphipolis, the place was very useful to them, and supplied them with a revenue, and with timber which they imported for ship-building. As far as the Strymon the Lacedaemonians could always have found a way to the allies of Athens, if the Thessalians allowed them to pass, but until they gained possession of the bridge they could proceed no further, because, for a long way above, the river forms a large lake, and below, towards Eion, it was guarded by triremes. All difficulty seemed now to be removed, and the Athenians feared that more of their allies would revolt. For Brasidas in all his actions showed himself reasonable, and whenever he made a speech lost no opportunity of declaring that he was sent to emancipate Hellas. The cities which were subject to Athens, when they heard of the taking of Amphipolis and of his promises and of his gentleness, were more impatient than ever to rise, and privately sent embassies to him, asking him to come and help them, every one of them wanting to be first. They thought that there was no danger, for they had under-estimated the Athenian power, which afterwards proved its greatness and the magnitude of their mistake, they judged rather by their own illusive wishes than by the unerring rule of prudence.

108  
The Athenians are alarmed at the revolt of Amphipolis because it opens the way to their other allies in Thrace. The revolting cities miscalculated, but it was natural that they should be influenced by the character of Brasidas. Jealousy of his enterprises at Sparta.

- IV. For such is the manner of men, what they like is always <sup>B C 424</sup> seen by them in the light of unreflecting hope, what <sup>OI 89</sup> they dislike they peremptorily set aside by an arbitrary conclusion. Moreover, the Athenians had lately received a blow in Bocotia, and Brasidas told the allies what was likely to attract them, but untrue, that at Nisaea the Athenians had refused to fight with his unassisted forces<sup>a</sup>. And so they grew bold, and were quite confident that no army would ever reach them. Above all, they were influenced by the pleasurable excitement of the moment, they were now for the first time going to find out of what the Lacedaemonians were capable when in real earnest, and therefore they were willing to risk anything. The Athenians were aware of their disaffection, and as far as they could, at short notice and in winter time, sent garrisons to the different cities. Brasidas also despatched a message to the Lacedaemonians requesting them to let him have additional forces, and he himself began to build trenches on the Strymon. But they would not second his efforts because their leading men were jealous of him, and also because they preferred to recover the prisoners taken in the island and bring the war to an end.

- 109 In the same winter the Megarians recovered their <sup>Recovery of their long walls by the Megarians</sup> long walls which had been in the hands of the Athenians<sup>b</sup>, and razed them to the ground. After the taking of Amphipolis, Brasidas and his allies <sup>Description of Actè and its cities</sup> marched to the so-called Actè, or coast-land, which <sup>Brasidas marches thither, and is joined by most of them</sup> runs out from the canal made by the Persian King and extends into the peninsula, it is bounded by Athos, a high mountain projecting into the Aegean sea<sup>c</sup>. There are cities in the peninsula, of which one is Sanè, an Andrian colony on the edge of the canal looking towards the sea in the direction of Euboea, the others are Thyssus, Cleonae, Aciothous, Olophyxus, and Diium, their inhabitants are a mixed multitude of barbarians,

<sup>a</sup> Cp. IV 85 fin.<sup>b</sup> Cp. IV 68, 69<sup>c</sup> Cp. Herod. VII 22

B C 424 speaking Greek as well as their native tongue A few IV  
 Ol 89 indeed are Chalcidian, but the greater part are Pelas-  
 gians (sprung from the Tyrrhenians who once inhabited  
 Lemnos and Athens), or Bisaltians, Crestonians, Edo-  
 nians They all dwell in small cities Most of them  
 joined Brasidas, but Sanè and Dium held out, where-  
 upon he remained there for a time and wasted their  
 territory

Finding that they would not yield, he promptly made I IO  
 an expedition against Toronè in Chalcidicè, which was Brasidas  
makes an  
expedition  
against  
Toronè  
 held by the Athenians He was invited by a few of the He halts  
outside the  
town, and  
contrives to  
introduce  
a few of his  
soldiers  
 inhabitants, who were ready to deliver the city into his  
 hands Arriving at night, or about daybreak, he took  
 up a position at the temple of the Dioscuri, which is  
 distant about three furlongs from the city The great  
 body of the inhabitants and the Athenian garrison never  
 discovered him, but those Toronaeans who were in his  
 interest, and knew that he was coming, were awaiting  
 his approach, some few of them had privately gone to  
 meet him. When his confederates found that he had  
 arrived, they introduced into the city, under the com-  
 mand of Lysistatus an Olynthian, seven light-armed  
 soldiers carrying daggers (for of twenty who had been  
 originally appointed to that service, only seven had the  
 courage to enter) These men slipped in undiscovered by  
 way of the wall where it looks towards the sea They  
 ascended the side of the hill on which the city is built,  
 and slew the sentinels posted on the summit, they then  
 began to break down the postern-gate towards the pro-  
 montory of Canastræum

Meanwhile Brasidas advanced a little with the rest I II.  
 of his army, and then halting, sent forward a hundred They and  
his parti-  
sans in  
Toronè  
break open  
a postern  
gate  
 targeteers, that as soon as any of the gates were opened,  
 and the signal agreed upon displayed, they might rush  
 in first There was a delay, and they, wondering what  
 had happened, drew by degrees nearer and nearer to the  
 city Then partisans in Toronè, acting with the soldiers  
 who had already got inside, had now broken through



IV the postern-gate, and proceeded to cut the bar which fastened the gates near the market-place. They then brought round some of the targeteers by way of the postern-gate, and introduced them into the city, hoping to strike panic into the unconscious citizens by the sudden appearance of an armed force in their rear and on both sides of them at once. Their next step was to raise the fire-signal according to agreement, they then received the rest of the targeteers through the gates by the market-place

I 12 Biasidas, when he saw the signal, gave his army the word to advance, and ran forward. Raising with one voice a shout which struck terror into the souls of the inhabitants, they followed him. Some of them dashed in by the gates, others found a way in at a place where the wall had fallen down and was being repaired, getting up by some planks which were placed against it, intended for drawing up stones. He himself with the main body of his army ascended to the upper part of the city, wanting to make the capture thorough and secure, the rest of his soldiers overran the town.

I 13 While the capture was proceeding the Toronaean generally, who knew nothing about the plot, were in confusion. The conspirators and their party at once joined the assailants. Of the Athenian hoplites, who to the number of fifty chanced to be sleeping in the Agora, a few were cut down at once, but the greater number, when they saw what had happened, fled, some by land, others to the Athenian guard-ships, of which two were on the spot, and reached safely the fort of Lecythus, a high point of the city which the Athenians had occupied and retained in their own hands, it runs out into the sea, and is only joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus, thither fled also such Toronaean as were friendly to the Athenians.

I 14. It was now daylight, and the city being completely in his power, Biasidas made proclamation to the Toronaean who had taken refuge with the Athenians, that if they

B C 424  
Ol 89

The army  
of Biasidas,  
on a signal  
given from  
the town,  
rush in

The Athe-  
nian garri-  
son take  
refuge in  
Lecythus

Brasidas  
summons  
the Athe-

B C 424  
Ol 89

liked they might come out and return to their homes, IV.  
they would suffer no harm in the city He also sent a  
herald to the Athenians, bidding them take what was  
their own and depart under a flag of truce out of Lecythus  
The place, he said, belonged to the Chalcidians, and not  
to them. They refused to go, but asked him to make a  
truce with them for a day, that they might take up their  
dead, and he granted them two days. During these two  
days he fortified the buildings which were near Lecythus,  
and the Athenians strengthened the fort itself He then  
called a meeting of the Toronaeans, and addressed them  
much in the same terms which he had used at Acanthus<sup>a</sup>.  
He told them that they ought not to think badly of those  
citizens who had aided him, much less to deem them  
traitors, for they were not bribed and had not acted  
with any view of enslaving the city, but in the interest  
of her freedom and welfare Those of the inhabitants  
who had not joined in the plot were not to suppose that  
they would fare worse than the rest, for he had not  
come thither to destroy either the city or any of her  
citizens In this spirit he had made the proclamation  
to those who had taken refuge with the Athenians, and  
he thought none the worse of them for being their friends,  
when they had a similar experience of the Lacedae-  
monians their attachment to them would be still greater,  
for they would recognise their superior honesty, they  
were only afraid of them now because they did not know  
them They must all make up their minds to be faith-  
ful allies, and expect henceforward to be held responsible  
if they offended, but in the past the Lacedaemonians  
had not been wronged by them, on the contrary, it was  
they who had been wronged by a power too great for  
them, and were to be excused if they had opposed him

With these words he encouraged the citizens On the 115.  
expiration of the truce he made his intended attack upon  
Lecythus The Athenians defended themselves from  
the fortress, which was weak, and from some houses

nians to  
surrender  
At their  
request  
he grants  
them a  
short truce  
He ad-  
dresses  
pacific  
words to  
the people  
of Toronè

The fall of  
a wooden  
tower  
frightens  
the Athe-

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv. 85-87

IV. which had battlements For a whole day they repulsed <sup>B C 424</sup>  
 the assault, but on the morrow an engine was brought <sup>Ol 89</sup>  
 against them, from which the Lacedaemonians proposed  
 to throw fire upon the wooden bulwarks Just as the  
 army was drawing near the wall, the Athenians raised  
 a wooden tower upon the top of a building at a point  
 where the approach was easiest and where they thought  
 that the enemy would be most likely to apply the  
 engine To this tower they carried up numerous jars  
 and casks of water and great stones, and many men  
 mounted upon it Suddenly the building, being too  
 heavily weighted, fell in with a loud crash This only an-  
 noyed and did not much alarm the Athenians who were  
 near and saw what had happened, but the rest were ter-  
 rified, and their fright was the greater in proportion as  
 they were further off They thought that the place had  
 been taken at that spot, and fled as fast as they could to  
 the sea where their ships lay

116. Brasidas witnessed the accident and observed that  
 they were abandoning the battlements He at once  
 rushed forward with his army, captured the fort, and  
 put to death all whom he found in it Thus the Athe-  
 nians were driven out, and in their ships of war and  
 other vessels crossed over to Pallenè There happened  
 to be in Lecythus a temple of Athenè, and when Brasi-  
 das was about to storm the place he had made a pro-  
 clamations that he who first mounted the wall should  
 receive thirty minae<sup>a</sup>, but now, believing that the cap-  
 ture had been effected by some more than human power,  
 he gave the thirty minae to the Goddess for the service  
 of the temple, and then pulling down Lecythus and  
 clearing the ground, he consecrated the whole place  
 The rest of this winter he spent in settling the adminis-  
 tration of the towns which he already held, and in con-  
 certing measures against the rest. At the end of the  
 winter ended the eighth year of the war

117. Early in the following spring the Lacedaemonians and

<sup>a</sup> About £122.

Brasidas  
 takes the  
 fort of  
 Lecythus  
 and puts to  
 death those  
 who are  
 found in it

B C 423  
Ol 89, 2

Athenians made a truce for a year. The Athenians hoped to prevent Brasidas from gaining over any more of their allies for the present, the interval would give them leisure for preparation, and hereafter, if it was for their interest, they might come to a general understanding. The Lacedaemonians had truly divined the fears of the Athenians, and thought that, having enjoyed an intermission of trouble and hardship, they would be more willing to make terms, restore the captives taken in the island, and conclude a durable peace. Their main object was to recover their men while the good-fortune of Brasidas lasted, on the other hand, they feared that, if he continued in his successful career and established a balance between the contending powers, they might still be deprived of them. \* And the loss would not be compensated by their equality with the enemy or by the prospect of victory. \* So they made a truce for themselves and their allies in the following terms —

IV.  
The Athenians because they are apprehensive of the growing success of Brasidas, the Lacedaemonians because they want to recover the captives, make peace for a year

‘I Concerning the temple and oracle of the Pythian Apollo, it seems good to us that any one who will shall ask counsel thereat without fraud and without fear, according to his ancestral customs. To this we, the Lacedaemonians and their allies here present, agree, and we will send heralds to the Boeotians and Phocians, and do our best to gain their assent likewise.

II 8.  
Terms of peace

‘II Concerning the treasures of the God, we will take measures for the detection of evil-doers, both you and we, according to our ancestral customs, and any one else who will, according to his ancestral customs, proceeding always with right and equity. Thus it seems good to the Lacedaemonians and their allies in respect of these matters

‘III It further seems good to the Lacedaemonians and their allies that, if the Athenians consent to a truce, either party shall remain within his own territory,

\* Or, ‘And although they would then be fighting on an equality with the Athenians, the final victory would still be doubtful.’

- IV. retaining what he has The Athenians at Coryphasium <sup>B C 423</sup> shall keep within the hills of Buphias and Tomeus <sup>Ol 89, 2</sup> They shall remain at Cythera<sup>a</sup>, but shall not communicate with the Lacedaemonian confederacy, neither we with them nor they with us The Athenians who are in Nisaea<sup>b</sup> and Minoa<sup>c</sup> shall not cross the road which leads from the gates of the temple of Nisus to the temple of Poseidon, and from the temple of Poseidon goes direct to the bridge leading to Minoa, neither shall the Megarians and their allies cross this road, the Athenians shall hold the island which they have taken, neither party communicating with the other They shall also hold what they now hold at Troezen<sup>d</sup>, according to the agreement concluded between the Athenians and Troezenians.

‘IV At sea the Lacedaemonians and their allies may sail along their own coasts and the coasts of the confederacy, not in ships of war, but in any other rowing vessel whose burden does not exceed five hundred talents<sup>e</sup>.

‘V There shall be a safe-conduct both by sea and land for a herald, with envoys and any number of attendants which may be agreed upon, passing to and fro between Peloponnesus and Athens, to make arrangements about the termination of the war and about the arbitration of disputed points

‘VI While the truce lasts neither party, neither we nor you, shall receive deserters, either bond or free

‘VII. And we will give satisfaction to you and you shall give satisfaction to us according to our ancestral customs, and determine disputed points by arbitration and not by arms

‘These things seem good to us, the Lacedaemonians, and to our allies But if you deem any other condition more just or honourable, go to Lacedaemon and explain your views, neither the Lacedaemonians nor their allies will reject any just claim which you may prefer

<sup>a</sup> Cp IV 53, 54

<sup>d</sup> Cp IV. 45.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. IV 69

<sup>c</sup> Cp III. 51.

<sup>e</sup> About 12 tons

B C 423  
Ol 89, 2

'And we desire you, as you desire us, to send envoys IV.  
invested with full powers

'This truce shall be for a year'

The Athenian people passed the following decree. During the armistice heralds and envoys are to pass to and fro and discuss the terms of a permanent peace  
The prytanes were of the tribe Acamantis, Phaenippus was the registrar, Niciades was the president Laches moved that 'a truce be concluded on the terms to which the Lacedaemonians and their allies had consented, and might it be for the best interests of the Athenian people' Accordingly the assembly agreed that 'the truce shall last for a year, beginning from this day, being the fourteenth day of the month Elaphebolion<sup>a</sup> During the year of truce ambassadors and heralds are to go from one state to another and discuss proposals for the termination of the war The generals and prytanes shall proceed to hold another assembly, at which the people shall discuss, first of all, the question of peace, whatever proposal the Lacedaemonian embassy may offer about the termination of the war The embassies now present shall bind themselves on the spot, in the presence of the assembly, to abide by the truce just made for a year'

To these terms the Lacedaemonians assented, and I19  
they and their allies took oath to the Athenians and their allies on the twelfth day of the Spartan month Gerastius Formal ratification of the truce  
Those who formally ratified the truce were, on behalf of Lacedaemon, Taurus the son of Echetimidias, Athenaeus the son of Pericleidas, Philocharidas the son of Eryxidaidas, of Corinth, Aeneas the son of Ocytus, Euphamidas the son of Aristonymus, of Sicyon, Damotimus the son of Naucrates, Onasimus the son of Megacles, of Megara, Nicasus the son of Cecalus, Menecrates the son of Amphidorus, of Epidaurus, Amphias the son of Eupaidas, and on behalf of Athens, Nicostratus the son of Ditrephes, Nicias the son of Niceratus, Autocles the son of Tolmaeus Such were the terms of the armistice, during its continuance fresh negotiations for a final peace were constantly carried on

<sup>a</sup> March—April

- IV While in the course of the negotiations the Athenian B C 423  
Ol 89, 2
- 120 and Lacedaemonian envoys were passing to and fro,
- Meanwhile Scionè, a town of Pallenè, revolted from the Athenians and joined Brasidas. The Scionaeans, according to their own account, sprang originally from Pellenè in Peloponnesus, but their ancestors returning from Troy were carried by the storm which the Achaean fleet encountered to Scionè, where they took up their abode. Brasidas, when he heard of the revolt, sailed thither by night, sending before him a friendly trireme, while he himself followed at some distance in a small boat, thinking that if he met any vessel, not a trireme, larger than the boat, the trireme would protect him <sup>a</sup>, while if another trireme of equal strength came up, it would fall, not upon the boat, but upon the larger vessel, and in the meantime he would be able to save himself. He succeeded in crossing, and having summoned a meeting of the Scionaeans, he repeated what he had said at Acanthus and Toronè, adding that their conduct was deserving of the highest praise, for at a time when the Athenians were holding Potidaea and the isthmus of Pallenè, and they, being cut off from the mainland, were as defenceless as if they had been islanders, they had taken the side of liberty unbidden. They were not such cowards as to wait until they were compelled to do what was obviously for their own interest, and this was a sufficient proof that they would endure like men any hardships, however great, if only their aspirations could be realised. He should reckon them the truest and most loyal friends of the Lacedaemonians, and pay them the highest honour.
121. The Scionaeans were inspired by his words, and one and all, even those who had previously been against the movement, took courage and determined to bear cheerfully the burdens of the war. They received Brasidas with honour, and in the name of the city crowned him with a golden crown as the liberator of
- Honours showered on Brasidas. He enters into communication with Mendè and Potidaea.
- <sup>a</sup> Reading *αὐτῶ*, or, reading *αὐτῇ*, 'the mere presence of the trireme would protect him.'

BC 423  
Ol 89, 2

Hellas, many too, in token of their personal admiration, placed garlands on his head, and congratulated him, as if he had been a victor in the games. For the present he left a small garrison with them and returned, but soon afterwards again crossed the sea with a larger army, being desirous, now that he had the help of the Scionaeans, to attempt Mendè and Potidacæ, he made sure that the Athenians would follow him with their ships to Pallènè, which they would consider an island; and he wished to anticipate them. Moreover he had entered into negotiations with these cities, and had some hope of their being betrayed to him.

But before he had executed his intentions, a trireme arrived conveying the ambassadors who went round to proclaim the truce, Aristonymus from Athens, and Athenæus from Lacedaemon. His army then returned to Toronè, and the truce was formally announced to him. All the allies of the Lacedaemonians in Chalcidicè agreed to the terms. Aristonymus the Athenian assented generally, but finding on a calculation of the days that the Scionaeans had revolted after the conclusion of the truce, refused to admit them. Brasidas insisted that they were in time, and would not surrender the city. Whereupon Aristonymus despatched a message to Athens. The Athenians were ready at once to make an expedition against Scionè. The Lacedaemonians, however, sent an embassy to them and protested that such a step would be a breach of the truce. They laid claim to the place, relying on the testimony of Brasidas, and proposed to have the matter decided by arbitration. But the Athenians, instead of risking an arbitration, wanted to send an expedition instantly, for they were exasperated at discovering that even the islanders were now daring to revolt from them, in a futile reliance on the Lacedaemonian power by land. The greater right was on their side, for the truth was that the Scionaeans had revolted two days after the truce was made. They instantly carried a resolution,

IV

I 22.

Meanwhile he is stopped in his career by the announcement of the truce, which had really been made before the revolt of Scionè. Brasidas refuses to give the place up. Fury of the Athenians.



- IV. moved by Cleon, to destroy Scionè and put the citizens to the sword, and, while abstaining from hostilities elsewhere, they prepared to carry out their intentions B C 423  
Ol 89, 2

123 In the meantime Mendè, a city of Pallènè and an  
 Brasidas receives the  
 Mendaeans after the  
 declaration  
 of the truce  
 Eietrian colony, revolted from them. Brasidas felt justified in receiving the Mendaeans, although, when they came to him, the peace had unmistakably been declared, because there were certain points in which he too charged the Athenians with violating the treaty. His attitude was encouraging to them, they saw his zeal in the cause, which they likewise inferred from his unwillingness to hand over Scionè to the Athenians. Moreover the persons who negotiated with him were few in number, and having once begun, would not give up their purpose. For they feared the consequences of detection, and therefore compelled the multitude to act contrary to their own wishes. When the Athenians heard of the revolt they were more angry than ever, and made preparations against both cities. Brasidas, in expectation of their attack, conveyed away the wives and children of the Scionaeans and Mendaeans to Olynthus in Chalcidicè, and sent over five hundred Peloponnesian hoplites and three hundred Chalcidian targeteers, under the sole command of Polydamidas, to their aid. The two cities concerted measures for their defence against the Athenians, who were expected shortly to arrive.

124 Brasidas and Perdiccas now joined their forces, and made a second expedition to Lyncus against Arrhibaeus. Perdiccas led his own Macedonian army and a force of hoplites supplied by the Hellenic inhabitants of the country. Brasidas, beside the Peloponnesians who remained with him, had under his command a body of Chalcidians from Acanthus and other cities, which supplied as many troops as they severally could. The entire heavy-armed Hellenic forces numbered about three thousand, the Chalcidian and Macedonian cavalry nearly a thousand, and there was also a great multitude of barbarians. They entered the territory of Arrhibaeus,

Brasidas  
 and Per-  
 diccas again  
 invade the  
 country of  
 Arrhibaeus  
 and defeat  
 his army

BC 423 and there finding the Lyncestians ready for battle, they IV  
 Ol 89, 2 took up a position in face of them The infantry of the  
 two armies was stationed upon two opposite hills, and  
 between them was a plain into which the cavalry of both  
 first descended and fought Then the Lyncestian heavy-  
 armed troops began to advance from the hill, and form-  
 ing a junction with their cavalry, offered battle Brasidas  
 and Perdikkas now drew out their army and charged,  
 the Lyncestians were put to flight and many slain, the  
 rest escaped to the high ground, and there remained  
 inactive The conquerors raised a trophy, and waited  
 for two or three days expecting the arrival of some  
 Illyrians whom Perdikkas had hired Then Perdikkas  
 wanted, instead of sitting idle, to push on against the  
 villages of Arrhibaeus, but Brasidas was anxious about  
 Mendè, and apprehensive that the Athenians might sail  
 thither and do some mischief before he returned The  
 Illyrians had not appeared, and for both reasons he was  
 more disposed to retreat than to advance

But while they were disputing, the news arrived that I 25  
 the Illyrians had just betrayed Perdikkas and joined  
 Arrhibaeus, whereupon they both resolved to retreat,  
 for they were afraid of the Illyrians, who are a nation  
 of warriors Owing to the dispute nothing had been  
 determined respecting the time of their departure Night  
 came on, and the Macedonians and the mass of the  
 barbarians were instantly seized with one of those un-  
 accountable panics to which great armies are liable  
 They fancied that the Illyrians were many times their  
 real number, and that they were close at their heels,  
 so, suddenly betaking themselves to flight, they hastened  
 homewards And they compelled Perdikkas, when he  
 understood the state of affairs, which at first he did not,  
 to go away without seeing Brasidas, for the two armies  
 were encamped at a considerable distance from one  
 another At dawn Brasidas, finding that Arrhibaeus  
 and the Illyrians were coming on and that the Mace-

Meanwhile  
 some Illy-  
 rians who  
 had been  
 hired by  
 Perdikkas  
 join Arrhi-  
 baeus  
 This  
 treachery  
 causes  
 panic and  
 flight in the  
 army of  
 Perdikkas

- IV. domians had already decamped, resolved to follow them B C 423  
Ol 89, 2  
 So he formed his hoplites into a compact square, and placed his light-armed troops in the centre. He selected the youngest of his soldiers to run out upon the enemy at whatever point the attack might be made. He himself proposed during the retreat to take his post in the rear with three hundred chosen men, meaning to stop the foremost of his assailants and beat them off. Before the Illyrians came up he exhorted his soldiers, as far as the shortness of the time permitted, in the following words —

126

The Illyrians pursue  
 Biasidas encourages his troops  
 You are few against many, but so you are at home, and you are fighting against barbarians  
 Do not be frightened by their outlandish cries and gestures  
 They make a vain flourish but have no discipline, and, if withstood quietly, retreat

‘Did I not suspect, men of Peloponnesus, that you may be terrified because you have been deserted by your companions and are assailed by a host of barbarians, I should think only of encouraging and not of instructing you<sup>a</sup>. But now that we are left alone in the face of numerous enemies, I shall endeavour in a few words to impress upon you the main points which it concerns you to be informed of and to remember. For you ought to fight like men not merely when you happen to have allies present, but because courage is native to you; nor should you fear any number of foreign troops. Remember that in the cities from which you come, not the many govern the few, but the few govern the many, and have acquired their supremacy simply by successful fighting. Your enemies are barbarians, and you in your inexperience fear them. But you ought to know, from your late conflicts with the Macedonian portion of them<sup>b</sup>—and any estimate which I can form, or account of them which I receive from others, would lead me to infer—that they will not prove so very formidable. An enemy often has weak points which wear the appearance of strength, and these, when their nature is explained, encourage rather than frighten their opponents. As, on the other hand, where an army has a real advantage, the adversary who is the most ignorant is also the most foolhardy. The Illyrians, to those who have no experience of them, do indeed at first sight

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iv 17 med, iv 95 init, v 69 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp. iv 124 med

B C 423  
Ol 89, 2

present a threatening aspect. The spectacle of their numbers is terrible, their cries are intolerable, and the brandishing of their spears in the air has a menacing effect. But in action they are not the men they look, if their opponents will only stand their ground, for they have no regular order, and therefore are not ashamed of leaving any post in which they are hard pressed, to fly and to advance being alike honourable, no imputation can be thrown on their courage. When every man is his own master in battle he will readily find a decent excuse for saving himself. They clearly think that to frighten us at a safe distance is a better plan than to meet us hand to hand, else why do they shout instead of fighting? You may easily see that all the terrors with which you have invested them are in reality nothing, they do but startle the sense of sight and hearing. If you repel their tumultuous onset, and, when opportunity offers, withdraw again in good order, keeping your ranks, you will sooner arrive at a place of safety, and will also learn the lesson that mobs like these if an adversary withstand their first attack, do but threaten at a distance and make a flourish of valour, although if he yields to them they are quick enough to show their courage in following at his heels when there is no danger.

IV

Brasidas, having addressed his army, began to retreat. Whereupon the barbarians with loud noise and in great disorder pressed hard upon him, supposing that he was flying, and that they could overtake and destroy his troops. But, wherever they attacked, the soldiers appointed for the purpose ran out and met them, and Brasidas himself with his chosen men received their charge. Thus the first onset of the barbarians met with a resistance which surprised them, and whenever they renewed the attack the Lacedaemonians received and repelled them again, and when they ceased, proceeded with their march. Thereupon the greater part of the barbarians abstained from attacking Brasidas and his

I 27.

The Illyrians, finding that they make no impression, seize a pass on the border

IV Hellenes in the open country, but leaving a certain number to follow and harass them, they ran on after the fugitive Macedonians and killed any with whom they fell in. They then secured beforehand the narrow pass between two hills which led into the country of Arihibaeus, knowing that this was the only path by which Brasidas could retreat. And as he was approaching the most dangerous point of the defile they began to surround him in the hope of cutting him off.

128.

Brasidas dislodges them, and they follow no further. Ill-feeling increases between Brasidas and Perdicas.

Perceiving their intention, he told his three hundred to leave their ranks and run every man as fast as he could to the top of one of the hills, being the one which he thought the barbarians would be most likely to occupy, and before a larger number of them could come up and surround them, to dislodge those who were already there<sup>a</sup>. They accordingly attacked and defeated them, and so the main body of his army more easily reached the summit, for the barbarians, seeing their comrades defeated and driven from the high ground, took alarm, they considered too that the enemy were already on the borders of the country, and had got away from them, and therefore followed no further. Brasidas had now gained the high ground and could march unmolested, on the same day he arrived at Arnissa, which is in the dominion of Perdicas. The soldiers were enraged at the hasty retreat of the Macedonians, and when they came upon carts of theirs drawn by oxen, or any baggage which had been dropped in the flight, as was natural in a retreat made in a panic and by night, they of themselves loosed the oxen and slaughtered them, and appropriated the baggage. From that time forward Perdicas regarded Brasidas in the light of a foe, and conceived a new hatred of the Peloponnesians, which was not a natural feeling in an enemy of the Athenians. Nevertheless, disregarding his own nearest interests, he took steps to make terms with the one and get rid of the other.

<sup>a</sup> Adopting with Poppo the correction ἐπώνυμους

B C 423  
Ol 89, 2

Brasidas returned from Macedonia to Toronè, and IV.  
when he arrived there found the Athenians already 129

in possession of Mendè. Thinking it now too late to cross over to Pallènè and assist Mendè and Scionè, he remained quiet and guarded Toronè. While he was engaged with the Lyncestians, the Athenians, having completed their preparations, had sailed against Mendè and Scionè with fifty ships, of which ten were Chian, conveying a thousand hoplites of their own, six hundred archers, a thousand Thracian mercenaries, and targeteers furnished by their allies in the neighbourhood. They were under the command of Nicias the son of Nicciatus, and Nicostratus the son of Diitrephes. Sailing from Potidaea and putting in near the temple of Poseidon they marched against the Mendacans. Now they and three hundred Scionaeans who had come to their aid, and their Peloponnesian auxiliaries, seven hundred hoplites in all, with Polydamidas their commander, had just encamped outside the city on a steep hill. Nicias, taking with him for the assault a hundred and twenty Methonaeon light-armed troops, sixty select Athenian hoplites and all the archers, made an attempt to ascend the hill by a certain pathway, but he was wounded and failed to carry the position. Nicostratus with the remainder of his troops approaching the hill, which was hard of access, by another and more circuitous route was thrown into utter confusion, and the whole army of the Athenians was nearly defeated. So on this day the Athenians, finding that the Mendaeans and their allies refused to give way, retreated and encamped, and when night came on, the Mendaeans likewise returned to the city.

Nicias attempts to take Mendè, but fails

On the following day the Athenians sailed round to 130  
the side of Mendè looking towards Scionè, they took the suburb, and during the whole of that day devastated the country. No one came out to meet them, for a division had arisen in the city, and on the following night the three hundred Scionaeans returned home. On the next

Soon, in consequence of internal divisions, the place falls into the hands of the Athenians

IV  
The Peloponnesians  
are shut  
up in the  
citadel

day Nicias with half his army went as far as the Scio-  
naean frontier and devastated the country on his march,  
while Nicostriatus with the other half sat down before the  
upper gates of Mendè, out of which the road leads to  
Potidaea. In this part of the city within the walls the  
Mendaeans and their allies chanced to have their arms  
deposited, and Polydamidas, arraying his forces in order  
of battle, was just exhorting the Mendaeans to go forth.  
Some one of the popular faction answered in the heat of  
party that he would not go out, and that he did not care  
to fight, but no sooner had he uttered the words than he  
was seized by the Peloponnesian commander and roughly  
handled. Whereupon the people lost patience, caught up  
their arms, and made a furious rush upon the Pelopon-  
nesians and the opposite party who were in league with  
them. They soon put them to flight, partly because the  
onslaught was sudden, and also because the gates were  
thrown open to the Athenians, which greatly terrified  
them. For they thought that the attack upon them was  
premeditated. All the Peloponnesians who were not  
killed on the spot fled to the citadel, which they had  
previously kept in their own hands. Nicias had now  
returned and was close to the city, and the Athenians  
rushed into Mendè with their whole force. As the  
gates had been opened without any previous capitula-  
tion they plundered the town as if it had been stormed,  
and even the lives of the citizens were with difficulty  
saved by the efforts of the generals. The Mendaeans  
were then told that they were to retain their former  
constitution, and bring to trial among themselves any  
whom they thought guilty of the revolt. At the same  
time the Athenians blockaded the garrison in the Acro-  
polis by a wall extending to the sea on either side and  
established a guard. Having thus secured Mendè, they  
proceeded against Scionè.

131.  
The  
Athenians  
blockade

The inhabitants of Scionè and the Peloponnesian  
garrison had come out to meet them and occupied a  
steep hill in front of the city. The hill had to be taken

B C 423  
Ol 89 2

B C 423  
Ol 89, 2

by the Athenians before they could effect the circumvallation of the place. So they made a furious attack and dislodged those who were stationed there<sup>a</sup>, they then encamped, and after raising a trophy, prepared to invest the city. Soon afterwards, while they were engaged in the work, the Peloponnesian auxiliaries who were besieged in the Acropolis of Mendè, forcing their way out by the sea-shore, broke through the watch and came to Scionè by night. Most of them eluded the Athenians who were encamped outside, and got into the town.

IV.  
Scione  
The gar-  
rison of  
Mendè  
force their  
way into  
the place

While the circumvallation of Scionè was proceeding, Perdiccas, who, after what had occurred in the retreat from Lyncus, hated Brasidas, sent heralds to the Athenian generals, and came to an understanding with them, <sup>132.</sup> which without loss of time he took measures to carry out<sup>b</sup>. It so happened that Ischagoras the Lacedaemonian was then on the eve of marching with an army to reinforce Brasidas. Perdiccas was told by Nicias that, having now made friends with the Athenians, he should give them some evidence of his sincerity. He himself too no longer wished the Peloponnesians to find their way into his country. And so by his influence over the Thessalian chiefs, with whom he was always on good terms, he put a stop to the whole expedition, indeed, the Lacedaemonians did not even attempt to obtain the consent of the Thessalians. Nevertheless, Ischagoras, Aménias, and Aristéus, who had been sent by the Lacedaemonian government to report on the state of affairs, found their way to Brasidas. They brought with them, though contrary to law, certain younger Spartans, intending to make them governors of the cities, instead of leaving the care of them to chance persons. Accordingly Brasidas appointed Clearidas the son of Cleonymus governor of

Perdiccas  
makes an  
alliance  
with the  
Athenians  
To prove  
his sincerity  
he puts a  
stop to  
the passage  
of Pello-  
ponnesian  
reinforce-  
ments  
through  
Thessaly

<sup>a</sup> Reading ἐπὶ τὰς

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'having commenced negotiations immediately after the retreat' (cp IV 128 fin), in which case, however, εὐθὺς τότε ἀρξάμενος and ἐρύχχανε τότε must refer to different times.



IV. Amphipolis, and Pasitelidas<sup>a</sup> the son of Hegesander B C 423  
governor of Toionè Ol 89, 2

I 33 During the same summer the Thebans dismantled the wall of the Thespians, charging them with Athenian tendencies. This was an object which they always had in view, and now they had their opportunity, because the flower of the Thespian army had fallen in the battle of Delium<sup>b</sup>. During the same summer the temple of Herè at Argos was burnt down, Chrysis the priestess had put a light too near the sacred garlands, and had then gone to sleep, so that the whole place took fire and was consumed. In her fear of the people she fled that very night to Phlius, and the Aigives, as the law provided, appointed another priestess named Phaenias. Chrysis had been priestess during eight years of the war and half of the ninth when she fled. Towards the close of the summer Scionè was completely invested, and the Athenians, leaving a guard, retired with the rest of their army.

I 34. In the following winter the Athenians and Lacedaemonians remained inactive, in consequence of the aimistice, but the Mantineans and the Tegeans with their respective allies fought a battle at Laodicium in the territory of Oiestheum, the victory was disputed. For the troops of both cities defeated the allies on the wing opposed to them, and both erected trophies, and sent spoils to Delphi. The truth is that, although there was considerable slaughter on both sides, and the issue was still undecided when night put an end to the conflict, the Tegeans encamped on the field and at once erected a trophy, while the Mantineans retreated to Bucolium and raised a rival trophy, but afterwards

I 35. At the close of the same winter, towards the beginning of spring, Brasidas made an attempt on Potidaea. He approached the place by night and planted a ladder against the walls. Thus far he proceeded undiscovered,

Unsuccessful attempt made by Brasidas on Potidaea

<sup>a</sup> Reading, according to Dobree's conjecture, *Πασιτελίδαν*, not *Ἐπιτελίδαν*. Pasitelidas is mentioned, v. 3, as governor of Toronè

<sup>b</sup> Cp iv. 96 med

B C 423 for the ladder was fixed at a point which the sentinel IV.  
Ol 89, 2 who was passing on the bell had just quitted, and before  
he had returned to his post But Brasidas had not yet  
mounted the ladder when he was detected by the gar-  
rison whereupon he withdrew his army in haste without  
waiting for the dawn. So the winter ended, and with  
it the ninth year in the Peloponnesian War of which  
Thucydides wrote the history.

## BOOK V.

**V 1**      WITH the return of summer the year of the truce expired, but hostilities were not resumed until after the Pythian games. During the armistice the Athenians removed the Delians from Delos, they considered them impure and unworthy of their sacred character by reason of a certain ancient offence. The island had been purified before, when they took the dead out of their sepulchres as I have already narrated<sup>a</sup>, but this purification, which seemed sufficient at the time, was now thought unsatisfactory because the inhabitants had been suffered to remain. Pharnaces gave to the Delians an asylum at Adramyttium in Asia, and whoever chose went and settled there.

**2**      When the armistice was over, Cleon, having obtained the consent of the people, sailed on an expedition to the Chalcidian cities with thirty ships conveying twelve hundred Athenian hoplites, three hundred Athenian horsemen, and numerous allies. Touching first at Scionè (which was still blockaded), and taking from thence some hoplites of the besieging force, he sailed into the so-called Colophonian port, which was near the city of Toronè, there learning from deserters that Brasidas was not in Toronè, and that the garrison was too weak to resist, he marched with his army against the town, and sent ten ships to sail round into the harbour. First he

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 8 init, iii 104 init, v. 32 init, viii 108 med

Expiration  
of the truce  
and sub-  
sequent  
resumption  
of hostili-  
ties  
Second  
purification  
of Delos

B C 422  
Ol 89, 3

Cleon sails  
to Chalci-  
dicè, and  
after touch-  
ing at  
Scionè  
goes on to  
Toronè

B C 422  
Ol 89, 3

came to the new line of wall which Brasidas had raised V  
when, wanting to take in the suburbs, he broke down a  
part of the old wall and made the whole city one

But Pasitelidas, the Lacedaemonian governor, and the 3  
garrison under his command came to the defence of this  
quarter of the town, and fought against their assailants,  
who pressed them hard. Meanwhile the Athenian fleet  
was sailing round into the harbour and Pasitelidas feared  
that the ships would take the city before he could return  
and defend it, and that the new fortifications would be  
captured and himself in them. So he left the suburb  
and ran back into the city. But the enemy were too  
quick, the Athenians from the ships having taken  
Toronè before he arrived, while their infantry followed  
close upon him, and in a moment dashed in along with  
him at the breach in the old wall. Some of the Peloponnesians  
and Toronacans were slain upon the spot,  
others were captured, and among them Pasitelidas the  
governor. Brasidas was on his way to the relief of  
Toronè at the time, but, hearing that the place was taken,  
he stopped and returned, he was within four miles and  
a-half at the time of the capture. Cleon and the Athenians  
erected two trophies, one at the harbour and the  
other near the new wall. The women and children were  
made slaves, the men of Toronè and any other Chalcidians,  
together with the Peloponnesians, numbering in  
all seven hundred, were sent to Athens. The Peloponnesian  
prisoners were liberated at the peace which was  
concluded shortly afterwards, the rest were exchanged  
man for man against the prisoners whom the Olynthians  
had made. About the same time Panactum, a fortress  
on the Athenian frontier, was betrayed to the Boeotians.  
Cleon, putting a garrison into Toronè, sailed round  
Mount Athos, intending to attack Amphipolis

While Pasitelidas is  
defending a suburb  
the Athenian fleet  
sails into the harbour  
and the town is  
taken. Betrayal of  
Panactum

About the same time three envoys, of whom one was 4  
Phaeax the son of Erasistratus, were sent by the Athenians  
with two ships to Italy and Sicily. After the  
general peace and the withdrawal of the Athenians from  
the help of

Revolution  
in Leontini  
The oligarchy by  
the help of

V. Sicily<sup>a</sup>, the Leontines had enrolled many new citizens, B C 422  
Ol 89, 3, and the people contemplated a redistribution of the land. The oligarchy, perceiving their intention, called in the Syracusans and drove out the people, who separated and wandered up and down the island. The oligarchy then made an agreement with the Syracusans, and, leaving their own city deserted, settled in Syracuse, and received the privileges of citizenship. Not long afterwards some of them grew discontented, and, quitting Syracuse, occupied a place called Phocæis, which was a part of the town of Leontini, and Brycinniae, a fortress in the Leontine territory. Here they were joined by most of the common people who had been previously driven out, and from their strongholds they carried on a continual warfare against Syracuse. It was the report of these events which induced the Athenians to send Phæax to Sicily. He was to warn the Sicilians that the Syracusans were aiming at supremacy, and to unite the allies of Athens, and if possible the other cities, in a war against Syracuse. The Athenians hoped that they might thus save the Leontine people. Phæax succeeded in his mission to the Camarinaeans and Agrigentines, but in Gela he failed, and, convinced that he could not persuade the other states, went no further. Returning by land through the country of the Sicels, and by the way going to Brycinniae and encouraging the exiles he arrived at Catana, where he embarked for Athens.

5. On his voyage, both to and from Sicily, he made proposals of friendship to several of the Italian cities. He also fell in with some Locrian settlers who had been driven out of Messenè. After the agreement between the Sicilian towns, a feud had broken out at Messenè, and one of the two parties called in the Locrians, who sent some of their citizens to settle there, thus Messenè was held for a time by the Locrians. They were returning home after their expulsion when Phæax fell in with them, but he did them no harm, for the Locrians

the Syracu-  
sans drive  
out the  
people  
They then  
settle in  
Syracuse,  
but some of  
them soon  
grow dis-  
contented  
and return  
home, when  
they are  
joined by  
the people  
They fight  
against  
Syracuse  
The Athe-  
nians try to  
combine  
Sicily  
against  
Syracuse

The Italian  
Locrians  
make a  
treaty with  
Athens

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iv 65 init.

B C 422  
Ol 89, 3 had already agreed with him to enter into a treaty with V  
the Athenians. At the general reconciliation of the Sicilians, they alone of the allies had not made peace with Athens. And they would have continued to hold out had they not been constrained by a war with the Itoneans and Melaeans, who were their neighbours and colonists from their city. Phaeax then returned to Athens.

Cleon had now sailed round from Toronè against Amphipolis, and, making Eion his head-quarters, attacked Stageirus<sup>a</sup>, a colony of the Andrians, which he failed to take. He succeeded, however, in storming Galepsus<sup>b</sup>, a Thasian colony. He sent an embassy to Perdikkas, desiring him to come with an army, according to the terms of the alliance<sup>c</sup>, and another to Polles, the king of the Odomantian Thracians, who was to bring as many Thracian mercenaries as he could, he then remained quietly at Eion waiting for reinforcements. Brasidas, hearing of his movements, took up a counter-position on Cerdylum. This is a high ground on the right bank of the river, not far from Amphipolis, belonging to the Aigilians. From this spot he commanded a view of the country round so that Cleon was sure to be seen by him if, as he expected, despising the numbers of his opponents, he should go up against Amphipolis without waiting for his reinforcements. At the same time he prepared for a battle, summoning to his side fifteen hundred Thracian mercenaries and the entire forces of the Edonians, who were targeteers and horsemen, he had already one thousand Myrcinian and Chalcidian targeteers, in addition to the troops in Amphipolis. His heavy-armed, when all mustered, amounted to nearly two thousand, and he had about three hundred Hellenic cavalry. Of these forces about fifteen hundred were stationed with Brasidas on Cerdylum, and the remainder were drawn up in order of battle under Clearchidas in Amphipolis.

Cleon did nothing for a time, but he was soon compelled to make the movement which Brasidas expected 7  
Feel ngs of the soldiers

<sup>a</sup> Cp IV 88 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp IV. 107 fin

<sup>c</sup> Cp IV 132 131t.

V. For the soldiers were disgusted at their inaction, and drew comparisons between the generals, what skill and enterprise might be expected on the one side, and what ignorance and cowardice on the other. And they remembered how unwilling they had been to follow Cleon when they left Athens. He, observing their murmurs, and not wanting them to be depressed by too long a stay in one place, moved onwards. He went to work in the same confident spirit which had already been successful at Pylos, and of which the success had given him a high opinion of his own wisdom. That any one would come out to fight with him he never even imagined, he said that he was only going to look at the place. If he waited for a larger force, this was not because he thought that there was any risk of his being defeated should he be compelled to fight, but that he might completely surround and storm the city. So he stationed his army upon a steep hill above Amphipolis, whence he surveyed with his own eyes the lake formed by the river Strymon, and the lie of the country on the side towards Thrace. He thought that he could go away without fighting whenever he pleased. For indeed there was no one to be seen on the walls, nor passing through the gates, which were all closed. He even imagined that he had made a mistake in coming up against the city without siege-engines, had he brought them he would have taken Amphipolis, for there was no one to prevent him.

8 No sooner did Brasidas see the Athenians in motion, than he himself descended from Cerdylum, and went into Amphipolis. He did not go out and draw up his forces in order of battle; he feared too much the inferiority of his own troops, not in their numbers (which were about equal to those of the enemy) but in quality; for the Athenian forces were the flower of their army, and they were supported by the best of the Lemnians and Imbrians. So he determined to employ a manoeuvre, thinking that, if he showed them the real number and

towards  
Cleon con-  
trasts  
greatly with  
his own  
confidence  
in himself  
At length  
he is com-  
pelled by  
their mur-  
murs to  
move for-  
ward, he  
ascends a  
hill com-  
manding a  
view of the  
country

B C 422  
Ol 89, 3

Brasidas  
descends  
from Cer-  
dylum  
Fearing the  
inferiority  
of his own  
troops he  
determines  
to fall upon  
the Athe-  
nians in two  
separate  
detach-  
ments

B C 422  
Ol 89, 3

meagre equipment of his soldiers, he would be less likely to succeed than if he came upon them before they had been time to observe him, and when as yet they had no real grounds for their contempt of him. Selecting a hundred and fifty hoplites, and handing over the rest to Cleandras, he resolved to make a sudden attack before the Athenians retired, considering that, if their reinforcements should arrive, he might never again have an opportunity of fighting them by themselves. So he called together all his troops, and wishing to encourage them, and explain his plan, spoke as follows —

‘Men of Peloponnesus, I need not waste words in telling you that we come from a land which has always been brave, and therefore free, and that you are Dorians, and are about to fight with Ionians whom you have beaten again and again. But I must explain to you my plan of attack, lest you should be disheartened at the seeming disproportion of numbers, because we go into battle not with our whole force but with a handful of men. Our enemies, if I am not mistaken, despise us; they believe that no one will come out against them, and so they have ascended the hill where they are busy looking about them in disorder and making but small account of us. Now, he is the most successful general<sup>b</sup> who discerns most clearly such mistakes when made by his enemies, and adapts his attack to the character of his own forces, not always assailing them openly and in regular array, but acting according to the circumstances of the case. And the greatest reputation is gained by those stratagems in which a man deceives his enemies most completely, and does his friends most service. Therefore while they are still confident and unprepared, and, if I read their intentions aright, are thinking of withdrawing rather than of maintaining their ground, while they are off their guard and before they have recovered their presence of mind, I and my men will do our best

V.  
We are Dorians and may be expected to beat Ionians. But you must understand my plan. The enemy are off their guard and ready to retreat. First, I will sallie forth out of one gate, then Cleandras from another.

<sup>a</sup> Cp i 124 init, vi 77 med, vii 5 fin, viii 25 med & fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp iii 29 fin



V to anticipate their retreat, and will make a rush at the centre of the army. Then, Clearchidas, when you see me engaged, and I hope striking panic into them, bring up your troops, the Amphipolitans and the other allies, open the gates suddenly, run out, and lose no time in closing with them. This is the way to terrify them, for reinforcements are always more formidable to an enemy than the troops with which they are already engaged. Show yourself a brave man and a true Spartan, and do you, allies, follow manfully, remembering that readiness, obedience, and a sense of honour are the virtues of a soldier. To-day you have to choose between freedom and slavery, between the name of Lacedæmonian allies, which you will deserve if you are brave, and of servants of Athens. For even if you should be so fortunate as to escape bonds or death, servitude will be your lot, a servitude more cruel than hitherto, and what is more, you will be an impediment to the liberation of the other Hellenes. Do not lose heart, think of all that is at stake, and I will show you that I can not only advise others, but fight myself' B C 422  
Ol 89, 3

10. When Brasidas had thus spoken, he prepared to sally forth with his own division, and stationed the rest of his army with Clearchidas at the so-called Thracian gates, that they might come out and support him, in accordance with his instructions. He had been seen descending from Cerdylum into Amphipolis, <sup>a</sup> and then offering up sacrifice at the temple of Athenè within the walls, for the interior of the city was visible from the surrounding country. While he was thus employed, a report was brought to Cleon, who <sup>a</sup> had just gone forward to reconnoitre, that the whole army of the enemy could plainly be seen collected inside the town, and that the feet of numerous men and horses ready to come forth were visible under the gate. He went to the spot

Cleon orders his army to retreat, but he is suddenly attacked by Brasidas, who is seconded by Clearchidas. The Athenians are routed. Brasidas is wounded mortally and Cleon slain. Brasidas hears of the victory and dies.

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking the words *καὶ ταῦτα πράσσοντος* as subordinate to *φανερῶς γενομένου* 'and then offering up sacrifice at the temple of Athenè within the walls, for the interior of the city, etc., and making preparations. A report was brought to Cleon, who' etc

B C 422  
Ol 89, 3

and saw for himself, but not wishing to hazard a regular engagement until his allies arrived, and thinking he could get away soon enough, he gave a general signal for retreat, at the same time ordering his forces to retire slowly on the left wing, which was the only direction possible, towards Eion. They appeared to linger, whereupon he caused his own right wing to wheel round, and so with his unshielded side exposed to the enemy began to lead off his army. Meanwhile Brasidas, seeing that the Athenians were on the move and that his opportunity was come, said to his companions and to the troops 'These men do not mean to face us, see how their spears and their heads are shaking, such behaviour always shows that an army is going to run away. Open me the gates as I ordered, and let us boldly attack them at once.' Thereupon he went out himself by the gate leading to the palisade and by the first gate of the long wall which was then standing, and ran at full speed straight up the road, where, on the steepest part of the hill, a trophy now stands. He then attacked the centre of the Athenians, who were terrified at his audacity and their own disorder, and put them to flight. Then Clearidas, as he was bidden, sallied forth by the Thracian gates with his division, and charged the Athenians. The sudden attack at both points created a panic among them. Their left wing, which had proceeded some little way along the road towards Eion, was cut off, and instantly fled. They were already in full retreat, and Brasidas was going on to the right wing when he was wounded, the Athenians did not observe his fall, and those about him carried him off the field. The right wing of the Athenians was more disposed to stand. Cleon indeed, who had never intended to remain, fled at once, and was overtaken and slain by a Myrcinian targeteer. But his soldiers rallied where they were on the top of the hill, and repulsed Clearidas two or three times. They did not yield until the Chalcidian and Myrcinian cavalry and the targeteers hemmed them in

V.

V and put them to flight with a shower of darts. And so the rout became general, and those of the Athenians who were not slain at once in close combat or destroyed by the Chalcidian horse and the targeteers, hard-pressed and wandering by many paths over the hills, made their way back to Eion. Brasidas was carried safely by his followers out of the battle into the city. He was still alive, and knew that his army had conquered, but soon afterwards he died. The rest of the army returning with Clearchidas from the pursuit, spoiled the dead, and erected a trophy.

II. Brasidas was buried in the city with public honours in front of what is now the Agora. The whole body of the allies in military array followed him to the grave. The Amphipolitans enclosed his sepulchre, and to this day they sacrifice to him as to a hero, and also celebrate games and yearly offerings in his honour. They likewise made him their founder, and dedicated their colony to him, pulling down<sup>a</sup> the buildings which Hagnon had erected<sup>a</sup>, and obliterating any memorials which might have remained to future time of his foundation<sup>b</sup>. For they considered Brasidas to have been their deliverer, and under the present circumstances the fear of Athens induced them to pay court to their Lacedaemonian allies. That Hagnon should retain the honours of a founder, now that they were enemies of the Athenians, seemed to them no longer in accordance with their interests, and was repugnant to their feelings.

They gave back to the Athenians their dead, who numbered about six hundred, while only seven were slain on the other side. For there was no regular engagement, but an accident led to the battle, and the Athenians were panic-stricken before it had well begun. After the recovery of the dead the Athenians went home by sea. Clearchidas and his companions remained and administered the affairs of Amphipolis.

12. At the end of the summer a little before this time

<sup>a</sup> O1, 'the shrine of Hagnon'

<sup>b</sup> Cp II 102 fin

Funeral of  
Brasidas  
The Amphipolitans  
give him the  
honours of  
a hero and  
founder,  
superseding  
Hagnon  
who was  
their real  
founder

B C 422  
O1 89, 3

B.C. 422  
Ol. 89, 3

a reinforcement of nine hundred heavy-armed, under the command of the Lacedaemonian generals Rhamphias, Autocharidas, and Epicydidas, set out for Chalcidice. Coming first to Heraclea in Tiachis, they regulated whatever appeared to them to be amiss. They were staying there when the battle of Amphipolis occurred. And so the summer came to an end.

V  
A reinforcement sent by the Lacedaemonians to Amphipolis arrives at Heraclea,

The following winter Rhamphias and his army went as far as Picrium in Thessaly, but as the Thessalians would not let them proceed, and Brasidas, for whom these reinforcements were intended, was dead, they returned home, thinking that the time for action had gone by. They felt that they were not competent to carry out the great designs of Brasidas, and the Athenians had now left the country defeated. But their chief reason for not proceeding was that the Lacedaemonians, at the time when they left Sparta, were inclined towards peace.

13.  
but is not allowed to pass through Thessaly

After the battle of Amphipolis and the return of Rhamphias from Thessaly neither side undertook any military operations. Both alike were bent on peace. The Athenians had been beaten at Delium, and shortly afterwards at Amphipolis, and so they had lost that confidence in their own strength which had indisposed them to treat at a time when temporary success seemed to make their final triumph certain. They were afraid too that their allies would be elated at their disasters, and that more of them would revolt, they repented that after the affair at Pylos, when they might honourably have done so, they had not come to terms. The Lacedaemonians on the other hand inclined to peace because the course of the war had disappointed their expectations. There was a time when they fancied that, if they only devastated Attica, they would crush the power of Athens within a few years<sup>a</sup>, and yet they had received a blow at Sphacteria such as Sparta had never experienced until then, their country was continually ravaged from Pylos and Cythra, the Helots were deserting, and they were

14.  
Both the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, being alike disappointed in their hopes, now desire peace

- V. always fearing lest those who had not deserted, relying <sup>B C 422</sup> on the help of those who had, should seize their opportunity and revolt, as they had done once before <sup>Ol 89, 3</sup> Moreover, a truce for thirty years which they had made with Argos was on the point of expiring, the Argives were unwilling to renew it unless Cynuria were restored to them, and the Lacedaemonians deemed it impossible to fight against the Argives and Athenians combined They suspected also that some of the Peloponnesian cities would secede and join the Argives, which proved to be the case

- 15 Upon these grounds both governments thought it desirable to make peace. The Lacedaemonians were the more eager of the two, because they wanted to recover the prisoners taken at Sphacteria, for the Spartans among them were of high rank, and all alike related to themselves They had negotiated for their recovery immediately after they were taken, but the Athenians, in the hour of their prosperity, would not as yet agree to fair terms<sup>a</sup>. After their defeat at Delium, the Lacedaemonians were well aware that they would now be more compliant, and therefore they had at once made a truce for a year, during which the envoys of the two states were to meet and advise about a lasting peace When Athens had received a second blow at Amphipolis, and Brasidas and Cleon, who had been the two greatest enemies of peace,—the one because the war brought him success and reputation, and the other because he fancied that in quiet times his rogueries would be more transparent and his slanders less credible,—had fallen in the battle, <sup>b</sup>the two chief aspirants for political power at Athens and Sparta, Pleistoanax <sup>b</sup>the son of Pausanias, king of the Lacedaemonians, and Nicias the son of Niceratus the Athenian, who had been the most fortunate general of his day, became more eager than
16. <sup>The desire of the Lacedaemonians is the stronger because they want to recover the prisoners</sup> Brasidas and Cleon for very different reasons had been both enemies to peace But now they are dead, and Nicias and Pleistoanax, the two leading men of their respective states, have

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv 41 fin

<sup>b</sup> Ol, omitting οἱ ἐν before ἐκρέτῃ ‘these (1 è Cleon and Brasidas) being at the time the two great champions for the supremacy of their respective states, Pleistoanax’ etc.

B C 422  
O1 89, 3

ever to make an end of the war. Nicias desired, whilst he was still successful and held in repute, to preserve his good fortune, he would have liked to rest from toil, and to give the people rest, and he hoped to leave behind him to other ages the name of a man who in all his life had never brought disaster on the city. He thought that the way to gain his wish was to trust as little as possible to fortune, and to keep out of danger, and that danger would be best avoided by peace. Pleistoanax wanted peace, because his enemies were always stirring up the scruples of the Lacedaemonians against him, and insisting whenever misfortunes came that they were to be attributed to his illegal return from exile. For they accused him and Aristocles his brother of inducing the priestess at Delphi, whenever Lacedaemonian envoys came to enquire of the oracle, constantly to repeat the same answer 'Bring back the seed of the hero son of Zeus from a strange country to your own, else you will plough with a silver ploughshare.' Until, after a banishment of nineteen years, he persuaded the Lacedaemonians to bring him home again with dances and sacrifices and such ceremonies as they observed when they first enthroned their kings at the foundation of Lacedaemon. He had been banished on account of his retreat from Attica, when he was supposed to have been bribed<sup>a</sup>. While in exile at Mount Lycaeus he had occupied a house half within the sacred precinct of Zeus, through fear of the Lacedaemonians.

He was vexed by these accusations, and thinking that in peace, when there would be no mishaps and the Lacedaemonians would have recovered the captives, he would himself be less open to attack, whereas in war leading men must always have the misfortunes of the state laid at their door, he was very anxious to come to terms. Negotiations were commenced during the winter. Towards spring the Lacedaemonians sounded a note of preparation by announcing to the allies that their

V.

each a  
strong mo-  
tive for  
putting an  
end to the  
war

17

The nego-  
tiations  
proceed  
Both parties  
agree to  
give up  
what they  
had gained  
by arms  
Only the  
Thebans  
retain Pla-  
taea and  
the Athe-

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 114; 11. 21 init

V  
mans  
Nisaea,  
which had  
been sui-  
rendered

services would be required in the erection of a fort, they thought that the Athenians would thereby be induced to listen to them. At the same time, after many conferences and many demands urged on both sides, an understanding was at last arrived at that both parties should give up what they had gained by arms. The Athenians, however, were to retain Nisaea, for when they demanded the restoration of Plataea the Thebans protested that they had obtained possession of the place not by force or treachery, but by agreement<sup>a</sup>, to which the Athenians rejoined that they had obtained Nisaea in the same manner<sup>b</sup>. The Lacedaemonians then summoned their allies, and although the Boeotians, Corinthians, Elcans, and Megarians were dissatisfied, the majority voted for peace. And so the peace was finally concluded and ratified by oaths and libations, the Lacedaemonians binding themselves to the Athenians and the Athenians to the Lacedaemonians in the following terms —

18.  
Terms of  
the treaty

The Athenians and Lacedaemonians and their respective allies make peace upon the following terms, to which they swear, each city separately —

I Touching the common temples, any one who pleases may go and sacrifice in them and enquire at them, on behalf either of himself or of the state, according to the custom of his country, both by land and sea, without fear.

II The precinct and the temple of Apollo at Delphi and the Delphian people shall be independent, and shall retain their own revenues and their own courts of justice, both for themselves and for their territory, according to their ancestral customs.

III The peace between the Athenians and their confederates and the Lacedaemonians and their confederates shall endure fifty years, both by sea and land, without fraud or hurt.

IV They shall not be allowed to bear arms to the hurt of one another in any way or manner; neither the Lacedaemonians and their allies against the Athe-

<sup>a</sup> Cp iii 52 mit

<sup>b</sup> Cp iv. 69 fin

BC 42<sup>2</sup>  
Ol 89, 3

nians and their allies, nor the Athenians and their allies against the Lacedaemonians and their allies, and they shall determine any controversy which may arise between them by oaths and other legal means in such sort as they shall agree

V The Lacedaemonians and their allies shall restore Amphipolis to the Athenians

VI. The inhabitants of any cities which the Lacedaemonians deliver over to the Athenians may depart whithersoever they please, and take their property with them. The said cities shall be independent, but shall pay the tribute which was fixed in the time of Aristides. After the conclusion of the treaty the Athenians and their allies shall not be allowed to make war upon them to their hurt, so long as they pay the tribute. The cities are these—Aigilus<sup>a</sup>, Stageirus<sup>b</sup>, Acanthus<sup>c</sup>, Scolus, Olynthus<sup>d</sup>, Spartolus<sup>e</sup> these shall be allies neither of the Lacedaemonians nor of the Athenians, but if the Athenians succeed in persuading them, having their consent, they may make them allies

VII The Meciycernians, Sanaeans<sup>f</sup>, and Singaeans shall dwell in their own cities on the same terms as the Olynthians and Acanthians

VIII. The Lacedaemonians and the allies shall restore Panactum<sup>g</sup> to the Athenians. The Athenians shall restore to the Lacedaemonians Coryphasium<sup>h</sup>, Cythera<sup>i</sup>, Methonè<sup>k</sup>, Pteleum, and Atalantè<sup>l</sup>.

IX The Athenians shall surrender the Lacedaemonian captives whom they have in their public prison, or who are in the public prison of any place within the Athenian dominions, and they shall let go the Peloponnesians who are besieged in Scionè, and any other allies of the Lacedaemonians who are in Scionè, and all whom Brasidas introduced into the place<sup>m</sup>, and any of the allies

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv 103 med

<sup>d</sup> Cp i. 58 med

<sup>g</sup> Cp v 3 fin

<sup>k</sup> Cp iv 45

<sup>b</sup> Cp iv 88 fin

<sup>e</sup> Cp ii 79 mit

<sup>h</sup> Cp. iv 3 med.

<sup>l</sup> Cp ii 32

<sup>c</sup> Cp iv 88

<sup>f</sup> Cp iv 109 fin

<sup>i</sup> Cp iv 54

<sup>m</sup> Cp iv 123 fin



- V. of the Lacedaemonians who are in the public prison at Athens, or in the public prison of any place within the Athenian dominions. The Lacedaemonians and their allies in like manner shall restore those of the Athenians and their allies who are their prisoners. B C 42<sup>2</sup>  
Ol 89, 3

X Respecting Scionè<sup>a</sup>, Toronè<sup>b</sup>, and Seimylè, or any cities which are held by the Athenians, the Athenians shall do with the inhabitants of the said cities, or of any cities which are held by them, as they think fit

XI. The Athenians shall bind themselves by oath to the Lacedaemonians and their allies, city by city, and the oath shall be that which in the several cities of the two contracting parties is deemed the most binding. The oaths shall be in the following form — ‘I will abide by this treaty and by this peace truly and sincerely.’ The Lacedaemonians and their allies shall bind themselves by a similar oath to the Athenians. This oath shall be renewed by both parties every year, and they shall erect pillars at Olympia, Delphi, and the Isthmus, at Athens in the Acropolis, at Lacedaemon in the temple of Apollo at Amyclae

XII If anything whatsoever be forgotten on one side or the other, either party may, without violation of their oaths, take honest counsel and alter the treaty in such manner as shall seem good to the two parties, the Athenians and Lacedaemonians

19. Ratifica-  
tion The treaty begins, at Lacedaemon in the Ephorate of Pleistolas, and on the twenty-seventh day of the month Artemisium, and at Athens in the Archonship of Alcaeus, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Elaphebolion<sup>c</sup>. The following persons took the oaths and ratified the treaty — On behalf of the Lacedaemonians, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Diathus, Ischagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Antippus, Tellis, Alcidas, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus, on behalf of the Athenians, Lampon, Isthmionicus, Nicias, Laches, Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Hagnon, Myrtilus,

<sup>a</sup> Cp. v. 32 mit.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. v. 3.

<sup>c</sup> March—April

BC 427<sup>2</sup> Thiasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Timocrates, V  
 Ol 89, 3 Leon, Lamachus, Demosthenes.

This treaty was concluded at the end of winter, just 20  
 at the beginning of spring, immediately after the City  
 Dionysia Ten years, with a difference of a few days, The war  
 had lasted  
 almost  
 exactly ten  
 years  
 had passed since the invasion of Attica and the com-  
 mencement of the war I would have a person reckon  
 the actual periods of time, and not rely upon catalogues  
 of the archons or other official personages whose names  
 may be used in different cities to mark the dates of past  
 events For whether an event occurred in the beginning,  
 or in the middle, or whatever might be the exact point, of  
 a magistrate's term of office is left uncertain by such a  
 mode of reckoning But if he measure by summers and  
 winters as they are here set down, and count each summer  
 and winter as a half year, he will find that ten summers  
 and ten winters passed in the first part of the war

The Lacedaemonians—for the lot having fallen upon 21.  
 them they had to make restitution first—immediately The Lacedaemonians  
 restore their  
 prisoners,  
 but Cleari-  
 das refuses  
 to deliver  
 up Amphipolis, and  
 the Chalcidian cities  
 will not  
 accept the  
 treaty  
 released their prisoners, and sending three envoys, Ischa-  
 goras, Menas, and Philocharidas, to Chalcidicē, com-  
 manded Clearidas to deliver up Amphipolis to the  
 Athenians, and the other cities to accept the articles  
 of the treaty which severally concerned them But  
 they did not approve of the terms, and refused.  
 Clearidas, who acted in the interest of the Chalcidians,  
 would not give up the place, and said that it was not in  
 his power to do so against their will Accompanied by  
 envoys from the Chalcidian cities, he himself went direct  
 to Lacedaemon, intending to defend himself in case  
 Ischagoras and his colleagues should accuse him of  
 insubordination, he also wanted to know whether the  
 treaty could still be reconsidered. On his arrival he  
 found that it was positively concluded, and he himself  
 was sent back to Thrace by the Lacedaemonians, who  
 commanded him to give up Amphipolis, or, if he could  
 not, at any rate to withdraw all the Peloponnesian forces  
 from the place. So he returned in haste

V The representatives of the other allies were present at B C 427<sup>2</sup>  
 22 Lacedaemon, and the Lacedaemonians urged the re- Ol 89, 3

The allies  
 are dissatis-  
 fied, but the  
 Lacedae-  
 monians,  
 fearing a  
 renewal of  
 hostilities  
 from Argos,  
 dismiss  
 them and  
 form an al-  
 liance with  
 Athens

luctant states to accept the treaty. But they refused for the same reasons as before<sup>1</sup>, and insisted that they must have more equitable conditions. Finding that they would not come in, the Lacedaemonians dismissed them, and proceeded on their own account to make an alliance with the Athenians. They thought that the Argives, whose hostile intentions had been manifested by their refusal to renew the peace at the request of Ampelidas and Lichas, the Lacedaemonian envoys who had gone thither, being now unsupported by the Athenians, would thus be least dangerous and that the rest of Peloponnesus would be least likely to stir. For the Athenian alliance, to which they would otherwise have had recourse, would now be closed to them. There were present at the time Athenian envoys, and after a negotiation the two parties took oaths, and made an alliance, of which the terms were as follows —

23 The Lacedaemonians shall be allies of the Athenians  
 Terms of for fifty years, on the following conditions —  
 the alliance

I If any enemy invade the Lacedaemonian territory and harm the Lacedaemonians, the Athenians shall assist the Lacedaemonians in any way which they can, and to the utmost of their power, and if the enemy ravage their territory and depart, the offending city shall be the enemy of the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, and shall suffer at the hands of both of them, and neither city shall cease from war before the other. These things shall be performed honestly, and zealously, and sincerely.

II If any enemy invade the Athenian territory and harm the Athenians, the Lacedaemonians shall assist them in any way which they can, and to the utmost of their power, and if the enemy ravage their territory and depart, the offending city shall be the enemy of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, and shall suffer at the

B C 428<sup>2</sup> hands of both of them, and neither city shall cease from V.  
Ol 89, 3 war before the other These things shall be performed  
honestly, and zealously, and sincerely

III. If the slaves rebel, the Athenians shall aid the  
Lacedaemonians with all their might and to the utmost  
of their power

IV These provisions shall be sworn to on both sides  
by the same persons who swore to the former treaty.  
Every year the Lacedaemonians shall go to Athens  
at the Dionysia and renew the oath, and the Athenians  
shall go to Lacedaemon at the Hyacinthia and renew  
the oath Both parties shall erect pillars, one in Lace-  
daemon at the temple of Apollo in Amyclae, another  
at Athens in the Acropolis at the temple of Athenè

V. If the Lacedaemonians and Athenians agree that  
anything shall be added to or taken away from the  
treaty of alliance, whatever it be, this may be done  
without violation of their oaths.

On behalf of the Lacedaemonians there took the 24.  
oaths, Pleistoanax, Agis, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, <sup>Ranfica-</sup>  
Metagenes, Acanthus, Daithus, Ischagoras, Philocha-  
tion  
nidas, Zeuxidas, Antippus, Alcínadas, Tellis, Empedias,  
Menas, Laphilus On behalf of the Athenians there  
took the oaths, Lampon, Isthmionicus, Laches, Nicias,  
Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Hagnon, Myrtilus,  
Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Timociates,  
Leon, Lamachus, Demosthenes.

This alliance was made shortly after the treaty, at Restoration  
the same time the Athenians restored to the Lace- of the pri-  
daemonians the prisoners taken at Sphacteria The soners  
summer of the eleventh year then began taken at  
During the Sphacteria  
previous ten years the first war, of which the history  
has now been written, went on without intermission

The treaty and the alliance which terminated the ten 25  
years' war were made in the Ephorate of Pleistolas at <sup>First</sup>  
Lacedaemon, and the Archonship of Alcaeus at Athens. <sup>Corinth and</sup>  
Those who accepted the treaty were now at peace, but <sup>other Pello-</sup>  
the Corinthians and several of the Peloponnesian cities <sup>ponnesian</sup>  
<sup>cities, and</sup>  
<sup>afterwards</sup>  
<sup>the Athe-</sup>

V did what they could to disturb the arrangement And so B C 421  
Ol 89, 4  
 means them- before long a new cause of quarrel set the allies against  
 selves, show the Lacedaemonians, who also, as time went on, incurred  
 signs of the suspicion of the Athenians, because in certain par-  
 discontent ticulars they would not execute the provisions of the  
 treaty. For six years and ten months the two powers  
 abstained from invading each other's territories, but  
 abroad the cessation of arms was intermittent, and they  
 did each other all the harm which they could At last they B C 414  
Ol 91, 3  
 were absolutely compelled to break the treaty made at the  
 end of the first ten years, and to declare open war

26. The same Thucydides of Athens continued the his-  
 tory, following the order of events, which he reckoned  
 by summers and winters, up to the destruction of the  
 Athenian empire and the taking of Piræus and the  
 Long Walls by the Lacedaemonians and their allies  
 Altogether the war lasted twenty-seven years, for if any  
 one argue that the interval during which the truce con-  
 tinued should be excluded, he is mistaken If he have  
 regard to the facts of the case, he will see that the term  
 'peace' can hardly be applied to a state of things in  
 which neither party gave back or received all the places  
 stipulated; moreover in the Mantinean and Epidaurian  
 wars and in other matters there were violations of the  
 treaty on both sides, the Chalcidian allies maintained  
 their attitude of hostility towards Athens, and the  
 Boeotians observed an armistice terminable at ten days'  
 notice So that, including the first ten years' war, the  
 doubtful truce which followed, and the war which fol-  
 lowed that, he who reckons up the actual periods of  
 time will find that I have rightly given the exact number  
 of years with the difference only of a few days He will  
 also find that this was the solitary instance in which  
 those who put their faith in oracles were justified by the  
 event. For I well remember how, from the beginning  
 to the end of the war, there was a common and often-  
 repeated saying that it was to last thrice nine years  
 I lived through the whole of it, and was of mature years

The peace was merely nominal, and may truly be reckoned in the twenty-seven years war The prediction of 'thrice nine years' was the only oracle which was verified by the event I myself lived through the whole war, and being for twenty years in banishment had the opportunity of knowing both sides

B.C. 421  
O1 89, 4

and judgment, and I took great pains to make out the exact truth. For twenty years I was banished from my country after I held the command at Amphipolis, and associating with both sides, with the Peloponnesians quite as much as with the Athenians, because of my exile, I was thus enabled to watch quietly the course of events. I will now proceed to narrate the quarrels which after the first ten years broke up the treaty, and the events of the war which followed.

V.

After the conclusion of the fifty years' peace and of the subsequent alliance, the ambassadors who had been invited to the conference from the other states of Peloponnesus left Lacedaemon. They all went home except the Corinthians, who turned aside to Aigos and opened communication with certain of the Argive magistrates, saying that the Lacedaemonians had made peace and alliance with the Athenians, hitherto their mortal enemies, to no good end, but for the enslavement of Peloponnesus, and that the Argives were bound to take measures for its deliverance. They ought to pass a vote that any independent Hellenic city which would allow a settlement of disputes on equal terms might enter into a defensive alliance with them. The negotiation should not be carried on with the assembly, but the Argives should appoint a few commissioners having full powers, lest if any states appealed to the people and were rejected, their failure should become public. They added that hatred of the Lacedaemonians would induce many to join them. Having offered this recommendation, the Corinthians returned home.

27

The Corinthians go to Aigos and flatter the Argives with the notion that they must become the centre of a great Peloponnesian confederacy.

The Argive magistrates, after hearing these proposals, 28.

referred them to their colleagues and the people. The Argives then passed a vote, and elected twelve commissioners, through these any of the Hellenes who pleased might make an alliance with them, except the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, who could only be admitted to the league with the sanction of the Argive people. The Argives were the more inclined to take

The Argives, seeing that war with Lacedaemon was imminent and hoping to lead Peloponnesus, enter warmly into the idea.

- V. this course because their truce with the Lacedaemonians being about to expire, they saw that war was imminent. B C 421  
O1 89, 4 Moreover they were encouraged by the hope of becoming the leaders of Peloponnesus. For at this time the reputation of Lacedaemon had fallen very low, her misfortunes had brought her into contempt, while the resources of Argos were unimpaired. For the Argives had not taken part in the war with Athens, and, being at peace with both parties, had reaped a harvest from them.

29 The first to enter the alliance offered by the Argives to any Hellenes who were willing to accept it were the Mantineans and their allies, who joined through fear of the Lacedaemonians. For, during the war with Athens, they had subjected a part of Arcadia, which they thought that the Lacedaemonians, now that their hands were free, would no longer allow them to retain. So they gladly joined Argos, reflecting that it was a great city, the constant enemy of Sparta, and, like their own, governed by a democracy. When Mantinea seceded, a murmur ran through the other states of Peloponnesus that they must secede too; they imagined that the Mantineans had gone over to the Argives because they had better information than themselves, and also they were angry with the Lacedaemonians, chiefly on account of that clause in the treaty with Athens which provided that the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, if agreed, might add to or take away from them whatever they pleased<sup>a</sup>. This clause aroused great uneasiness among the Peloponnesians, and made them suspect that the Lacedaemonians meant to unite with the Athenians in order to enslave them<sup>b</sup>; they argued that the power of altering the treaty ought to have been given only to the whole confederacy. Entertaining these fears they generally inclined towards Argos, and every state was eager to follow the example of Mantinea and form an alliance with her.

30 The Lacedaemonians perceived that great excitement prevailed in Peloponnesus, and that the Corinthians had

The Mantineans join the Argives. Great uneasiness is caused by the powers which the treaty gave to the Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

The Lacedaemonians

<sup>a</sup> Cp. v. 18 § 12

<sup>b</sup> Cp. iv. 20 fin.

B C 421  
Ol 89, 4

inspired it and were themselves on the point of making a treaty with Argos. So they sent envoys to Corinth, desiring to anticipate what might happen. They laid the blame of having instigated the whole movement on the Corinthians, and protested that, if they deserted them and joined the Argives, they would be foesworn; indeed they were already much to blame for not accepting the peace made with Athens, although there was an article in their league which said that what the majority of the allies voted should be binding unless there was some impediment on the part of gods or heroes. Now the Corinthians had previously summoned those of the allies who, like themselves, had rejected the treaty, and, replying in their presence, they were unwilling to speak out and state their grievances, of which the chief was that the Lacedaemonians had not recovered for them Sollium<sup>a</sup> or Anactorium<sup>b</sup>. But they pretended that they could not betray their allies in Thrice, to whom, when they originally joined in the revolt of Potidaea, they had sworn a separate oath<sup>c</sup>, and had afterwards renewed it. They denied therefore that they were violating the terms of the league by refusing to join in the peace with the Athenians, for, having sworn in the name of the Gods to the Potidaeans, they would be violating their oaths if they betrayed them. The treaty said 'unless there was some impediment on the part of Gods and heroes,' and this did appear to them to be an impediment of that nature. Thus far they pleaded their former oaths, as to the Argive alliance they would take counsel with their friends, and do whatever was right. So the Lacedaemonians returned home. Now there happened to be at that time Argive envoys present at Corinth who urged the Corinthians to join the alliance without more delay, and the Corinthians told them to come to their next assembly.

V.

accuse the  
Corinthians  
of deserting  
their alli-  
ance, to  
which the  
Corinthians  
reply that  
they cannot  
betray the  
Chalcidian  
cities

Soon afterwards envoys from Elis likewise arrived at Corinth, who, first of all making an alliance with the

31.

The Le-  
preans

<sup>a</sup> Cp 11 30 init.

<sup>b</sup> Cp 14 49

<sup>c</sup> Cp 1 58



V. Corinthians, went on to Argos, and became allies of the Argives in the manner prescribed. Now the Eleans had a quarrel with the Lacedaemonians about the town of Lepreum. A war had arisen between the Lepreans and certain Arcadian tribes, and the Eleans having been called in by the Lepreans came to assist them, on condition of receiving half their territory. When they had brought the war to a successful end the Eleans allowed the inhabitants of Lepreum to cultivate the land themselves, paying a rent of a talent to Olympian Zeus. Until the Peloponnesian war they had paid the talent, but taking advantage of the war they ceased to pay, and the Eleans tried to compel them. The Lepreans then had recourse to the Lacedaemonians, who undertook to arbitrate. The Eleans suspected that they would not have fair play at their hands, they therefore disregarded the arbitration and ravaged the Leprean territory. Nevertheless the Lacedaemonians went on with the case and decided that Lepreum was an independent state, and that the Eleans were in the wrong. As their award was rejected by the Eleans, they sent a garrison of hoplites to Lepreum. The Eleans, considering that the Lacedaemonians had taken into alliance a city which had seceded from them, appealed to the clause of the agreement which provided that whatever places any of the confederates had held previous to the war with Athens should be retained by them at its conclusion, and acting under a sense of injustice they now seceded to the Argives and, like the rest, entered into the alliance with them in the manner prescribed. Immediately afterwards the Corinthians and the Chalcidians of Thrace joined, but the Boeotians and the Megarians agreed to refuse<sup>a</sup>, and, jealously watched by the Lacedaemonians, stood aloof, for they were well aware that the Lacedaemonian constitution was far more congenial to their own oligarchical form of government than the Argive democracy.

B C 42r  
Ol 89, 4

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 38 init

having  
agreed  
to pay a  
rent to the  
Eleans,  
break this  
agreement  
They are  
supported  
by the  
Lacedae-  
monians  
The Eleans  
in a rage  
join the  
Argive  
league  
The Corin-  
thians and  
Chalcidians  
join like-  
wise, not  
so the Boeo-  
tians and  
Megarians

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Ol 89, 4

During the same summer, and about this time, the Athenians took Scionè, put to death all the grown-up men, and enslaved the women and children, they then gave possession of the land to the Plataeans. They also replaced the Delians in Delos<sup>a</sup>, moved partly by the defeats which they had sustained, partly by an oracle of the Delphic God. About this time too the Phocians and Locrians went to war. The Corinthians and Argives (who were now allies) came to Tegea, which they hoped to withdraw from the Lacedaemonian alliance, thinking that if they could secure so large a district of Peloponnesus they would soon have the whole of it. The Tegeans however said that they could have no quarrel with the Lacedaemonians, and the Corinthians, who had hitherto been zealous in the cause, now began to cool, and were seriously afraid that no other Peloponnesian state would join them. Nevertheless they applied to the Boeotians and begged them to become allies of themselves and of the Argives, and generally to act with them, they further requested that they would accompany them to Athens and procure an armistice terminable at ten days' notice, similar to that which the Athenians and Boeotians had made with one another shortly after the conclusion of the fifty years' peace. If the Athenians did not agree, then the Corinthians demanded of the Boeotians that they should renounce the armistice and for the future make no truce without them. The Boeotians on receiving this request desired the Corinthians to say no more about alliance with the Argives. But they went together to Athens, where the Boeotians failed to obtain the armistice for the Corinthians, the Athenians replying that the original truce<sup>b</sup> extended to them, if they were allies of the Lacedaemonians. The Boeotians however did not renounce their own armistice, although the Corinthians expostulated, and argued that such had been the agreement

V  
32  
Capture of  
Scionè  
Restoration  
of the  
Delians  
The Te-  
geans refuse  
to join  
the new  
alliance  
The Corin-  
thians get  
frightened  
and have  
recourse  
to the  
Boeotians

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 1

<sup>b</sup> Cp v 18

V Thus the Corinthians had only a suspension of hostilities with Athens, but no regular truce B C 421  
Ol 89, 4

33. During the same summer the Lacedaemonians with their whole force, commanded by their king Pleistoanax the son of Pausanias, made war upon the Parrhasians of Aicadia, who were subjects of the Mantineans<sup>a</sup>. They had been invited by a faction among the Parrhasians, and moreover they wanted to demolish a fortress in the Parrhasian town of Cypsela, threatening the Laconian district of Sciritis, which the Mantineans had built and garrisoned. The Lacedaemonians devastated the country of the Parrhasians, and the Mantineans, leaving the custody of their own city to a force of Argives, themselves garrisoned the territory of their allies. But being unable to save either the fort of Cypsela or the cities of Parrhasia, they went home again, whereupon the Lacedaemonians, having demolished the fort and restored the independence of the Parrhasians, returned home likewise.

34. In the course of the same summer the troops serving in Thiacce, which had gone out under Brasidas and were brought home by Clearchus after the conclusion of peace, arrived at Lacedaemon. The Lacedaemonians passed a vote that the Helots who had fought under Brasidas should be free and might dwell wherever they pleased. Not long afterwards, being now enemies of the Eleans, they settled them, together with the Neodamodes, at Leprcum, which is on the borders of Laconia and Elis. Fearing lest their own citizens who had been taken in the island and had delivered up their arms might expect to be slighted in consequence of their misfortune, and, if they retained the privileges of citizens, would attempt revolution, they took away the right of citizenship from them, although some of them were holding office at the time. By this disqualification they were deprived of their eligibility to offices, and of the legal right to buy and sell. In time, however, their privileges were restored to them.

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 29 init.

The Lacedaemonians free the Parrhasians from the Mantineans

The Helots who served with Brasidas are emancipated and settled at Leprcum. The prisoners from the island are for a time deprived of citizenship

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Ol 89, 4

During this summer the Dictidians took Thyssus, a town of Mount Athos, which was in alliance with the Athenians. During the whole summer intercourse continued between the Athenians and Peloponnesians. But almost as soon as the peace was concluded both Athenians and Lacedaemonians began to mistrust one another, because the places mentioned in the treaty were not given up. For the Lacedaemonians, who were to make restitution first, according to the lot, had not surrendered Amphipolis and the other less important places which they held, and had not made their allies in Chalcidicè, nor the Boeotians, nor the Corinthians accept the treaty, but only kept declaring that they would join the Athenians in coercing them if they continued to refuse. They even fixed a time, though they did not commit themselves in writing, within which those who would not come into the treaty were to be declared the enemies of both parties. The Athenians, seeing that nothing was being really done, suspected the Lacedaemonians of dishonesty, and therefore they would not give up Pylos when requested to do so by the Lacedaemonians, they even repented that they had restored the prisoners taken at Sphacteria, and resolved to keep the other places until the Lacedaemonians had fulfilled their part of the contract. The Lacedaemonians replied that they had done what they could. They had delivered up the Athenian prisoners who were in their hands, and had withdrawn their soldiers from Chalcidicè, they had neglected nothing which lay within their power. But they could not give away Amphipolis, of which they were not entirely masters, they would however try to bring the Boeotians and Corinthians into the treaty, to get back Panactum, and recover all the Athenian captives who were in the hands of the Boeotians. They still continued to insist on the restoration of Pylos, or at any rate on the withdrawal of the Messenians and Helots, now that the Lacedaemonians had withdrawn their troops from Chalcidicè, the Athenians might, if they liked,

V.

35

The Lacedaemonians do not give up Amphipolis. The Athenians retain Pylos. They agree however to withdraw the Messenians and Helots.

V garrison the place themselves After many long conferences held during the summer, they persuaded the Athenians to withdraw the Messenians, Helots, and Lacedaemonian deserters these the Athenians settled at Ciani in Cephalenia So during this summer there was peace and intercourse between Athens and Sparta. B C 421  
O1 89, 4

36. Before the following winter the Ephors under whom the peace was concluded were succeeded by others, of whom some were actually opposed to it During the winter embassies from the allied states arrived at Sparta, including representatives of Athens, Boeotia, and Corinth Much was said with no result As the ambassadors were departing, Cleobulus and Xenares, the Ephors who were most desirous of renewing the war, entered into a private negotiation with the Boeotians and Corinthians, recommending them to unite as closely as possible, and suggesting that the Boeotians should first enter the Argive alliance and then try and make the Argives, as well as themselves, allies of the Lacedaemonians The Boeotians would thus escape the necessity of accepting the peace with Athens, for the Lacedaemonians would prefer the friendship and alliance of Argos to anything which they might lose by the enmity of Athens and the dissolution of the treaty The two Ephors knew that a satisfactory alliance with Argos was an object which the Lacedaemonians always had at heart, perceiving as they did that it would enable them to carry on the war beyond the Peloponnesus with greater freedom. At the same time they entreated the Boeotians to give up Panactum to the Lacedaemonians, in order that they might exchange it for Pylos, and so be in a better position for renewing the war with Athens

37. The Boeotians and Corinthians, having received from Xenares and Cleobulus and their other Lacedaemonian friends the instructions which they were to convey to their own governments, returned to their respective cities On their way home two Argives high in office, who had been waiting for them on the road, entered into com-

New Ephors come into office, who are in the interest of the war party They suggest that the Boeotians shall first join the Argive and Corinthian alliance and then reconcile the Argives with the Lacedaemonians

The Boeotians agree Two Argives make a similar proposal to them

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munications with them, in the hope that the Boeotians, V.  
like the Corinthians, Eleans, and Mantineans, might join their alliance, if this could only be accomplished, and they could act together, they might easily, they said, go to war or make peace, either with Lacedaemon or with any other power. The Boeotian envoys were pleased at the proposal, for it so happened that the request of the Argives coincided with the instructions of their Lacedaemonian friends. Whereupon the Argives, finding that their proposals were acceptable to the Boeotians, promised to send an embassy to them, and so departed. When the Boeotians returned home they told the Boeotarchs what they had heard, both at Lacedaemon and from the Argives who had met them on their way. The Boeotarchs were glad, and their zeal was quickened when they discovered that the request made to them by their friends in Lacedaemon fell in with the projects of the Argives. Soon afterwards the envoys from Argos appeared, inviting the Boeotians to fulfil their engagement. The Boeotarchs encouraged their proposals, and dismissed them; promising that they would send envoys of their own to negotiate the intended alliance.

In the meantime the Boeotarchs and the envoys from 38.  
Corinth, Megara, and Chalcidicè determined that they would take an oath to one another, pledging themselves to assist whichever of them was at any time in need, and not go to war or make peace without the consent of all. When they had got thus far, the Megarians and Boeotians, who acted together in the matter<sup>a</sup>, were to enter into an agreement with the Argives. But before the oath was sworn, the Boeotarchs communicated their intentions to the Four Councils of the Boeotians, whose sanction is always necessary, and urged that oaths should be offered to any cities which were willing to join with them for mutual protection. But the Boeotian Councils, fearing that they might offend the Lacedaemonians if they took oaths to the Corinthians

But the negotiation afterwards fails through mismanagement

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 31 fin

V who had seceded from them, rejected their proposals. For the Boeotarchs did not tell them what had passed at Lacedaemon, and how two of the Ephors, Cleobulus and Xenais, and their friends had advised them first to become allies of Argos and Corinth, and then to make a further alliance with the Lacedaemonians. They thought that the Councils, whether informed of this or not, would be sure to ratify their foregone decision when it was communicated to them. So the plan broke down, and the Corinthian and the Chalcidian envoys went away without effecting their purpose. The Boeotarchs, who had originally intended, if they succeeded, to extend the alliance if possible to the Argives, gave up the idea of bringing this latter measure before the Councils. They did not fulfil their promise of sending envoys to Aigos, but the whole business was neglected and deferred.

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39.

The Lacedaemonians, wanting to recover Pylos, persuade the Boeotians, with whom they make a separate alliance, to give up Panactum

During the same winter the Olynthians made a sudden attack upon Micyberna<sup>a</sup>, which was held by an Athenian garrison, and took it. The Athenians and Lacedaemonians still continued to negotiate about the places which had not been restored, the Lacedaemonians hoping that, if the Athenians got back Panactum from the Boeotians, they might themselves recover Pylos. So they sent an embassy to the Boeotians, and begged of them to give up Panactum and the Athenian prisoners to themselves, that they might obtain Pylos in return for them. But the Boeotians refused to give them up unless the Lacedaemonians made a separate alliance with them as they had done with the Athenians. Now the Lacedaemonians knew that, if they acceded to this request, they would be dealing unfairly with Athens, because there was a stipulation which forbade either state to make war or peace without the consent of the other, but they were eager to obtain Panactum and thereby, as they hoped, recover Pylos. At the same time the party who wished to break the peace with Athens were zealous on behalf of the Boeotians. So they made the

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 18 § 7.

B C 420 alliance about the end of winter and the beginning of V.  
 Ol 90 spring The Boeotians at once commenced the demolition  
 of Panactum, and the eleventh year of the war ended

Immediately on the commencement of spring, the 40.  
 Argives, observing that the envoys whom the Boeotians The Ar-  
 promised to send had not arrived, that Panactum was gives are  
 being demolished, and that a private alliance had been alarmed at  
 made between the Lacedaemonians and the Boeotians, the seeming  
 began to fear that they would be isolated, and that the agreement  
 whole confederacy would go over to the Lacedaemonians, of the  
 For they thought that the Boeotians were demolishing Boeotians  
 Panactum by the desire of the Lacedaemonians, and and  
 had likewise been induced by them to come into the Lacedae-  
 Athenian treaty, and that the Athenians were cognisant monians,  
 of the whole affair But, if so, they could no longer in which  
 form an alliance even with Athens, although they had they sup-  
 hitherto imagined that the enmity of the two powers pose the  
 would secure them an alliance with one or the other, Athenians  
 and that if they lost the peace with Lacedaemon, they to be in-  
 might at any rate become allies of the Athenians So cluded  
 in their perplexity, fearing that they might have to fight  
 Lacedaemon, Tegea, Boeotia, and Athens all at once,  
 the Argives, who at the time when they were proudly  
 hoping to be the leaders of Peloponnesus had refused  
 to make a treaty with Lacedaemon, now sent thither  
 two envoys, Eustrophus and Aeson, who were likely to  
 be well regarded by the Spartans. For under present  
 circumstances it seemed to them that nothing better  
 could be done than to make a treaty with the Lacedae-  
 monians on whatever terms, and keep out of war

The envoys arrived, and began to confer with the 41.  
 Lacedaemonians respecting the conditions on which the They send  
 peace should be made. The Argives at first demanded envoys to  
 that the old quarrel about the border-land of Cynuria, a Lacedae-  
 district which contains the cities of Thyrea and An- mon, who,  
 thenè and is occupied by the Lacedaemonians, should after  
 be referred to the arbitration of some state or person making a  
 Of this the Lacedaemonians would not allow a word foolish sti-  
 pulation  
 about  
 Cynuria,  
 prepare to  
 conclude



V to be said, but they professed their readiness to renew the treaty on the old terms. The Argives at length induced them to make a fifty years' peace, on the understanding however that either Lacedaemon or Argos, provided that neither city were suffering at the time from war or plague, might challenge the other to fight for the disputed territory, as they had done once before when both sides claimed the victory, but the conquered party was not to be pursued over their own border. The Lacedaemonians at first thought that this proposal was nonsense, however, as they were desirous of having the friendship of Argos on any terms, they assented, and drew up a written treaty. But they desired the envoys, before any of the provisions took effect, to return and lay the matter before the people of Argos, if they agreed, they were to come again at the Hyacinthia and take the oaths. So they departed.

42 While the Argives were thus engaged, the envoys of the Lacedaemonians—Andromedes, Phaedimus, and Antimenidas—who were appointed to receive Panactum and the prisoners from the Boeotians, and give them up to the Athenians, found Panactum already demolished by the Boeotians. They alleged that the Athenians and Boeotians in days of old had quarrelled about the place, and had sworn that neither of them should inhabit it, but both enjoy the use of it. However, Andromedes and his colleagues conveyed the Athenian prisoners who were in the hands of the Boeotians to Athens, and restored them, they further announced the destruction of Panactum, <sup>a</sup> maintaining that they were restoring that too <sup>a</sup>, inasmuch as no enemy of the Athenians could any longer dwell there. Their words raised a violent outcry among the Athenians, they felt that the Lacedaemonians were dealing unfairly with them in two respects: first, there was the demolition of Panactum, which should have been de-

a peace  
with the  
Lacedae-  
monians for  
fifty years

Indignation  
of the  
Athenians  
at the  
separate  
alliance  
and at the  
demolition  
of Panac-  
tum, which  
should have  
been re-  
stored  
intact

B C 420  
O1 90

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'maintaining that this,' i.e. its destruction, 'was equivalent to its restoration' (*καὶ τοῦτο, τὴν καθαίρεσιν, ἀπόδοσιν εἶναι*).

B C 420  
Ol 90

livered standing, secondly, they were informed of the V.  
separate alliance which the Lacedaemonians had made  
with the Boeotians, notwithstanding their promise that  
they would join in coercing those who did not accept  
the peace. They called to mind all their other short-  
comings in the fulfilment of the treaty, and conscious  
that they had been deceived, they answered the envoys  
roughly, and sent them away.

When the difference between the Lacedaemonians 43.  
and Athenians had gone thus far, the war party at  
Athens in their turn lost no time in pressing their views.  
Foremost among them was Alcibiades the son of Cleinias,  
a man who would have been thought young in any other  
city, but was influential by reason of his high descent.  
he sincerely preferred the Argive alliance, but at the  
same time he took part against the Lacedaemonians  
from temper, and because his pride was touched. For  
they had not consulted him, but had negotiated the  
peace through Nicias and Laches, despising his youth,  
and disregarding an ancient connection with his family,  
who had been their proxeni, a connection which his  
grandfather had renounced, and he, by the attention  
which he had paid to the captives from Sphacteria, had  
hoped to have renewed. Piqued at the small respect  
which was shown to all his claims, he had originally  
opposed the negotiations, declaring that the Lacedae-  
monians were not to be trusted, and that their only  
object in making terms was that they might by Athe-  
nian help crush the Argives, and afterwards attack the  
Athenians themselves when they had no friends. As  
soon as the rupture occurred he promptly despatched  
a private message to the Argives, bidding them send an  
embassy as quickly as they could, together with repre-  
sentatives of Mantinea and Elis, and invite the Athenians  
to enter the alliance, now was the time, and he would  
do his utmost to assist them.

Alcibiades,  
the youthful  
Athenian  
leader, irri-  
tated at the  
want of  
confidence  
shown in  
him by the  
Lacedae-  
monians,  
opposes  
them at  
Athens

The Argives received his message, and thus became 44  
aware that the alliance with the Boeotians had been

At his sug-  
gestion the

V  
Argives,  
who are  
partly in-  
fluenced  
by the  
memory of  
an ancient  
connexion,  
partly by  
democratic  
sympathy,  
and also by  
the hope of  
a naval  
alliance,  
join the  
Athenians

made without the consent of the Athenians, and that a violent quarrel had broken out between Athens and Lacedaemon. So they thought no more about their ambassadors who were at that very moment negotiating the peace with Lacedaemon, but turned their thoughts towards Athens. They reflected that Athens was a city which had been their friend of old <sup>a</sup>, like their own it was governed by a democracy, and would be a powerful ally to them at sea, if they were involved in war. They at once sent envoys to negotiate an alliance with the Athenians, the Eleans and Mantineans joined in the embassy. Thither also came in haste three envoys from Lacedaemon, who were thought likely to be acceptable at Athens—Philocharidas, Leon, and Endius <sup>b</sup>. They were sent because the Lacedaemonians were afraid that the Athenians in their anger would join the Argive alliance. The envoys while they demanded the restoration of Pylos in return for Panactum, were to apologise for the alliance with the Bocotians, and to explain that it was not made with any view to the injury of Athens.

45.  
Alcibiades  
by a trick  
deceives  
the Lacedaemonian  
envoys.  
They are  
persuaded  
to deny  
in the as-  
sembly the  
powers  
which they  
have ac-  
knowledge  
in the  
council

They delivered their message to the council, adding that they came with full power to treat about all differences. Alcibiades took alarm, he feared that if the envoys made a similar statement to the people they would win them over to their side, and that the Argive alliance would be rejected. Whereupon he devised the following trick: he solemnly assured the Lacedaemonians that if they would not communicate to the people the extent of their powers, he would restore Pylos to them, for he would use his influence in their favour instead of against them, and would arrange their other differences. But his real aim all the time was to alienate them from Nicias, and to bring about an alliance with Aigos, Elis, and Mantinea, which he hoped to effect, if he could only discredit them in the assembly, and create the impression that their intentions were not honest, and that they never told the same tale twice. And he

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 102 fin.

<sup>b</sup> Cp viii 6 med

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succeeded; for when the envoys appeared before the assembly, and in answer to the question whether they had full powers replied 'No,' in direct contradiction to what they had said in the council, the patience of the Athenians was exhausted, and Alcibiades declaimed against the Lacedaemonians more violently than ever. The people were carried away and were ready to have in the Argives, and make an alliance with them and their confederates on the spot. But an earthquake occurred before the final vote was taken, and the assembly was adjourned.

The trick which had deceived the Lacedaemonians themselves completely deceived Nicias, who could not understand the disavowal of their powers. Nevertheless in the assembly which met on the following day he still continued to maintain that the Athenians ought to prefer the friendship of Sparta, and not to conclude the Argive alliance until they had sent to the Lacedaemonians and ascertained their intentions. He urged them not to renew the war now, when it could be put off with honour to themselves and discredit to the Lacedaemonians, they were successful and should seek to preserve their good-fortune as long as they could, but the Lacedaemonians were in a bad way, and would be only too glad to fight as soon as possible at all hazards. And he prevailed on them to send envoys, of whom he was himself one, requiring the Lacedaemonians, if they were sincere in their intentions, to rebuild and restore Panactum, to restore Amphipolis, and to renounce their alliance with the Boeotians unless they came into the treaty, according to the stipulation which forbade the contracting parties to make a new alliance except by mutual consent. If we, they added, had wanted to deal unfairly, we should already have accepted an alliance with the Argives, whose ambassadors have come hither to offer it. They entrusted the representation of these and their other grievances to Nicias and his colleagues, and sent them away to Sparta. On their arrival they

V.

46.

The trick deceives Nicias, who nevertheless continues to support the Lacedaemonians, he is himself sent to demand satisfaction at Sparta. The negotiation fails.

- V. delivered their message, which they concluded by de- B.C. 420  
O1 90  
 claiming that unless the Lacedaemonians renounced their  
 alliance with the Bocotians in case the latter still refused  
 to accept the peace, the Athenians on their part would  
 enter into an alliance with the Argives and their con-  
 federates. The Lacedaemonians refused to give up their  
 Bocotian alliance, Xenares the Ephor, with his friends  
 and partisans, carrying this point. However they con-  
 sented to ratify their former oaths at the request of  
 Nicias, who was afraid that he would return without  
 having settled anything, and would incur the blame of  
 failure, as indeed he did, because he was held to be  
 responsible for the original treaty with the Lacedae-  
 monians. When the Athenians learned on his return  
 that the negotiations with Sparta had miscarried, they  
 were furious, and acting under a sense of injustice,  
 entered into an alliance with the Argives and their  
 allies, whose ambassadors were present at the time, for  
 Alcibiades had introduced them on purpose. The terms  
 were as follows —

47. Terms of  
an alliance  
between the  
Athenians  
and the  
Argive con-  
federacy I The Athenians and the Argives, Mantineans, and  
 Eleans, on their own behalf and that of the allies over  
 whom they severally rule, make a peace to continue  
 for a hundred years both by sea and land, without fraud  
 or hurt. The Argives, Eleans, Mantineans, and their  
 allies shall not make war against the Athenians and  
 the allies over whom they rule, and the Athenians and  
 their allies shall not make war against the Argives,  
 Eleans, Mantineans, and their allies, in any sort or  
 manner.

II Athens, Argos, Elis, and Mantinea shall be allied  
 for a hundred years on the following conditions —  
 If enemies invade the territory of the Athenians, the  
 Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans shall go to Athens  
 and render the Athenians any assistance which they may  
 demand of them, in the most effectual manner, and to  
 the utmost of their power. And if the enemy spoil  
 their territory and depart, the offending city shall be an

B C 420  
Ol 90

enemy to Argos, Mantinea, Elis, and Athens, and suffer at the hands of all these cities, and it shall not be lawful for any of them to make peace with the offending city, unless they have the consent of all the rest. And if enemies shall invade the territory of the Eleans or Argives or Mantineans, the Athenians shall go to Argos, Mantinea, or Elis, and render these cities any assistance which they may demand of them, in the most effectual manner, and to the utmost of their power. If an enemy spoil their territory and depart, the offending city shall be an enemy to Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis, and shall suffer at the hands of all these cities, and it shall not be lawful for any of them to make peace with the offending city, unless they have the consent of all the rest.

V

III. The confederates shall not allow armed men to pass through their own territory, or that of the allies over whom they severally rule or may rule, or to pass by sea, with hostile intent, unless all the cities have formally consented to their passage—that is to say, Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis.

IV. The city which sends troops to help another shall supply them with provisions for thirty days, counting from the time of their arrival at the city which summons them, it shall also provide for them at their departure. But if the city which summons the troops wishes to employ them for a longer time, it shall give them provisions at the rate of three Aeginetan obols<sup>a</sup> a day for heavy-armed and light-armed troops and for archers, and an Aeginetan drachma<sup>b</sup> for cavalry.

V. The city which sent for the troops shall have the command when the war is carried on in her territory. Or, if the allied cities agree to send out a joint expedition, then the command shall be equally shared among all the cities.

VI. The Athenians shall swear to the peace on their own behalf and on that of their allies, the Argives,

<sup>a</sup> About 8d<sup>b</sup> About 1s 4d

V Mantineans, and Eleans, and their allies shall swear <sup>BC 420</sup> city by city The oath shall be taken over full-grown <sup>Ol 90</sup> victims, and shall be that oath which in the countries of the several contracting parties is deemed the most binding The form of oath shall be as follows —

‘I will be true to the alliance, and will observe the agreement in all honesty and without fraud or hurt, I will not transgress it in any way or manner’

Provisions  
for the ratification  
of the treaty  
and for  
changes

At Athens the senate and the *homē* magistrates shall swear, and the Prytanes shall administer the oath, at Argos the senate and the council of eighty and the Artynae shall swear, and the eighty shall administer the oath, at Mantinea the *demurgi* and the senate and the other magistrates shall swear, and the *theoi* and the *polcmaichs* shall administer the oath. At Elis the *demurgi* and the supreme magistrates and the six hundred shall swear, and the *demurgi* and the guardians of the law shall administer the oath Thirty days before the Olympian games the Athenians shall go to Elis, to Mantinea, and to Argos, and renew the oath. Ten days before the Great Panathenaea the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans shall go to Athens and renew the oath The agreement concerning the treaty and the oaths and the alliance shall be inscribed on a stone column in the Acropolis by the Athenians, by the Argives on a similar column in the temple of Apollo in the Agora, and by the Mantineans in the temple of Zeus in the Agora. They shall together erect at Olympia a brazen column at the coming Olympic games And if these cities think it desirable to make any change in the treaty, they shall add to the provisions of it Whatever the cities agree upon in common shall hold good

48.

The Corinthians  
refuse to  
join the  
Argives  
in the  
Athenian  
alliance

Thus the peace and the alliance were concluded. Nevertheless the previous treaty between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians was not on that account renounced by either party The Corinthians although allies of the Argives, took no part in the new alliance, they had already refused to swear to an offensive and

B.C. 420  
O.I. 90

defensive alliance which the Eleans, Argives, and Mantineans had previously made with one another. They said that they were satisfied with the original defensive alliance which bound them only to assist one another when attacked, but not to join in offensive movements. Thus the Corinthians severed themselves from the allies, and were again beginning to turn their thoughts to the Lacedaemonians

V.

During the summer the Olympic games were celebrated, the Olympiad being that in which Androstenes, an Arcadian, won his first victory in the pancratium. The Lacedaemonians were excluded from the temple by the Eleans, and so could neither sacrifice nor contend in the games. For they had refused to pay the fine which, according to Olympic law, the Eleans had imposed upon them, alleging that they had brought an armed force against the fortress of Phycus, and had introduced some hoplites of their own into Lepreum during the Olympic truce. The fine amounted to two thousand minae<sup>a</sup>, being two minae<sup>b</sup> for each hoplite, which is the penalty imposed by the law. The Lacedaemonians sent envoys who argued that the sentence was unjust, for at the time when their troops entered Lepreum the truce had not been announced at Lacedaemon. The Eleans replied that the truce (which they always proclaim first to themselves) had already begun with them, and that while they were quietly observing the truce, and expecting nothing less, the Lacedaemonians had treacherously attacked them. The Lacedaemonians rejoined by asking why the Eleans proclaimed the truce at all at Lacedaemon if they considered them to have broken it already—they could not really have thought so when they made the proclamation, and from the moment when the announcement reached Lacedaemon all hostilities had ceased. The Eleans were still positive that the Lacedaemonians were in the wrong, and said that they would never be persuaded of the contrary

49

The Lacedaemonians are excluded from the Olympic games on the ground that they had attacked Phycus and entered Lepreum during the Olympic truce, and had refused to pay the fine imposed upon them

<sup>a</sup> About £8125<sup>b</sup> About £8 25 6d



V But if the Lacedaemonians were willing to restore Lepreum to them, they offered to remit their own share of the penalty, and pay on their behalf that part which was due to the God B.C. 420  
Oli 90

50. As this proposal was rejected, the Eleans made another the Lacedaemonians need not give up Lepreum if they did not like, but since they wanted to have access to the temple of Olympian Zeus, they might go up to his altar and swear before all the Hellenes that they would hereafter pay the fine. But neither to this offer would the Lacedaemonians agree, they were therefore excluded from the temple and from the sacrifices and games, and sacrificed at home. The other Hellenes, with the exception of the inhabitants of Lepreum, sent representatives to Olympia. The Eleans however, fearing that the Lacedaemonians would force their way into the temple and offer sacrifice, had a guard of young men under arms, there came to their aid likewise a thousand Argives, and a thousand Mantincans, and certain Athenian horsemen, who had been awaiting the celebration of the festival at Aigos. The whole assembly were in terror lest the Lacedaemonians should come upon them in arms, and their fears were redoubled when Lichas, the son of Arcesilaus, was struck by the officers. As a Lacedaemonian he had been excluded from the lists, but his chariot had been entered in the name of the Boeotian state, and was declared victorious. He had then come forward into the arena and placed a garland on the head of his charioteer, wishing to show that the chariot was his own. When the blows were given the anxiety became intense, and every one thought that something serious would happen. But the Lacedaemonians did not stir, and the festival passed off quietly.

Fear of a disturbance at the games, which turns out to be unfounded

The Olympic games being over, the Argives and their allies went to Corinth, and requested the Corinthians to join them. An embassy from Lacedaemon was also present. After much discussion nothing was concluded,

B C 420  
Ol 90 for an earthquake broke up the assembly, and the envoys V  
from the several states returned home So the summer  
ended

In the following winter there was a battle between 51  
the Heracleans of Trachis and the Oenianians, Dolopes, The Hera-  
Malians, and certain Thessalians These were neigh cleans de-  
bouring tribes hostile to the place, for it was in order fated by  
to control them that the place was originally fortified, they the neigh-  
had been enemies to it from the first, and had done it all bouring  
the damage in their power In this battle they gained tribes  
a victory over the Heracleans Xenaies, son of Cnidis,  
the Lacedaemonian governor, and many of the Hera-  
cleans were killed Thus ended the winter, and with it  
the twelfth year of the war

B C 419  
Ol 90, 2 At the beginning of the following summer the Boeo- 52.  
tians took possession of Heraclea, which after the battle The Boeo-  
was in a miserable plight. They dismissed Hegesippidas, trons took  
the Lacedaemonian governor, for his misconduct<sup>a</sup>, and possession  
occupied the place themselves They were afraid that of Heraclea  
now, when the Lacedaemonians were embroiled in Pelo-  
ponnesus, the Athenians would take it if they did not.  
But, for all that, the Lacedaemonians were offended

During the same summer, Alcibiades, the son of Activity of  
Cleinias, now one of the Athenian generals, acting in Alcibiades  
concert with the Argives and their allies, led into Achaia in Achaia  
Peloponnesus a small Athenian force of hoplites and archers and other  
He collected other troops from the Athenian allies in the parts of  
the Peloponnese, and, marching with his army through the Pelopon-  
country, organised the affairs of the confederacy Coming nesus  
to Patrae, he persuaded the citizens to build walls reach-  
ing down to the sea He was intending also to erect a fort  
himself on the promontory of Rhium in Achaia. But the  
Corinthians, Sicyonians, and others to whose interests the  
fort would have been injurious, came and prevented him

In the same summer there broke out a war between the 53  
Epidaurians and the Argives. The occasion of the war The Argives  
was as follows —The Epidaurians were bound to send a pretext

<sup>a</sup> Cp III 93 fin

V  
make war  
against the  
Epidauri-  
ans

victim as a tribute for <sup>a</sup>the water meadows<sup>a</sup> to the temple of Apollo Pythaeus over which the Aigives had chief authority and they had not done so. But this charge was a mere pretext, for in any case Alcibiades and the Aigives had determined, if possible, to attach Epidaurus to their league, that they might keep the Corinthians quiet, and enable the Athenians to bring forces to Aigos direct from Aegina instead of sailing round the promontory of Scyllaeum. So the Argives prepared to invade Epidauria, as if they wished on their own account to exact payment of the sacrifice

B.C. 419  
O1 90, 2

54  
The Lacedaemonians intending to make war upon Argos are deterred by the sacrifices and the sacred month. The latter obligation is evaded by the Aigives, who go on with the expedition against Epidaurus

About the same time the Lacedaemonians with their whole force, under the command of king Agis the son of Archidamus, likewise made an expedition. They marched as far as Leuctia, a place on their own frontier in the direction of Mount Lycæum. No one, not even the cities whence the troops came, knew whither the expedition was going. But at the frontier the sacrifices proved unfavourable, so they returned, and sent word to their allies that, when the coming month was over, which was Carneus, a month held sacred by the Dorians, they should prepare for an expedition. When they had retreated, the Argives, setting out on the twenty-seventh day of the month before Carneus, and continuing the observance of this day during the whole time of the expedition, invaded and devastated the territory of Epidaurus. The Epidaurians summoned their allies, but some of them refused to come, pleading the sanctity of the month, others came as far as the frontier of Epidauria and there stopped.

55  
Conference held at Mantinea. War between Epidaurus and Aigos intermitted and then renewed

While the Argives were in Epidauria, envoys from the different cities met at Mantinea, on the invitation of the Athenians. A conference was held, at which Euphamidas the Corinthian remarked that their words and their actions were at variance, for they were conferring about peace while the Epidaurians and their allies were in the field against the Argives, first let envoys from both

<sup>a</sup> Or, reading *βοταμίων*, a *ἀπαξ* λεγόμενον, simply 'the meadows'

B C 419 parties go and induce the armies to disband, and then V.  
Ol 90, 2 they might come back and discuss the peace His  
advice was approved, so they went straight to the  
Argives and compelled them to withdraw from Epi-  
dauria. But, when they re-assembled, they were still  
unable to agree, and the Argives again invaded and  
began to ravage the Epidaurian territory Whereupon  
the Lacedaemonians likewise made an expedition as far  
as Caryae, but again the sacrifices at the frontier proved  
unfavourable, and they returned home The Argives,  
after devastating about one-third of Epidauria, also  
returned home One thousand Athenian hoplites, under  
the command of Alcibiades, had come to their aid. But  
hearing that the Lacedaemonian expedition was over,  
and seeing that there was no longer any need of them,  
they departed And so passed the summer

In the following winter the Lacedaemonians, unknown 56  
to the Athenians, sent by sea to Epidaurus a garrison of The Lace-  
three hundred under the command of Agesippidas. The daemonians  
Argives came to the Athenians and complained that, send a  
notwithstanding the clause in the treaty which forbade garrison  
the passage of enemies through the territory of any of by sea to  
the contracting parties<sup>a</sup>, they had allowed the Lacedae- Epidaurus  
monians to pass by sea along the Aigive coast The Argives  
If they remonstrate  
did not retaliate by replacing the Messenians and Helots with the  
in Pylos, and letting them ravage Laconia, they, the Athenians  
Argives, would consider themselves wronged for allowing  
The Lacedaemonians  
to pass  
The  
Athenians  
declare the  
treaty  
broken

The Athenians, by the advice of Alcibiades, inscribed at  
the foot of the column on which the treaty was re-  
corded<sup>b</sup> words to the effect that the Lacedaemonians  
had not abided by their oaths, and thereupon conveyed  
the Helots recently settled at Cranu<sup>c</sup> to Pylos that  
they might plunder the country, but they took no  
further steps During the winter the war between  
the Argives and Epidaurians continued, there was no  
regular engagement, but there were ambushades and  
incursions in which losses were inflicted, now on one

<sup>a</sup> Cp. v 47 § 3

<sup>b</sup> Cp. v 13 § 4, 23 § 5

<sup>c</sup> Cp. v 35 fin

V side, now on the other. At the end of winter, when <sup>B C 419</sup> the spring was approaching the Argives came with <sup>Ol 90, 2</sup> scaling-ladders against Epidaurius, expecting to find that the place was stripped of its defenders by the war, and could be taken by storm. But the attempt failed, and they returned. So the winter came to an end, and with it the thirteenth year of the war.

57 In the middle of the following summer, the Lacedae- <sup>B C 418</sup> <sup>Ol 90, 3</sup> monians, seeing that their Epidaurian allies were in great distress, and that several cities of Peloponnesus had seceded from them, while others were disaffected, and knowing that if they did not quickly take measures of precaution the evil would spread, made war on Argos with their whole forces, including the Helots, under the command of Agis the son of Archidamus, the Lacedaemonian king. The Tegeans and the other Arcadian allies of the Lacedaemonians took part in the expedition. The rest of their allies, both from within and without the Peloponnesus, mustered at Phlius. Among the other contingents there came from Boeotia five thousand heavy-armed, and as many light-armed, five hundred cavalry, and attached to each horseman a foot-soldier, and from Corinth two thousand heavy-armed, while the Phliasians joined with their whole force, because the army was to assemble in their country.

58 The Argives, having had previous notice of the Lacedaemonian preparations, and seeing that they were actually on their march to join the rest of the army at Phlius, now took the field themselves. The Mantinians and their allies and three thousand Elean hoplites came to their aid. They advanced to Methydrium in Arcadia, where they fell in with the Lacedaemonians. The two armies each occupied a hill, and the Argives, thinking that they now had the Lacedaemonians alone, prepared for action. But in the night Agis removed his forces unknown to them and joined the allies at Phlius. At dawn the Argives became aware of his departure, and moved first to Argos, then to the

The Lacedaemonians at length take the field in earnest. Their allies muster at Phlius.

The Argives and their allies march into Arcadia, there they find the Lacedaemonians isolated. But Agis evades them and joins the rest of the army at Phlius.

B C 418  
Ol 90, 3

Nemean road, by which they expected the Lacedaemonians and their allies to descend into the plain But Agis, instead of taking the road by which he was expected, led the Lacedaemonians, Arcadians, and Epidaurians by a more difficult path, and so made his way down, the Corinthians, Pellenians, and Phliasians went by another steep pass, the Boeotians, Megarians, and Sicyonians he commanded to descend by the Nemean road, where the Argives had taken up their position, in order that, if the Argives should return and attack his own division of the army in the plain, they might be pursued and harassed by their cavalry Having made these dispositions, and having come down into the plain, he began to devastate Saminthus and the neighbourhood

V.

It was now daylight, and the Argives, who had become aware of his movement, quitted Nemea and went in search of the enemy Encountering the Phliasian and Corinthian forces, they killed a few of the Phliasians, and had rather more of their own troops killed by the Corinthians The Boeotians, Megarians, and Sicyonians marched as they were ordered towards Nemea, but found the Argives no longer there, for by this time they had descended from the high ground, and seeing their lands ravaged were drawing up their troops in order of battle. The Lacedaemonians prepared to meet them The Argives were now surrounded by their enemies, for on the side of the plain the Lacedaemonians and their division of the army cut them off from the city, from the hills above they were hemmed in by the Corinthians, Phliasians and Pellenians, towards Nemea by the Boeotians, Sicyonians, and Megarians, and in the absence of the Athenians, who alone of their allies had not arrived, they had no cavalry The main body of the Argives and their allies had no conception of their danger They thought that their position was a favourable one, and that they had cut off the Lacedaemonians in their own country and close to the city of Argos.

59

The Argives are surrounded by the enemy, who enter the Argive territory in three divisions, they are in the utmost danger, of which they are wholly unconscious, when two of their leading men propose a truce

- V. But two of the Aigives, Thiasyllus one of the five <sup>BC 418</sup> generals, and Alciphon the proxenus of the Lacedaemonians, came to Agis when the armies were on the point of engaging, and urged him privately not to fight, the Aigives were ready to offer and accept a fair arbitration, if the Lacedaemonians had any complaint to make of them, they would gladly conclude a treaty, and be at peace for the future. <sup>Ol 90, 3</sup>

60 These Aigives spoke of their own motion, they had no authority from the people, and Agis, likewise on his own authority, accepted their proposals, not conferring with his countrymen at large, but only with one of the Lacedaemonian magistrates who accompanied the expedition. He made a treaty with the Aigives for four months, within which they were to execute their agreement, and then, without saying a word to any of the allies, he at once withdrew his army. The Lacedaemonians and their allies followed Agis out of respect for the law, but they blamed him severely among themselves. For they believed that they had lost a glorious opportunity, their enemies had been surrounded on every side both by horse and foot, and yet they were returning home having done nothing worthy of their great effort. No finer Hellenic army had ever up to that day been collected, its appearance was most striking at Nemea while the host was still one, the Lacedaemonians were there in their full strength, arrayed by their side were Arcadians, Boeotians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Phliasians, and Megarians, from each state chosen men—they might have been thought a match not only for the Argive confederacy, but for another as large. So the army returned and dispersed to their homes, much out of humour with Agis.

and the  
Argives  
still greater  
The Argives on their part found still greater fault with those who had made the peace, unauthorised by the people, they too thought that such an opportunity would never recur, and that it was the Lacedaemonians who had escaped, for the combat would have taken

The truce  
is accepted  
by Agis  
The magnificent  
army of  
the Peloponnesians  
now returns  
home  
They find  
great fault  
with their  
command-  
ers,

BC 418  
OI 90, 3

place close to their own city, and they had numerous V.  
and brave allies. And so, as they were retreating and  
had reached the bed of the Charadrius, where they hold  
military trials before they enter the city, they began to  
stone Thrasyllus. He saved his life by flying to the  
altar, but they confiscated his property.

Soon afterwards there arrived an Athenian reinforce- 61.  
ment of a thousand hoplites and three hundred horse,  
under the command of Laches and Nicostatus. The  
Argives, although dissatisfied with the truce, were re-  
luctant to break it, so they bade them depart, and, when  
they desired to treat, they would not present them to  
the assembly until they were compelled by the im-  
portunity of their Mantinean and Elcan allies, who had  
not yet left Aigos. The Athenians then, speaking by  
the mouth of their ambassador Alcibiades, told the  
Argives in the presence of the rest that they had no  
right to make the truce at all independently of their  
allies, and that, the Athenians having arrived at the  
opportune moment, they should fight at once. The  
allies were convinced, and they all, with the exception  
of the Argives, immediately marched against Orchome-  
nus in Arcadia, the Argives, though consenting, did  
not join them at first, but they came afterwards. Their  
united forces then sat down before Orchomenus, which  
they assailed repeatedly; they were especially anxious  
to get the place into their hands, because certain Ar-  
cadian hostages had been deposited there by the  
Lacedaemonians. The Orchomenians, considering the  
weakness of their fortifications and the numbers of the  
enemy, and beginning to fear that they might perish  
before any one came to their assistance, agreed to join  
the alliance. They were to give hostages of their own  
to the Mantineans, and to deliver up those whom the  
Lacedaemonians had deposited with them.

The allied force, now in possession of Orchomenus, 62.  
considered against what town they should next pro-  
ceed, the Eleans wanted them to attack Lepreum, the  
The Argives  
and their  
allies now



V. Mantineans Tegea The Argives and Athenians sided <sup>B.C. 418</sup> with the Mantineans, whereupon the Eleians, indignant <sup>Ol. 90, 3</sup> that they had not voted for the expedition against Le-preum, returned home, but the remainder of the allies made preparations at Mantinea to attack Tegea. They were assisted by a party within the walls who were ready to betray the place to them.

63. The Lacedaemonians, when after making the four months' truce they had returned home, severely blamed Agis because he had not conquered Argos, and had lost an opportunity of which, in their own judgment, they had never before had the like. For it was no easy matter to bring together a body of allies so numerous and brave. But when the news came that Orchomenus had fallen they were furious, and in a fit of passion, which was unlike their usual character, they had almost made up their minds to raze his house and fine him in the sum of a hundred thousand drachmae<sup>a</sup>. But he besought them not to punish him, promising that he would atone for his error by some brave action in the field, if he did not keep his word they might do as they pleased with him. So they did not inflict the fine or demolish his house, but on this occasion they passed a law which had no precedent in their history, providing that ten Spartans should be appointed his counsellors<sup>b</sup>, who were to give their consent before he could lead the army out of the city.

64. Meanwhile word was brought from their friends in Tegea that they must come at once, since Tegea was about to secede and had almost seceded already to the Argives and their allies. Whereupon the Lacedaemonians led out their whole force, including the Helots, with an alacrity which they had never before displayed, and marched to Orestheum in Maenalia. They told

<sup>a</sup> About £6700, supposing the sum to be given in Aeginetan drachmae.

<sup>b</sup> Cp the cases of Cnemus, II 85 init.; Alcidas, III 69 med; As-tyochus, VIII 39 med, for a somewhat similar proceeding.

B C 418  
O1 90, 3

their Arcadian allies to assemble and follow them at once to Tegea. When the army had proceeded as far as Orestheum they dismissed the sixth part, including the elder and the younger men, who were to keep guard at home, and arrived at Tegea with the rest of their troops. Not long afterwards the Arcadian allies appeared. They had also sent to the Corinthians, and to the Boeotians, Phocians, and Locrians, whom they summoned to meet them with all speed at Mantinea. But the notice given to the allies was short, and their passage was barred by the enemies' country, which they could not easily traverse unless they waited for one another and came all together. However, they did their best. The Lacedaemonians accompanied by their Arcadian allies, invaded the territory of Mantinea, and pitching their camp near the temple of Heracles, wasted the country.

When the Argives and their allies saw the enemy they took up a steep and hardly assailable position, and arranged themselves in order of battle. The Lacedaemonians instantly charged them, and had proceeded within a javelin or stone's throw when one of the elder Spartans, seeing the strength of the ground which they were attacking, called out to Agis that he was trying to mend one error by another; he meant to say that his present mistaken forwardness was intended to repair the discredit of his former retreat. And, either in consequence of this exclamation or because <sup>a</sup>some new thought suddenly struck him<sup>a</sup>, he withdrew his army in haste without actually engaging. He marched back into the district of Tegea, and proceeded to turn the water into the Mantinean territory. This water is a constant source of war between the Mantineans and Tegeans, on account of <sup>b</sup>the great harm which is done<sup>b</sup> to one or other of them according to the direction which the stream takes. Agis hoped that the Argives and their allies when they

V.

65

The Argives occupy a hill. The Lacedaemonians charge them. Agis nearly commits a second fatal error, but is induced to withdraw his troops. After a while the Argives, who are again dissatisfied with their generals, follow him.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'some new thought, or the same thought (which had occurred to the Spartan elder), suddenly struck him.'

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'the harm which is commonly done.'

- V. heard of this movement would come down from the hill and try to prevent it, he could then fight them on level ground. Accordingly he stayed about the water during the whole day, diverting the stream. Now the Argives and their confederates were at first amazed at the sudden retreat of their enemies when they were so near, and did not know what to think. But when the Lacedæmonians had returned and disappeared from view, and they found themselves standing still and not pursuing, they once more began to blame their own generals. Their cry was that they had already let the Lacedæmonians slip when they had them at a disadvantage close to Argos; and now they were running away and no one pursued them, the enemy were just allowed to escape, while their own army was quietly betrayed. The commanders were at first bewildered by the outcry, but soon they quitted the hill, and advancing into the plain took up a position with the intention of attacking.

B C 418  
Ol 90, 3

66

The Lacedæmonians are surprised by the return of their army

On the following day the Argives and their allies drew themselves up in the order in which they intended to fight should they meet with the enemy. Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians returned from the water to their old encampment near the temple of Heracles. There they saw quite close to them the Argive army, which had moved on from the hill, and was already in order of battle. Never within living memory were the Lacedæmonians more dismayed than at that instant, not a moment was to be lost. Immediately they hurried every man to his own place, the king Agis, according to the law, directing their several movements. For when the king is in the field nothing is done without him, he in person gives orders to the polemarchs, which they convey to the commanders of divisions, these again to the commanders of fifties, the commanders of fifties to the commanders of enomoties, and these to the enomoty. In like manner any more precise instructions are passed down through the army, and quickly reach their destination. For almost the whole

B C 418 Lacedaemonian army are officers who have officers under V  
Ol 90, 3 them, and the responsibility of executing an order de-  
volves upon many.

On this occasion the Scirtae formed the left wing, a 67  
position to which in the Lacedaemonian army they have <sup>Disposition</sup>  
a peculiar and exclusive right Next to the Scirtae <sup>of the</sup>  
were placed the troops who had served in Chalcidicè <sup>troops</sup>  
under Brasidas, and with them the Neodamodes Next  
in order were ranged the several divisions of the Lace-  
daemonian army, and near them the Heraeans of Ar-  
cadia, next the Maenalians, and on the right wing the  
Tegeans, and a few Lacedaemonians at the extreme  
point of the line, the cavalry were placed on both wings  
This was the order of the Lacedaemonians On the  
right wing of the enemy were placed the Mantineans,  
because the action was to be fought in their country, and  
next to them such of the Arcadians as were their allies  
Then came the select force of a thousand Argives,  
whom the city had long trained at the public expense  
in military exercises, next the other Argives, and after  
them their allies, the Cleonaeans and Orneatae Last  
of all the Athenians occupied the left wing, supported  
by their own cavalry.

Such was the order and composition of the two armies 68.  
that of the Lacedaemonians appeared to be the larger, <sup>Numbers</sup>  
but what the number was, either of the several con- <sup>of neither</sup>  
tingents, or of the total on either side, I cannot pretend <sup>army could</sup>  
exactly to say, for the secrecy of the government did <sup>be accu-</sup>  
not allow the strength of the Lacedaemonian army to <sup>rately ascer-</sup>  
be known, and the numbers on the other side were <sup>tained</sup>  
thought to be exaggerated by the vanity natural to men  
when speaking of their own forces. However, the fol-  
lowing calculation may give some idea of the Lacedae-  
monian numbers There were seven divisions in the  
field, besides the Scirtae who numbered six hundred,  
in each division there were four pentecosties, in every  
pentecosty four enomoties, and of each enomoty there  
fought in the front rank four. The depth of the line

- V. was not everywhere equal, but was left to the discretion <sup>BC 418</sup> of the generals commanding divisions, on an average it <sup>Ol 90, 3</sup> was eight deep. The front line consisted of four hundred and forty-eight men, exclusive of the Sciritæ<sup>a</sup>.

69 The two armies were now on the point of engaging, but first the several commanders addressed exhortations to their own contingents. The Mantineans were told that they were not only about to fight for their country, but would have to choose between dominion<sup>b</sup> or slavery, having tried both, did they want to be deprived of the one, or to have any more acquaintance with the other? The Argives were reminded that in old times they had been sovereign, and more recently the equals of Sparta, in the Peloponnese, would they acquiesce for ever in the loss of their supremacy, and lose at the same time the chance of revenging themselves upon their hateful neighbours, who had wronged them again and again? The Athenians were told that it was glorious to be fighting side by side with a host of brave allies and to be found equal to the bravest. If they could conquer the Lacedaemonians in Peloponnese, they would both extend and secure their dominion, and need never fear an invader again. Such were the exhortations addressed to the Argives and to their allies. But the Lacedaemonians, both in their war-songs and in the words which a man spoke to his comrade, did but remind one another of what their brave spirits knew already<sup>c</sup>. For they had learned that true safety was to be found in long previous training, and not in eloquent exhortations uttered when they were going into action.

70. At length the two armies went forward. The Argives and their allies advanced to the charge with great fury and determination. The Lacedaemonians moved slowly and to the music of many flute-players, who were stationed in their ranks, and played, not as an act of religion,

The Argives march into battle with great fury, the Lacedaemonians quietly to

<sup>a</sup> The whole number of the Lacedaemonians is 3584 without the Sciritæ, or with them 4184

<sup>b</sup> Cp. v 29 mit.

<sup>c</sup> Cp. iv 17 med., 95 mit., 126 mit.

BC 418  
Ol 90, 3

but in order that the army might march evenly and in true measure, and that the line might not break, as often happens in great armies when they go into battle

V.  
the sound  
of music

Before they had actually closed a thought occurred to 71.

Agis All armies, when engaging, are apt to thrust outwards their right wing, and either of the opposing forces tends to outflank his enemy's left with his own right, because every soldier individually fears for his exposed side, which he tries to cover with the shield of his comrade on the right, conceiving that the closer he draws in the better he will be protected. The first man in the front rank of the right wing is originally responsible for the deflection, for he always wants to withdraw from the enemy his own exposed side, and the rest of the army, from a like fear, follow his example. In this battle the line of the Mantineans, who were on the Aigive right wing, extended far beyond the Sciritae, and still further, in proportion as the army to which they belonged was the larger, did the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans on the Lacedaemonian right wing extend beyond the Athenian left. Agis was afraid that the Lacedaemonian left wing would be surrounded, and, thinking that the Mantineans outflanked them too far, he signalled to the Sciritae and the old soldiers of Brasidas to make a lateral movement away from his own division of the army, and so cover the line of the Mantineans. To fill up the space thus left vacant he ordered Hipponoidas and Aristocles, two of the polemarchs, to bring up their two divisions from the right wing, thinking that he would still have more troops than he wanted there, and that he would thus strengthen that part of his line which was opposed to the Mantineans.

Agis tries to  
extend his  
left wing by  
moving the  
Sciritae  
further off,  
thus leaving  
a gap which  
he endeavours  
to fill by a de-  
tachment  
from his  
right

He had given the order at the last moment, when the charge had already begun, and Aristocles and Hipponoidas refused to make the movement. (For the cowardice which they were supposed to have shown on this occasion they were afterwards banished from Sparta.) The enemy were upon him before he was ready, and as the two divisions would not advance into the place left by

72  
But the de-  
tachment  
refusing to  
sur, the  
Mantineans  
and Aigives  
rush  
through the  
gap and de-  
fect the left

V  
wing of the  
Lacedae-  
monians

the Sciritae, Agis ordered the Sciritae themselves to close up but he found that it was too late, and that neither could they now fill the vacant space. Then the Lacedaemonians showed in a remarkable manner that, although utterly failing in their tactics, they could win by their courage alone. When they were at close quarters with the enemy, the Mantinean right put to flight the Sciritae and the soldiers of Brasidas. The Mantincans and their allies and the thousand chosen Argives dashed in through the gap in the Lacedaemonian ranks and completed their defeat, they surrounded and routed them, and so drove them to their waggons, where they killed some of the elder men who were appointed to guard them. In this part of the field the Lacedaemonians were beaten, but elsewhere, and especially in the centre of the army, where the king Agis and the three hundred Knights, as they are called, who attend him, were posted, they charged the elder Argives, the Five Divisions as they are termed, the Cleonaeans, Orneatae, and those of the Athenians who were ranged with them, and put them to flight. Most of them never even struck a blow, but gave way at once on the approach of the Lacedaemonians, some were actually trodden under foot, being overtaken by the advancing host.

B C 418  
Ol 90, 3

73.

Danger of  
the Athe-  
nians,  
which is  
only averted  
by the re-  
tirement of  
the Lacedae-  
monians  
on the right  
wing, who  
go to the as-  
sistance of  
their own  
defeated  
troops on  
the left.  
The Lacedae-  
monians  
win the  
battle, but  
do not pur-  
sue far.

When the allies and the Argives had yielded in this quarter, they became severed from their companions to the left as well as to the right of the line, meanwhile the extended right wing of the Lacedaemonians and the Tegeans threatened to surround the Athenians. They were in great danger, their men were being hemmed in at one point and were already defeated at another, and but for their cavalry, which did them good service, they would have suffered more than any other part of the army. Just then Agis, observing the distress of the Lacedaemonian left wing, which was opposed to the Mantineans and the thousand select Argives, commanded his whole forces to go and assist their own defeated troops. Whereupon the Athenians, when their

B C 418. opponents turned aside and began to move away from V.  
 Ol 90, 3 them, quietly made their escape, and along with them  
 the defeated Argives. The Mantineans and their allies  
 and the chosen force of Argives, seeing their army con-  
 quered and the Lacedaemonians bearing down upon  
 them, gave up all thoughts of following up their advan-  
 tage and fled. The loss incurred by the chosen Argives  
 was small, that of the Mantineans more serious. The  
 pursuit was not fierce nor the flight protracted, for the  
 Lacedaemonians fight long and refuse to move until  
 they have put an enemy to flight, but, having once  
 defeated him, they do not follow him far or long.

Thus, on nearly thus, went the battle, by far the 74.  
 greatest of Hellenic battles which had taken place for Numbers  
 a long time, and fought by the most famous cities. The of the slain  
 Lacedaemonians exposed the arms of the enemies' dead,  
 and made a trophy of them, they then plundered the  
 bodies, and taking up their own dead carried them away  
 to Tegea, where they were buried, the enemies' dead  
 they gave back under a flag of truce. Of the Argives,  
 Orneatae, and Cleonacans there fell seven hundred, of the  
 Mantineans two hundred, and of the Athenians, including  
 their settlers in Aegina<sup>a</sup>, two hundred, and both their  
 generals. As to the Lacedaemonians, their allies were  
 not hard pressed and did not incur any considerable loss,  
 how many of themselves fell it was hard to ascertain  
 precisely, but their dead are reported to have numbered  
 about three hundred.

Just before the battle, Pleistoanax, the other king, 75.  
 led out of Sparta a reinforcement composed of the The Lace-  
 elder and younger citizens<sup>b</sup>, he had proceeded as far as daemonians  
 Tegea when he heard of the victory, and returned. They go home  
 The Lacedaemonians sent and countermanded the reinforce- and cele-  
 ments from Corinth and beyond the Isthmus, they then brate the  
 went home themselves and, dismissing the allies, cele- Carneia  
 brated the festival of the Carneia, for which this hap- Great moral  
 pened to be the season. Thus, by a single action, they effect of the  
 battle

<sup>a</sup> Cp II. 27 med.

<sup>b</sup> Cp V 64 med



V wiped out the charge of cowardice, which was due to <sup>BC 418</sup> their misfortune at Sphacteria, and of general stupidity <sup>Ol 90, 3</sup> and sluggishness, then current against them in Hellas. They were now thought <sup>a</sup>to have been hardly used by fortune<sup>a</sup>, but in character to be the same as ever

The very day before the battle, the Epidaurians with their whole force invaded the territory of Argos, expecting to find it deserted, they killed many of the soldiers who had been left to protect the country when the main army took the field<sup>b</sup>. After the battle three thousand Elean hoplites came to the aid of the Mantineans, and a second detachment of a thousand from Athens. While the Lacedaemonians were still celebrating the Carneia they marched all together against Epidaurus, and began to surround the city with a wall, dividing the task among them. The other allies did not persevere, but the Athenians soon completed their own portion, the fortification of the promontory on which the temple of Herè stood. In this part of the works a garrison was left, to which all furnished a contingent, they then returned to their several cities. So the summer ended.

76 At the very beginning of the following winter, after the celebration of the Carneia, the Lacedaemonians led out an army as far as Tegea, whence they sent proposals of peace to the Argives. There had always been some partizans of Lacedaemon in the city, who had wanted to put down the democracy. After the battle it was far easier for this party to draw the people into an alliance with Sparta. Their intention was to make first of all a peace, and then an alliance, with the Lacedaemonians, and, having done so, to set upon the people. And now there arrived in Argos, Lichas the son of Arcesilaus, the proxenus of the Argives, offering them one of two alternatives. There were terms of peace, but they might also have war if they pleased. A warm discussion ensued, for Alcibiades happened to be in the place. The party

The Lacedaemonian party at Argos, intending to put down the democracy, make peace

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'to have incurred disgrace through a mishap'

<sup>b</sup> Reading ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν

BC 418 which had been intriguing for the Lacedaemonians, and V.  
 Ol 90, 3 had at last ventured to come forward openly, persuaded  
 the Argives to accept the terms of peace, which were as  
 follows —

‘It seems good to the Lacedaemonian assembly to 77  
 make an agreement with the Argives on the following The terms  
 terms — of the first  
 treaty

I The Argives shall restore to the Orchomenians<sup>a</sup>  
 the youths, and to the Maenalians the men whom they  
 hold as hostages, and to the Lacedaemonians<sup>a</sup> the men  
 who were deposited in Mantinea

II They shall also evacuate Epidauria, and demolish  
 the fortifications which they have erected there. If the  
 Athenians refuse to evacuate Epidauria, they shall be  
 enemies to the Argives and Lacedaemonians, and to the  
 allies of the Lacedaemonians, and to the allies of the  
 Argives

III If the Lacedaemonians have any youths be-  
 longing to any of the allies in their country, they shall  
 restore them to their several cities

IV Concerning the sacrifice to the God, the Epi-  
 daurians shall be permitted to take an oath which the  
 Argives shall formally tender to them

V The cities in Peloponnesus, both small and great,  
 shall be all independent, according to their ancestral laws

VI If any one from without Peloponnesus comes  
 against Peloponnesus with evil intent, the Pelopon-  
 nesians shall take counsel together and shall repel the  
 enemy, and the several states shall bear such a share in  
 the war as may seem equitable to the Peloponnesians.

VII. The allies of the Lacedaemonians without Pelo-  
 ponnesus shall be in the same position as the other allies  
 of the Lacedaemonians and the allies of the Argives,  
 and they shall retain their present territory

VIII Both parties <sup>b</sup> may if they think fit show this

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 61 fin

<sup>b</sup> Or, taking *ἀλλοῖς* of the allies ‘may show this agreement to  
 their allies and make terms with them if the allies think fit,’ or,

- V. agreement to their allies and make terms with them<sup>b</sup>, but if the allies raise any objection, they shall dismiss them to their homes' B C 418  
Ol 90, 3

78 When the Argives had accepted these propositions in the first instance the Lacedaemonian army returned home from Tegea. The two states now began to hold intercourse with one another, and not long afterwards the same party which had negotiated the treaty contrived that the Argives should renounce their alliance with Mantinea, Athens, and Elis, and make a new treaty of alliance with Lacedaemon on the following terms —

79 'It seems good to the Lacedaemonians and to the Argives to make peace and alliance for fifty years on the following conditions —

I They shall submit to arbitration on fair and equal terms, according to their ancestral customs

II The other cities of Peloponnesus shall participate in the peace and alliance, and shall be independent and their own masters, retaining their own territory and submitting to arbitration on fair and equal terms, according to their ancestral customs

III. All the allies of the Lacedaemonians outside Peloponnese shall share in the same terms as the Lacedaemonians, and the allies of the Argives shall be in the same position as the Argives, and shall retain their present territory

IV If it shall be necessary to make an expedition in common against any place, the Lacedaemonians and the Argives shall consult together and fix the share in the war which may be equitably borne by the allies

V If any of the states, either within or without Peloponnesus, have a dispute about a frontier, or any other matter, the difference shall be duly settled. But should

referring *ἐνυμβαλέσθαι* to the original agreement and giving a different sense to the words *αἱ καὶ αὐτοῖς δοκῇ* 'may show the agreement to their allies before they conclude it, in case they are willing to come into it'

The alliance of Argos with Mantinea, Athens, and Elis is dissolved

The terms of the second treaty include an alliance which extends to all the Peloponnesian cities, with full provisions for their independence and in case of dispute for arbitration

B C 418  
Ol 90, 3

a quarrel break out between two of the allied cities, they shall appeal to some state which both the cities deem to be impartial

V

VI Justice shall be administered to the individual citizens of each state according to their ancestral customs'

Thus the peace and the alliance were concluded, and the Lacedaemonians and Argives settled with each other any difference which they had about captures made in the war, or about any other matter. They now acted together, and passed a vote that no herald or embassy should be received from the Athenians, unless they evacuated the fortifications which they held in Peloponnesus and left the country, they agreed also that they would not enter into alliance or make war except in concert. They were very energetic in all their doings, and both Lacedaemonians and Argives sent ambassadors to the Chalcidian cities in Thrace, and to Perdiccas whom they persuaded to join their confederacy. He did not, however, immediately desert the Athenians, but he was thinking of deserting, being influenced by the example of the Argives, for he was himself of Argive descent<sup>a</sup>. The Argives and Lacedaemonians renewed their former oaths to the Chalcidians and swore new ones<sup>b</sup>. The Argives also sent envoys to the Athenians bidding them evacuate the fortifications which they had raised at Epidaurus. They, seeing that their troops formed but a small part of the garrison, sent Demosthenes to bring them away with him. When he came he proposed to hold a gymnastic contest outside the fort, upon this pretext he induced the rest of the garrison to go out, and then shut the gates upon them. Soon afterwards the Athenians renewed their treaty with the Epidaurians, and themselves restored the fort to them.

80.  
The Lacedaemonians and Argives now act together against the Athenians. They induce the Chalcidian cities and Perdiccas to join them. Evacuation of Epidauris.

When the Argives deserted the alliance the Mantians held out for a time, but without the Argives they

81.  
The Mantians make

Cp 11 99 int.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. 1 58 med., v 31 fin

V. were helpless, and so they too came to terms with the B C 418  
 terms with the Lacedaemonians, and gave up their claim to supremacy Ol 90, 3  
 over the cities in Aicadia which had been subject to them.<sup>a</sup> Next the Lacedaemonians and the Argives, each providing a thousand men, made a joint expedition first the Lacedaemonians went alone and set up a more oligarchical government at Sicyon, then they and the Argives uniting their forces put down the democracy at Argos, and established an oligarchy which was in the interest of the Lacedaemonians. These changes were effected at the close of winter towards the approach of spring, and so ended the fourteenth year of the war.

82. In the ensuing summer the people of Diium in Mount B C 417  
 Athos revolted from the Athenians to the Chalcidians, Ol 90, 4  
 and the Lacedaemonians resettled the affairs of Achaia upon a footing more favourable to their interests than hitherto. The popular party at Argos, reconstituting themselves by degrees, plucked up courage, and, taking advantage of the festival of the Gymnopaediæ at Lacedaemon, attacked the oligarchy. A battle took place in the city the popular party won, and either killed or expelled their enemies. The oligarchy had sought help from their friends the Lacedaemonians, but they did not come for some time, at last they put off the festival and went to their aid. When they arrived at Tegea they heard that the oligarchs had been defeated. They would proceed no further, but in spite of the entreaties of the fugitives returned home and resumed the celebration of the festival. Not long afterwards envoys came to them both from the party now established in Argos and from those who had been driven out, and in the presence of their allies, after a long debate, they passed a vote condemning the victorious faction, they then resolved to send an expedition to Argos, but delays occurred and time was lost. Meanwhile the democracy at Argos, fearing the Lacedaemonians, and again courting the Athenian alliance in which their hopes were centred,

The popular party at Argos, availing themselves of a Lacedaemonian festival, attack and defeat the oligarchy. They renew the Athenian alliance and begin to build long walls to the sea.

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 29 mit

BC 417  
Ol 90, 4

built Long Walls to the sea, in order that if they were blockaded by land they might have the advantage, with Athenian help, of introducing provisions by water. Certain other states in Peloponnese were privy to this project. The whole Argive people, the citizens themselves, their wives, and their slaves, set to work upon the wall, and the Athenians sent them carpenters and masons from Athens. So the summer ended.

V

In the ensuing winter the Lacedaemonians, hearing of the progress of the work, made an expedition to Argos with their allies, all but the Corinthians, there was also a party at Argos itself acting in their interest. Agis the son of Aichidamus, king of the Lacedaemonians, led the army. The support which they expected to find at Argos failed them, the walls however, which were not yet finished, were captured by them and razed to the ground, they also seized Hysiae, a place in the Argive territory, and put to death all the free men whom they caught, they then withdrew, and returned to their several cities. Next the Argives in their turn made an expedition into the territory of Phlius, which they ravaged because the Phliasians had received their exiles, most of whom had settled there, they then returned home. During the same winter the Athenians blockaded Perdiccas in Macedonia, complaining of the league which he had made with the Argives and Lacedaemonians, and also that he had been false to their alliance at a time when they had prepared to send an army against the Chalcidians and against Amphipolis under the command of Nicias the son of Niceratus. The army was in fact disbanded chiefly owing to his withdrawal. So he became their enemy. Thus the winter ended, and with it the fifteenth year of the war.

83.  
The unfinished walls are captured and destroyed by the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians blockade Perdiccas

BC 416  
Ol 91

In the ensuing summer, Alcibiades sailed to Argos with twenty ships, and seized any of the Argives who were still suspected to be of the Lacedaemonian faction, three hundred in number, and the Athenians deposited them in the subject islands near at hand. The Athe-

84.  
Alcibiades seizes the suspected Argives. The Athenians, enraged at

V. nians next made an expedition against the island of <sup>B C 476</sup> Melos with thirty ships of their own, six Chian, and <sup>Ol 91</sup> two Lesbian, twelve hundred hoplites and three hundred archers besides twenty mounted archers of their own, and about fifteen hundred hoplites furnished by their allies in the islands. The Melians are colonists of the Lacedaemonians who would not submit to Athens like the other islanders. At first they were neutral and took no part. But when the Athenians tried to coerce them by ravaging their lands, they were driven into open hostilities.<sup>a</sup> The generals, Cleomedes the son of Lycomedes and Tisias the son of Tisimachus, encamped with the Athenian forces on the island. But before they did the country any harm they sent envoys to negotiate with the Melians. Instead of bungling these envoys before the people, the Melians desired them to explain their errand to the magistrates and to the chief men. They spoke as follows —

85. <sup>the independence of the island of Melos, send thither an expedition. But first they try negotiation.</sup> ‘Since we are not allowed to speak to the people, lest, forsooth they should be deceived by seductive and unanswerable<sup>b</sup> arguments which they would hear set forth in a single uninterrupted oration (for we are perfectly aware that this is what you mean in bringing us before a select few), you who are sitting here may as well make assurance yet surer. Let us have no set speeches at all, but do you reply to each several statement of which you disapprove, and criticise it at once. Say first of all how you like this mode of proceeding.’

86. <sup>We do not object. But discussion between you and us is a mockery, and can only end in our ruin.</sup> The Melian representatives answered — ‘The quiet interchange of explanations is a reasonable thing, and we do not object to that. But your warlike movements, which are present not only to our fears but to our eyes, seem to belie your words. We see that, although you may reason with us, you mean to be our judges; and that at the end of the discussion, if the justice of our cause prevail and we therefore refuse to yield, we may expect war, if we are convinced by you, slavery.’

<sup>a</sup> Cp III 91 init<sup>b</sup> Or, ‘unexamined’

BC 416 *Ath* 'Nay, but if you are only going to argue from V  
Ol 97 fancies about the future, or if you meet us with any other 87  
purpose than that of looking your circumstances in the face and saving your city, we have done, but if this is Nay, but you must look at facts  
your intention we will proceed'

*Mel* 'It is an excusable and natural thing that men 88  
in our position should have much to say and should It must be as you, and not as we, please  
indulge in many fancies But we admit that this conference has met to consider the question of our preservation, and therefore let the argument proceed in the manner which you propose'

*Ath* 'Well, then, we Athenians will use no fine 89  
words, we will not go out of our way to prove at length No use in talking about right, expediency is the word  
that we have a right to rule, because we overthrew the Persians<sup>a</sup>, or that we attack you now because we are suffering any injury at your hands We should not convince you if we did; nor must you expect to convince us by arguing that, although a colony of the Lacedaemonians, you have taken no part in their expeditions, or that you have never done us any wrong But you and we should say what we really think, and aim only at what is possible, for we both alike know that into the discussion of human affairs the question of justice only enters where the pressure of necessity is equal, and that the powerful exact what they can, and the weak grant what they must'

*Mel* 'Well, then, since you set aside justice and invite 90  
us to speak of expediency, in our judgment it is certainly expedient that you should respect a principle which is for the common good, and that to every man when in peril a reasonable claim should be accounted a claim of right, and any plea which he is disposed to urge, even if failing of the point a little, should help his cause Your interest in this principle is quite as great as ours,<sup>b</sup> inasmuch as you, if you fall, will incur

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 83 init

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'inasmuch as you, if you disregard it, will by your example



- V. the heaviest vengeance, and will be the most terrible <sup>B C 416</sup>  
example to mankind<sup>b</sup> <sup>Ol 91</sup>

91. *Ath.* 'The fall of our empire, if it should fall, is not an event to which we look forward with dismay, for ruling states such as Lacedaemon are not cruel to their vanquished enemies<sup>a</sup> And we are fighting not so much against the Lacedaemonians, as against our own subjects who may some day rise up and overcome their former masters<sup>a</sup> But this is a danger which you may leave to us. And we will now endeavour to show that we have come in the interests of our empire, and that in what we are about to say we are only seeking the preservation of your city For we want to make you ours with the least trouble to ourselves, and it is for the interests of us both that you should not be destroyed'

92. *Mel.* 'It may be your interest to be our masters, but how can it be ours to be your slaves?'

For you,  
yes But  
how for us?

93. *Ath.* 'To you the gain will be that by submission you will avert the worst, and we shall be all the richer for your preservation'

You will  
suffer less  
and we shall  
gain more

*Mel.* 'But must we be your enemies? Will you not receive us as friends if we are neutral and remain at peace with you?'

May we not  
be neutral?

95. *Ath.* 'No, your enmity is not half so mischievous to us as your friendship, for the one is in the eyes of our subjects an argument of our power, the other of our weakness'

Our subjects  
would not  
understand  
that

96. *Mel.* 'But are your subjects really unable to distinguish between states in which you have no concern, and those which are chiefly your own colonies, and in some cases have revolted and been subdued by you?'

But we are  
not a colony  
of yours

97. *Ath.* 'Why, they do not doubt that both of them have justify others in inflicting the heaviest vengeance on you should you fall.'

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking *ἔστι δὲ . ὁ ἄγων* as a parenthesis and giving a different sense to *ποῦ* and *αὐτοῖς* 'With the Lacedaemonians, however, we are not now contending, the real danger is from our many subject states, who may of their own motion rise up and overcome their masters'

B C 416 a good deal to say for themselves on the score of justice, V.  
 Ol 9<sup>r</sup> but they think that states like yours are left free because You are talking about justice again  
 they are able to defend themselves, and that we do not We say that we cannot allow free dom to insignificant islanders  
 attack them because we dare not So that your sub-  
 jection will give us an increase of security, as well as  
 an extension of empire For we are masters of the sea,  
 and you who are islanders, and insignificant islanders  
 too, must not be allowed to escape us.'

*Mel* 'But do you not recognise another danger?' For, 98  
 once more, since you drive us from the plea of justice But will not your policy convert all neutrals into enemies?  
<sup>a</sup>and press upon us your doctrine of expediency<sup>a</sup>, we  
 must show you what is for our interest, and, if it be  
 for yours also, may hope to convince you —Will you  
 not be making enemies of all who are now neutrals?  
 When they see how you are treating us they will expect  
 you some day to turn against them, and if so, are you  
 not strengthening the enemies whom you already have,  
 and bringing upon you others who, if they could help,  
 would never dream of being your enemies at all?'

*Ath.* 'We do not consider our really dangerous ene- 99.  
 mies to be any of the peoples inhabiting the mainland The neutral peoples of the main-land have nothing to fear from us, and therefore we have nothing to fear from them  
 who, secure in their freedom, may defer indefinitely any  
 measures of precaution which they take against us, but  
 islanders who, like you, happen to be under no control, Oursubjects and the free islanders are our danger  
 and all who may be already irritated by the necessity  
 of submission to our empire—these are our real enemies,  
 for they are the most reckless and most likely to bring  
 themselves as well as us into a danger which they cannot  
 but foresee.'

*Mel.* 'Surely then, if you and your subjects will brave 100  
 all this risk, you to preserve your empire and they to be If you fight for empire and your subjects for freedom, shall we be slaves?  
 quit of it, how base and cowardly would it be in us, who  
 retain our freedom, not to do and suffer anything rather  
 than be your slaves'

*Ath.* 'Not so, if you calmly reflect for you are not 101.  
 fighting against equals to whom you cannot yield without There is no cowardice in yielding  
 disgrace, but you are taking counsel whether or no you

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'and insist upon our compliance with your interests'

V shall resist an overwhelming force The question is not B C 416  
Ol 91  
 to superior force one of honour but of prudence'

102. *Mel.* 'But we know that the fortune of war is sometimes impartial, and not always on the side of numbers  
 But we hope that fortune may befriend us If we yield now, all is over, but if we fight, there is yet a hope that we may stand upright'

103 *Ath* 'Hope is a good comforter in the hour of danger, and when men have something else to depend upon, although hurtful, she is not ruinous But when her spendthrift nature has induced them to stake their all, <sup>a</sup> they see her as she is in the moment of their fall, and not till then. While the knowledge of her might enable them to be ware of her, she never fails<sup>a</sup>. You are weak and a single turn of the scale might be your ruin Do not you be thus deluded, avoid the error of which so many are guilty, who, although they might still be saved if they would take the natural means, when visible grounds of confidence forsake them, have recourse to the invisible, to prophecies and oracles and the like, which ruin men by the hopes which they inspire in them'

104. *Mel* 'We know only too well how hard the struggle must be against your power, and against fortune, if she does not mean to be impartial Nevertheless we do not despair of fortune, for we hope to stand as high as you in the favour of heaven, because we are righteous, and you against whom we contend are unrighteous, and we are satisfied that our deficiency in power will be compensated by the aid of our allies the Lacedaemonians, they cannot refuse to help us, if only because we are their kinsmen, and for the sake of their own honour. And therefore our confidence is not so utterly blind as you suppose'

105. *Ath.* 'As for the Gods, we expect to have quite as much of their favour as you for we are not doing or  
 That the stronger

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'they see her as she is in the moment of their fall, and afterwards, when she is known and they might be ware of her, she leaves them nothing worth saving'

B C 416 Ol 91 claiming anything which goes beyond common opinion V about divine or men's desires about human things For should rule over the weaker is a principle common to Gods and men of the Gods we believe, and of men we know, that by a law of their nature wherever they can rule they will Therefore the Gods are as likely to favour us as you This law was not made by us, and we are not the first And the Lacedaemonians look only to their interest who have acted upon it, we did but inherit it, and shall bequeath it to all time, and we know that you and all mankind, if you were as strong as we are, would do as we do So much for the Gods, we have told you why we expect to stand as high in their good opinion as you And then as to the Lacedaemonians—when you imagine that out of very shame they will assist you, we admire the simplicity of your idea, but we do not envy you the folly of it. The Lacedaemonians are exceedingly virtuous among themselves, and according to their national standard of morality<sup>a</sup> But, in respect of their dealings with others, although many things might be said, a word is enough to describe them,—of all men whom we know they are the most notorious for identifying what is pleasant with what is honourable, and what is expedient with what is just But how inconsistent is such a character with your present blind hope of deliverance<sup>1</sup>

*Mel* 'That is the very reason why we trust them, 106 they will look to their interest, and therefore will not be willing to betray the Melians, who are their own colonists, lest they should be distrusted by their friends in Hellas and play into the hands of their enemies.' But their interest will induce them to assist us

*Ath.* 'But do you not see that the path of expediency 107 is safe, whereas justice and honour involve danger in practice, and such dangers the Lacedaemonians seldom care to face?' Not when there is any danger

*Mel.* 'On the other hand, we think that whatever perils 108. there may be, they will be ready to face them for our sakes, and will consider danger less dangerous where we are concerned For <sup>b</sup> if they need our aid <sup>b</sup> we are But they may need our aid, and they are our kinsmen

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 68 int.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'when we need their aid'

V. close at hand, and they can better trust our loyal feeling B C 416  
Ol 91  
because we are their kinsmen'

109 *Ath* 'Yes, but what encourages men who are invited  
The aid which you can give is not sufficient to make them run into danger for your sakes. They will not come alone to an island  
to join in a conflict is clearly not the good-will of those who summon them to their side, but a decided superiority in real power. To this no men look more keenly than the Lacedaemonians, so little confidence have they in their own resources, that they only attack their neighbours when they have numerous allies, and therefore they are not likely to find their way by themselves to an island, when we are masters of the sea'

110 *Mel* 'But they may send their allies the Cretan sea  
Their ships may find their way to us, and they may themselves invade Attica and draw away your allies  
is a large place; and the masters of the sea will have more difficulty in overtaking vessels which want to escape than the pursued in escaping. If the attempt should fail they may invade Attica itself, and find their way to allies of yours whom Biasdas did not reach and then you will have to fight, not for the conquest of a land in which you have no concern, but nearer home, for the preservation of your confederacy and of your own territory'

111. *Ath*. 'Help may come from Lacedaemon to you as  
Wait and you will see. Nothing which you say is to the point. You are deluded by a false sense of honour. Think again  
it has come to others, and should you ever have actual experience of it, then you will know that never once have the Athenians retired from a siege through fear of a foe elsewhere. You told us that the safety of your city would be your first care, but we remark that, in this long discussion, not a word has been uttered by you which would give a reasonable man expectation of deliverance. Your strongest grounds are hopes deferred, and what power you have is not to be compared with that which is already arrayed against you. Unless after we have withdrawn you mean to come, as even now you may, to a wiser conclusion, you are showing a great want of sense. For surely you cannot dream of flying to that false sense of honour which has been the ruin of so many when danger and dishonour were staring them in the face. Many men with their eyes still open

B C 416  
Ol 9<sup>t</sup> to the consequences have found the word "honour" too much for them, and have suffered a mere name to lure them on, until it has drawn down upon them real and irretrievable calamities, through their own folly they have incurred a worse dishonour than fortune would have inflicted upon them. If you are wise you will not run this risk, you ought to see that there can be no disgrace in yielding to a great city which invites you to become her ally on reasonable terms, keeping your own land, and merely paying tribute, and that you will certainly gain no honour if, having to choose between two alternatives, safety and war, you obstinately prefer the worse. To maintain our rights against equals, to be politic with superiors, and to be moderate towards inferiors is the path of safety. Reflect once more when we have withdrawn, and say to yourselves over and over again that you are deliberating about your one and only country, which may be saved or may be destroyed by a single decision.

V.

The Athenians left the conference the Melians, after consulting among themselves, resolved to persevere in their refusal, and made answer as follows — 'Men of Athens, our resolution is unchanged, and we will not in a moment surrender that liberty which our city, founded seven hundred years ago, still enjoys, we will trust to the good-fortune which, by the favour of the Gods, has hitherto preserved us, and for human help to the Lacedaemonians, and endeavour to save ourselves. We are ready however to be your friends, and the enemies neither of you nor of the Lacedaemonians, and we ask you to leave our country when you have made such a peace as may appear to be in the interest of both parties.'

The  
Melians  
refuse to  
yield

I 12.

Such was the answer of the Melians, the Athenians, as they quitted the conference, spoke as follows — 'Well, we must say, judging from the decision at which you have arrived, that you are the only men who deem the future to be more certain than the present, and regard

I 13.

Last words  
of the  
Athenians

V things unseen as already realised in your fond anticipation, and that the more you cast yourselves upon the Lacedaemonians and fortune and hope, and trust them, the more complete will be your ruin' B C 416  
Ol 91

114. The Athenian envoys returned to the army, and the generals, when they found that the Melians would not yield, immediately commenced hostilities. They surrounded the town of Melos with a wall, dividing the work among the several contingents. They then left troops of their own and of their allies to keep guard both by land and by sea, and retired with the greater part of their army, the remainder carried on the blockade.

The Athenians blockade Melos

115. About the same time the Argives made an inroad into Phliasia, and lost nearly eighty men, who were caught in an ambuscade by the Phliasians and the Argive exiles. The Athenian garrison in Pylos took much spoil from the Lacedaemonians, nevertheless the latter did not renounce the peace and go to war, but only notified by a proclamation that if any one of their own people had a mind to make reprisals on the Athenians he might. The Corinthians next declared war upon the Athenians on some private grounds, but the rest of the Peloponnesians did not join them. The Melians took that part of the Athenian wall which looked towards the agora by a night assault, killed a few men, and brought in as much corn and other necessities as they could, they then retreated and remained inactive. After this the Athenians set a better watch. So the summer ended.

Inroad of Argives into Phliasia  
Athenians at Pylos  
Quarrel between Athens and Corinth  
Check of Athenians before Melos

116 In the following winter the Lacedaemonians had intended to make an expedition into the Argive territory, but finding that the sacrifices which they offered at the frontier were unfavourable<sup>a</sup> they returned home. The Argives, suspecting that the threatened invasion was instigated by citizens of their own, apprehended some of them, others however escaped.

The Lacedaemonians intending to invade Argolis are deterred by the sacrifices

About the same time the Melians took another

<sup>a</sup> Cp v 54, 55

B C 416 part of the Athenian wall, for the fortifications were V  
 Ol 91 insufficiently guarded Whereupon the Athenians sent Melostaken  
 fresh troops, under the command of Philociates the son and the  
 of Demeas The place was now closely invested, and male in-  
 there was treachery among the citizens themselves So habitants  
 the Melians were induced to surrender at discretion. put to  
 The Athenians thereupon put to death all who were of death.  
 military age, and made slaves of the women and children  
 They then colonised the island, sending thither five  
 hundred settlers of their own



## BOOK VI.

VI. 1. DURING the same winter the Athenians conceived a desire of sending another expedition to Sicily, larger than that commanded by Laches and Eurymedon<sup>a</sup>. They hoped to conquer the island. Of its great size and numerous population, barbarian as well as Hellenic, most of them knew nothing, and they never reflected that they were entering on a struggle almost as arduous as the Peloponnesian War. The voyage in a merchant-vessel round Sicily takes up nearly eight days, and this great island is all but a part of the mainland, being divided from it by a sea not much more than two miles in width.

2. I will now describe the original settlement of Sicily, and enumerate the nations which it contained. Oldest of all were (1) the Cyclopes and Laestrygonians, who are said to have dwelt in a district of the island, but who they were, whence they came, or whither they went, I cannot tell. We must be content with the legends of the poets, and every one must be left to form his own opinion. (2) The Sicani appear to have succeeded these early races, although according to their own account they were still older, for they profess to have been children of the soil. But the fact is that they were Iberians, and were driven from the river Sicani in Iberia by the Ligurians. Sicily, which was originally

The Athenians, ignorant of the size and resources of the island, determine to send a great expedition to Sicily

Thucydides describes the races by which the island was inhabited  
 1 The mythical Cyclopes and Laestrygonians  
 2 The Sicani from Spain said to be autochthons  
 3 Some Trojans, and 4 some Phoenicians,

<sup>a</sup> Cp III 115.

called Trinacria, received from them the name Sicania VI  
 To this day the Sicanians inhabit the western parts of the island (3) After the capture of Troy, some Trojans who had escaped from the Achaeans came in ships to Sicily, they settled near the Sicanians, and both took the name of Elymi The Elymi had two cities, Eryx and Egesta (4) These were joined by certain Phocians, who had also fought at Troy, and were driven by a storm first to Libya and thence to Sicily (5) The Sicels were originally inhabitants of Italy, whence they were driven by the Opici, and passed over into Sicily,—according to a probable tradition they crossed upon rafts taking advantage of the wind blowing from the land, but they may have found other ways of effecting a passage, there are Sicels still in Italy, and the country itself was so called from Italus a Sicel king They entered Sicily with a large army, and defeating the Sicanians in battle, drove them back to the southern and western parts of the country, from them the island, formerly Sicania, took the name of Sicily For nearly three hundred years after their arrival until the time when the Hellenes came to Sicily they occupied the most fertile districts, and they still inhabit the central and southern regions (6) The Phoenicians at one time had settlements all round the island They fortified headlands on the sea-coast, and settled in the small islands adjacent, for the sake of trading with the Sicels, but when the Hellenes began to find their way by sea to Sicily in greater numbers they withdrew from the larger part of the island, and forming a union established themselves in Motya, Soloeis, and Panormus, in the neighbourhood of the Elymi, partly trusting to their alliance with them, and partly because this is the point at which the passage from Carthage to Sicily is shortest Such were the Barbarian nations who inhabited Sicily, and these were their settlements

(7) The first Hellenic colonists sailed from Chalcis in Euboea under the leadership of Thucles, and founded Naxos, there they erected an altar in honour of Apollo

VI  
 who came  
 to Sicily  
 after the fall  
 of Troy  
 5 The  
 Sicels from  
 Italy  
 6 The  
 Phoeni-  
 cians

3  
 7 The  
 Hellenic  
 colonies —

VI. the Founder, <sup>a</sup> which is still standing without the city<sup>a</sup>, and on this altar religious embassies sacrifice before they sail from Sicily (8) In the following year Archias, one of the Heraclidae, came from Corinth and founded Syracuse, first driving the Sicels out of the island of Ortygia, and there the inner city, no longer surrounded by the sea, now stands<sup>b</sup>, in process of time the outer city was included within the walls and became populous (9) In the fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse Thucles and the Chalcidians went forth from Naxos, and driving out the Sicels by force of arms, founded first Leontini, then Catana The Catanaeans however chose a founder of their own, named Evarchus

4. (10) About the same time Lamis came from Megara bringing a colony to Sicily, where he occupied a place called Trotilus, upon the river Pantacynas, but he soon afterwards joined the settlement of the Chalcidians at Leontini, with them he dwelt a short time, until he was driven out, he then founded Thapsus, where he died His followers quitted Thapsus and founded the city which is called the Hyblaeon Megara, Hyblon, a Sicel king, had betrayed the place to them and guided them thither There they remained two hundred and forty-five years, and were then driven out of their town and land by Gelo the tyrant of Syracuse, but before they were driven out, and a hundred years after their own foundation, they sent out Pamillus and founded Selinus, he had come from Megara, their own mother state, to take part in the new colony (11) In the forty-fifth year after the foundation of Syracuse, Antiphemus of Rhodes and Entimus of Crete came with their followers and together built Gela The city was named from the river Gela, but the spot which is now the Acropolis and was first fortified is called Lindu The institutions of the new settlement were Dorian. Exactly a hundred and eight years after their own foundation the inhabitants of

(1) Naxos, from Chalcis, about 735 B C  
(2) Syiaccus, from Corinth, about 734 B C  
(3) Leontini, 730 B C, and (4) Catana, from Naxos

(5) Trotilus, (6) Thapsus, and (7) the Hyblaeon Megara, from Megara, about 728 B C  
(8) Selinus, from the Hyblaeon Megara, 628 B C  
(9) Gela, from Rhodes and Crete, 690 B C  
(10) Agrigentum, from Gela, 582 B C  
(11) Zancle or Messene, from Cyme

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'which is now outside the city'

<sup>b</sup> Reading *περικλυζομένη* with all the MSS.

Gela founded Agrigentum, which they named from the river Acragas, they appointed Aristonous and Pystilus founders of the place, and gave to it their own institutions (12) Zancle was originally colonised by pirates who came from Cymè, the Chalcidian city in Opicia, these were followed by a large body of colonists from Chalcis and the rest of Euboea, who shared in the allotment of the soil. The first settlement was led by Perieres of Cymè, the second by Crataemenes of Chalcis. Zancle was the original name of the place, a name given by the Sicels because the site was in shape like a sickle, for which the Sicel word is Zancion. These earlier settlers were afterwards driven out by the Samians and other Ionians, who when they fled from the Persians found their way to Sicily<sup>a</sup>. Not long afterwards Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegium, drove out these Samians. He then repopled their city with a mixed multitude, and called the place Messenè after his native country.

B C 494  
Ol 71, 3

B C 648?  
Ol 33<sup>7</sup>

Himera was colonised from Zancle by Eucleides, Simus, and Sacon. Most of the settlers were Chalcidian, but the Myletidae, Syracusan exiles who had been defeated in a civil war, took part in the colony. Their language was a mixture of the Chalcidian and Doric dialects, but their institutions were mainly Chalcidian (13) Acrae and Casmenae were founded by the Syracusans, Acrae seventy years after Syracuse, and Casmenae nearly twenty years after Acrae. Camarina was originally founded by the Syracusans exactly a hundred and thirty-five years after the foundation of Syracuse, the founders were Dascon and Menecolus. But the Camarinaeans revolted, and as a punishment for their revolt were violently expelled by the Syracusans. After a time Hippocrates the tyrant of Gela, receiving the territory of Camarina<sup>b</sup> as the ransom of certain Syracusan prisoners, became the second founder of the place, which he colonised anew. The inhabitants were once more

VI  
5  
(12) Himera,  
from Zancle  
(13) Acrae,  
664 B C,  
and (14)  
Casmenae,  
644 B C,  
from Syracuse  
(15) Camarina,  
from Syracuse,  
599 B C

B C 498-  
491  
Ol 70, 3-  
72, 2

<sup>a</sup> Cp Herod vi 22, 23

<sup>b</sup> Cp Herod vii 154

VI. driven out by Gelo, <sup>a</sup> who himself colonised the city for the third time <sup>a</sup>

B C 491-  
478  
Ol 72, 2-  
75, 3  
B C 416  
Ol 91

6

Ambition  
was the real  
motive of  
the Sicilian  
expedition,  
for which  
the Athe-  
nians found  
an occasion  
in the war  
between  
Egesta and  
Selinus.  
The Eges-  
taean  
envoys

These were the nations, Hellenic or Barbarian, who inhabited Sicily, and such was the great island on which the Athenians were determined to make war. They virtuously professed that they were going to assist their own kinsmen and their newly-acquired allies <sup>b</sup>, but the simple truth was that they aspired to the empire of Sicily. They were principally instigated by an embassy which had come from Egesta and was urgent in requesting aid. The Egestaeans had gone to war with the neighbouring city of Selinus about certain questions of marriage and about a disputed piece of land. The Selinuntians summoned the Syracusans to their assistance, and their united forces reduced the Egestaeans to great straits both by sea and land. The Egestaeans envoys reminded the Athenians of the alliance which they had made with the Leontines under Laches in the former war <sup>c</sup>, and begged them to send ships to their relief. Their chief argument was, that if the Syracusans were not punished for the expulsion of the Leontines, but were allowed to destroy the remaining allies of the Athenians, and to get the whole of Sicily into their own hands, they would one day come with a great army, Dorians assisting Dorians, who were their kinsmen, and colonists assisting their Peloponnesian founders, and would unite in overthrowing Athens herself. Such being the danger, the Athenians would be wise in combining with the allies who were still left to them in Sicily against the Syracusans, especially since the Egestaeans would themselves provide money sufficient for the war. These arguments were constantly repeated in the ears of the Athenian assembly by the Egestaeans and their partisans, at length the people passed a vote that they

<sup>a</sup> Or, adopting the conjecture Γελῶων 'and the city was colonised for the third time by the inhabitants of Gela' This accords with the statement of Diodorus, xi 76

<sup>b</sup> The Camarinaeans and Agrigentines, v 4 fin, and some of the Sicels, iii. 103 init, 115 init.

<sup>c</sup> Cp. iii 86.

BC 416 would at all events send envoys to ascertain on the spot VI.  
 Ol 9<sup>1</sup> whether the Eggestaeans really had the money which they  
 professed to have in their treasury and in their temples,  
 and to report on the state of the war with Selinus. So  
 the Athenian envoys were despatched to Sicily.

During the same winter the Lacedaemonians and their 7  
 allies, all but the Corinthians, made an expedition into  
 the Argive territory, of which they devastated a small  
 part, and, having brought with them waggons, carried  
 away a few loads of corn. They settled the Argive  
 exiles at Orneae, where they left a small garrison  
 and having made an agreement that the inhabitants of  
 Orneae and the Argives should not injure one another's  
 land for a given time, returned home with the rest of  
 their army. Soon afterwards the Athenians arrived with  
 thirty ships and six hundred hoplites. They and the  
 people of Argos with their whole power went out and  
 blockaded Orneae for a day, but at night the Argive  
 exiles within the walls got away unobserved by the  
 besiegers, who were encamped at some distance. On  
 the following day the Argives, perceiving what had hap-  
 pened, razed Orneae to the ground and returned. Soon  
 afterwards the Athenian fleet returned likewise.

The Lacedaemonians invade Argolis, they settle at Orneae the Argive exiles, who are treacherously attacked by the Argive people, assisted by the Athenians, but escape

The Athenians also conveyed by sea cavalry of their own, and some Macedonian exiles who had taken refuge with them, to Methonè on the borders of Macedonia, and ravaged the territory of Perdiccas. Whereupon the Lacedaemonians sent to the Thracian Chalcidians, who were maintaining an armistice terminable at ten days' notice with the Athenians, and commanded them to assist Perdiccas, but they refused. So the winter ended, and with it the sixteenth year in the Peloponnesian War of which Thucydides wrote the history.

The Athenians ravage Macedonia

BC 415 Early in the next spring the Athenian envoys returned 8  
 Ol 9<sup>1, 2</sup> from Sicily. They were accompanied by Eggestaeans who  
 brought sixty talents<sup>a</sup> of uncoined silver, being a month's  
 pay for sixty vessels which they hoped to obtain from

The Athenians after the return of their envoys

<sup>a</sup> £14,400

VI. Athens The Athenians called an assembly, and when they heard both from their own and from the Eggestæan envoys, amongst other inviting but untrue statements, that there was abundance of money lying ready in the temples and in the treasury of Eggesta<sup>a</sup>, they passed a vote that sixty ships should be sent to Sicily, Alcibiades the son of Cleinias, Nicias the son of Niceratus, and Lamachus the son of Xenophanes were appointed commanders. They were told to assist Eggesta against Selinus, if this did not demand all their military strength; they were empowered to restore the Leontines, and generally to further in such manner as they deemed best the Athenian interest in Sicily. Five days afterwards another assembly was called to consider what steps should be taken for the immediate equipment of the expedition, and to vote any additional supplies which the generals might require. Nicias, who had been appointed general against his will, thought that the people had come to a wrong conclusion, and that upon slight and flimsy grounds they were aspiring to the conquest of Sicily, which was no easy task. So, being desirous of diverting the Athenians from their purpose, he came forward and admonished them in the following terms —

9 'I know that we are assembled here to discuss the preparations which are required for our expedition to Sicily, but in my judgment it is still a question whether we ought to go thither at all, we should not be hasty in determining a matter of so much importance, or allow ourselves to rush into an impolitic war at the instigation of foreigners. Yet to me personally war brings honour, and I am as careless as any man about my own life: not that I think the worse of a citizen who takes a little thought about his life or his property, for I believe that the sense of a man's own interest will quicken his interest in the prosperity of the state. But I have never been induced by the love of reputation to say a single

convoke an assembly, which decides in favour of war  
At a second assembly, called for the purpose of voting supplies, Nicias still endeavours to deter them from going to war at all

I must say what I believe to be the truth  
This war is impolitic and ill-timed

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi. 46

BC 415 word contrary to what I thought, neither will I now I VI  
 Ol 91, 2 will say simply what I believe to be best. If I told you to  
 take care of what you have and not to throw away present  
 advantages in order to gain an uncertain and distant  
 good, my words would be powerless against a temper like  
 yours. I would rather argue that this is not the time,  
 and that your great aims will not be easily realised.

‘I tell you that in going to Sicily you are leaving IO.  
 many enemies behind you, and seem to be bent on  
 bringing new ones hither. You are perhaps relying The state of  
 upon the treaty recently made, which if you remain quiet our affairs  
 may retain the name of a treaty, for to a mere name in Hellas is  
 intrigues of certain persons both here and at Lacedae- uncertain,  
 mon have nearly succeeded in reducing it, and while  
 But if you we are  
 meet with any serious reverse, your enemies will be upon dreaming of  
 you in a moment, for the agreement was originally conquests  
 extracted from them by the pressure of misfortune, and abroad we  
 the discredit of it fell to them and not to us<sup>a</sup>. In the treaty shall be  
 itself there are many disputed points, and, unsatisfactory attracting  
 as it is, to this hour several cities, and very powerful enemies at  
 cities too, persist in rejecting it. Some of these are at home  
 open war with us already<sup>b</sup>, others may declare war at The Chal-  
 ten days’ notice<sup>c</sup>, and they only remain at peace because cidians are  
 the Lacedaemonians are indisposed to move. And in still in 16-  
 all probability, if they find our power divided (and such bellion  
 a division is precisely what we are striving to create),  
 they will eagerly join the Sicilians, whose alliance in the  
 war they would long ago have given anything to obtain.  
 These considerations should weigh with us. The state  
 is far from the desired haven, and we should not run  
 into danger and seek to gain a new empire before we  
 have fully secured the old. The Chalcidians in Thrace  
 have been rebels all these years and remain unsubdued,  
 and there are other subjects of ours in various parts of  
 the mainland who are uncertain in their allegiance.  
 And we forsooth cannot lose a moment in avenging the

<sup>a</sup> Cp. v 46 init<sup>b</sup> Cp. v 115 med.<sup>c</sup> Cp. v 26 med, vi 7 fin



VI. wrongs of our allies the Eggestaeans, while we still defer the punishment of our revolted subjects, whose offences are of long standing B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

II 'And yet if we subdue the Chalcidian rebels we may retain our hold on them, but Sicily is a populous and distant country, over which, even if we are victorious, we shall hardly be able to maintain our dominion. And how foolish is it to select for attack a land which no conquest can secure, while he who fails to conquer will not be where he was before!'

The Sicilians, if they were united, would not help Sparta to make war upon you, because they would fear that a united Hellas might make war upon them. The less an enemy is known, the more he is feared. Familiarity makes you despise the Lacedaemonians, but they are biding their time.

'I should say that the Sicilians are not dangerous to you,—certainly not in their present condition, and they would be even less so if they were to fall under the sway of the Syracusans (and this is the prospect with which the Eggestaeans would fain scare you). At present individuals might cross the sea out of friendship for the Lacedaemonians, but if the states of Sicily were all united in one empire they would not be likely to make war upon another empire. For whatever chance they may have of overthrowing us if they unite with the Peloponnesians, there will be the same chance of their being overthrown themselves if the Peloponnesians and Athenians are ever united against them<sup>a</sup>. The Hellenes in Sicily will dread us most if we never come, in a less degree if we display our strength and speedily depart, but if any disaster occur, they will despise us and be ready enough to join the enemies who are attacking us here. We all know that men have the greatest respect for that which is farthest off, and for that of which the reputation has been least tested, and this, Athenians, you may verify by your own experience. There was a time when you feared the Lacedaemonians and their allies, but now you have got the better of them, and because your first fears have not been realised you despise them, and even hope to conquer Sicily. But you ought not to be elated at the chance mishaps of your enemies; before you can be confident you should

<sup>a</sup> Cp viii 46

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

have gained the mastery over their minds<sup>a</sup>. Remember that the Lacedaemonians are sensitive to their disgrace, and that their sole thought is how they may even yet find a way of inflicting a blow upon us which will retrieve their own character, the rather because they have laboured so earnestly and so long to win a name for valour. If we are wise we shall not trouble ourselves about the barbarous Eggestaeans in Sicily, the real question is how we can make ourselves secure against the designs of an insidious oligarchy.

VI.

‘We must remember also that we have only just recovered in some measure from a great plague and a great war, and are beginning to make up our losses in men and money. It is our duty to expend our new resources upon ourselves at home, and not upon begging exiles who have an interest in successful lies, who find it expedient only to contribute words, and let others fight their battles, and who, if saved, prove ungrateful, if they fail, as they very likely may, only involve their friends in a common ruin.’

I 2.

We have plenty of work at home, and had better leave these adventurers to themselves.

‘I dare say there may be some young man here who is delighted at holding a command, and the more so because he is too young for his post<sup>b</sup>, and he, regarding only his own interest, may recommend you to sail, he may be one who is much admired for his stud of horses, and wants to make something out of his command which will maintain him in his extravagance. But do not you give him the opportunity of indulging his own magnificent tastes at the expense of the state. Remember that men of this stamp impoverish themselves and defraud the public. An expedition to Sicily is a serious business, and not one which a mere youth can plan and carry into execution off-hand. The youth of whom I am speaking has summoned to his side young men like himself, whom, not without alarm, I see sitting by him in this assembly, and I appeal against them to you elder

Alcibiades is too young to command such an expedition, and he only wants to indulge his taste for horses at the public expense.

I 3

He has his youthful supporters, who rather alarm me.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. II 87 init, VI 72 init

<sup>b</sup> Omitting the comma after *ἐκπλεῖν*.

## VI.

They will charge you with cowardice, but never mind that Do not interfere in Sicily, let the Egæstæans fight their own battles

citizens If any of you should be placed next one of his supporters I would not have him ashamed, or afraid, of being thought a coward if he does not vote for war Do not, like them, entertain a desperate craving for things out of your reach, you know that by prevision many successes are gained, but few or none by mere greed On behalf of our country, now on the brink of the greatest danger which she has ever known, I entreat you to hold up your hands against them Do not interfere with the boundaries which divide us from Sicily. I mean the Ionian gulf which parts us if we sail along the coast, the Sicilian sea if we sail through the open water, these are quite satisfactory The Sicilians have their own country, let them manage their own concerns And let the Egæstæans in particular be informed that, having originally gone to war with the Selinuntians on their own account, they must make peace on their own account. Let us have no more allies such as ours have too often been, whom we are expected to assist when they are in misfortune, but to whom we ourselves when in need may look in vain

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

## I 4

The Prytanis need not fear to bring before you once more the question of the expedition itself

‘And you, Prytanis, as you wish to be a good citizen, and believe that the welfare of the state is entrusted to you, put my proposal to the vote, and lay the question once more before the Athenians If you hesitate, remember that in the presence of so many witnesses there can be no question of breaking the law, and that you will be the physician of the state at the critical moment The first duty of the good magistrate is to do the very best which he can for his country, or, at least, to do her no harm which he can avoid’

## I 5

The Athenians refuse to rescind the former vote The war is strongly advocated by Alcibiades, who wants

Such were the words of Nicias Most of the Athenians who came forward to speak were in favour of war, and reluctant to rescind the vote which had been already passed, although a few took the other side. The most enthusiastic supporter of the expedition was Alcibiades the son of Cleinias, he was determined to oppose Nicias, who was always his political enemy and had just now

BC 415  
Ol 91, 2

spoken of him in disparaging terms, but the desire to command was even a stronger motive with him. He was hoping that he might be the conqueror of Sicily and Carthage, and that success would repair his private fortunes, and gain him money as well as glory. He had a great position among the citizens and was devoted to horse-racing and other pleasures which outran his means. And in the end his wild courses went far to ruin the Athenian state. For the people feared the extremes to which he carried his lawless self-indulgence, and the far-reaching purposes which animated him in all his actions. They thought that he was aiming at a tyranny and set themselves against him. And therefore, although his talents as a military commander were unrivalled, they entrusted the administration of the war to others, because they personally objected to his private life, and so they speedily shipwrecked the state. He now came forward and spoke as follows —

‘I have a better right to command, men of Athens, than another, for as Nicias has attacked me, I must begin by praising myself, and I consider that I am worthy. Those doings of mine for which I am so much cried out against are an honour to myself and to my ancestors, and a solid advantage to my country. In consequence of the distinguished manner in which I represented the state at Olympia, the other Hellenes formed an idea of our power which even exceeded the reality, although they had previously imagined that we were exhausted by war. I sent into the lists seven chariots,—no other private man ever did the like, I was victor, and also won the second and fourth prize, and I ordered everything in a style worthy of my victory. The general sentiment honours such magnificence, and the energy which is shown by it creates an impression of power. At home, again, whenever I gain éclat by providing choruses or by the performance of some other public duty, although the citizens are naturally jealous of me, to strangers these acts of munificence are a new

VI  
to gain an empire and to pay his own debts. Thucydides thinks that his wild courses went far to ruin the state. For notwithstanding his extraordinary talents he was not trusted, and the conduct of the war was committed to inferior men.

16  
My private extravagance is a public benefit. And why should men complain of being looked down upon by the fortunate? For they look down upon the unfortunate themselves. Great men have great ambitions, but their merits are not acknowledged during their lifetime. The foolish youth gained for you the Argive alliance.

VI. argument of our strength There is some use in the folly of a man who at his own cost benefits not only himself, but the state And where is the injustice, if I or any one who feels his own superiority to another refuses to be on a level with him? The unfortunate keep their misfortunes to themselves We do not expect to be recognised by our acquaintance when we are down in the world, and on the same principle why should any one complain when treated with disdain by the more fortunate? He who would have proper respect shown to him should himself show it towards others. I know that men of this lofty spirit, and all who have been in any way illustrious, are hated while they are alive, by their equals especially, and in a lesser degree by others who have to do with them, but that they leave behind them to after-ages a reputation which leads even those who are not of their family to claim kindred with them, and that they are the glory of their country, which regards them, not as aliens or as evil-doers, but as her own children, of whose character she is proud. These are my own aspirations, and this is the reason why my private life is assailed, but let me ask you, whether in the management of public affairs any man surpasses me Did I not, without involving you in any great danger or expense, combine the most powerful states of Peloponnesus against the Lacedaemonians, whom I compelled to stake at Mantinea all that they had upon the fortune of one day? and even to this hour, although they were victorious in the battle, they have hardly recovered courage

17.

And now  
abide by  
your in-  
tention  
There is  
nothing to  
fear in  
Sicily  
The Sici-  
lians are a

‘These were the achievements of my youth, and of what is supposed to be my monstrous folly, thus did I by winning words conciliate the Peloponnesian powers, and my heartiness made them believe in me and follow me And now do not be afraid<sup>a</sup> of me because I am young, but while I am in the flower of my days and Nicias enjoys the reputation of success, use the services

<sup>a</sup> Adopting the conjecture *πεφόβησθε*, and placing a full stop after *ἐπεισε*.

BC 415  
Ol 91, 2

of us both Having determined to sail, do not change VI.

your minds under the impression that Sicily is a great power. For although the Sicilian cities are populous, their inhabitants are a mixed multitude, and they readily give up old forms of government and receive new ones from without. No one really feels that he has a city of his own, and so the individual is ill-provided with arms, and the country has no regular means of defence. A man looks only to what he can win from the common stock by arts of speech or by party violence, hoping, if he is overthrown, at any rate to carry off his prize and enjoy it elsewhere. They are a motley crew, who are never of one mind in counsel, and are incapable of any concert in action. Every man is for himself, and will readily come over to any one who makes an attractive offer, the more readily if, as report says, they are in a state of revolution. They boast of their hoplites, but, as has proved to be the case in all Hellenic states, the number of them is grossly exaggerated. Hellas has been singularly mistaken about her heavy infantry, and even in this war it was as much as she could do to collect enough of them. The obstacles then which will meet us in Sicily, judging of them from the information which I have received, are not great, indeed, I have overrated them, for there will be many barbarians who, through fear of the Syracusans, will join us in attacking them<sup>a</sup>. And at home there is nothing which, viewed rightly, need interfere with the expedition. Our forefathers had the same enemies whom we are now told that we are leaving behind us, and the Persian besides, but their strength lay in the greatness of their navy, and by that and that alone they gained their empire. Never were the Peloponnesians more hopeless of success than at the present moment, and let them be ever so confident, they can only invade us by land, which they will equally do whether we go to Sicily or not. But on the sea they

mixed multitude, ill provided with infantry, and many of the barbarians will assist us. At home we are more than a match for the Peloponnesians

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 88 mit, 98 mit, 103 med

VI cannot hurt us, for we shall leave behind us a navy equal to theirs B.C. 415  
Ol. 91, 2

18. 'What reason can we give to ourselves for hesitation ?

Why then  
hesitate ?  
For an  
imperial  
power the  
true policy  
of defence  
is to attack.  
We cannot  
lose, and  
we shall  
probably  
become  
masters of  
Hellas.  
Let young  
and old act  
together  
and not  
allow the  
state to rust  
from want  
of energy

what excuse can we make to our allies for denying them aid ? We have sworn to them, and have no right to argue that they never assisted us<sup>a</sup>. In seeking their alliance we did not intend that they should come and help us here, but that they should harass our enemies in Sicily, and prevent them from coming hither. Like all other imperial powers, we have acquired our dominion by our readiness to assist any one, whether Barbarian or Hellene, who may have invoked our aid. If we are all to sit and do nothing, or to draw distinctions of race when our help is requested, we shall add little to our empire, and run a great risk of losing it altogether. For mankind do not await the attack of a superior power, they anticipate it. We cannot cut down an empire as we might a household, but having once gained our present position, we must keep a firm hold upon some, and contrive occasion against others, for if we are not rulers we shall be subjects. You cannot afford to regard inaction in the same light as others might, unless you impose a corresponding restriction on your policy. Convinced then that we shall be most likely to increase our power here if we attack our enemies there, let us sail. We shall humble the pride of the Peloponnesians when they see that, scorning the delights of repose, we have attacked Sicily. By the help of our acquisitions there, we shall probably become masters of all Hellas, at any rate we shall injure the Syracusans, and at the same time benefit ourselves and our allies. Whether we succeed and remain or depart, in either case our navy will ensure our safety, for at sea we shall be more than a match for all Sicily. Nicias must not divert you from your purpose by preaching indolence, and by trying to set the young against the old ; rather in your accustomed order, old and young taking counsel

<sup>a</sup> Cp. *AV* 61 *med*

BC 415  
Ol 91, 2

together, after the manner of your fathers who raised VI.  
Athens to this height of greatness, strive to rise yet  
higher. Consider that youth and age have no power  
unless united, but that the lighter and the more exact  
and the middle sort of judgment, when duly tempered,  
are likely to be most efficient. The state, if at rest, like  
everything else will wear herself out by internal friction.  
Every pursuit which requires skill will bear the impress  
of decay, whereas by conflict fresh experience is always  
being gained, and the city learns to defend herself, not  
in theory, but in practice. My opinion in short is, that  
a state used to activity will quickly be ruined by the  
change to inaction, and that they of all men enjoy the  
greatest security who are truest to themselves and their  
institutions even when they are not the best.

Such were the words of Alcibiades. After hearing 19  
him and the Egestacans and certain Leontine exiles  
who came forward and earnestly entreated assistance,  
reminding the Athenians of the oaths which they had  
sworn<sup>a</sup>, the people were more than ever resolved upon  
war. Nicias, seeing that his old argument would no  
longer deter them, but that he might possibly change  
their minds if he insisted on the magnitude of the force  
which would be required, came forward again and spoke  
as follows —

‘Men of Athens, as I see that you are thoroughly 20  
determined to go to war, I accept the decision, and  
will advise you accordingly, trusting that the event will  
be such as we all wish. The cities which we are about  
to attack are, I am informed, powerful, and independent  
of one another, they are not inhabited by slaves, who  
would gladly pass out of a harder into an easier con-  
dition of life, and they are very unlikely to accept our  
rule in exchange for their present liberty<sup>b</sup>. As regards  
numbers, although Sicily is but one island, it contains  
a great many Hellenic states. Not including Naxos  
and Catana (of which the inhabitants, as I hope, will be

The people  
are bent on  
war. Nicias  
now dwells  
on the mag-  
nitude of  
the forces  
required

The Hel-  
lenic cities  
in Sicily are  
free and  
powerful,  
they have  
numerous  
hoplites and  
cavalry

<sup>a</sup> Cp III 86

<sup>b</sup> Cp VII 55 fin



VI our allies because they are the kinsmen of the Leontines), <sup>B C 415</sup>  
 there are seven other cities fully provided with means <sup>Ol 91, 2</sup>  
 of warfare similar to our own, especially Selinus and  
 Syracuse, the cities against which our expedition is  
 particularly directed. For they have numerous hoplites,  
 archers, and javelin-men, and they have many triremes  
 which their large population will enable them to man,  
 besides their private wealth, they have the treasures of  
 the Selinuntian temples, and the Syracusans receive a  
 tribute which has been paid them from time immemorial  
 by certain barbarian tribes. Moreover, they have  
 a numerous cavalry, and grow their own corn instead of  
 importing it. In the two last respects they have a great  
 advantage over us.

21 'Against such a power more is needed than an in-  
 significant force of marines, if we mean to do justice  
 to our design. <sup>a</sup> we must embark a multitude of infantry,  
 neither must we allow ourselves to be kept within our  
 lines by the numbers of their cavalry. <sup>a</sup> For what if the  
 Sicilians in terror combine against us, and we make no  
 friends except the Egestacans who can furnish us with  
 housemen capable of opposing theirs? To be driven  
 from the island or to send for reinforcements, because  
 we were wanting in forethought at first, would be dis-  
 graceful. We must take a powerful armament with us  
 from home, in the full knowledge that we are going to a  
 distant land, and that the expedition will be <sup>b</sup> of a kind  
 very different from any which you have hitherto made  
 among your subjects against some enemy in this part  
 of the world, yourselves the allies of others. Here a  
 friendly country is always near, and you can easily  
 obtain supplies. There <sup>c</sup> you will be dependent on a  
 country <sup>c</sup> which is entirely strange to you, and whence

And we  
 must take  
 with us a  
 correspond-  
 ing force  
 of hoplites,  
 and if  
 not of  
 cavalry, of  
 javelin-men  
 and archers,  
 for we shall  
 be in a  
 distant  
 country

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'and not to be kept within our lines by the numbers of their cavalry, we must embark a multitude of infantry.'

<sup>b</sup> Reading *στρατευσόμενοι* and *ἀπαρτήσαντες*.

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'you will be removed to a country,' or, reading with Bekker *ἀπαρτήσαντες*, 'you will find yourselves dependent on,' or 'will have been removed to a country.'

BC 415 during the four winter months hardly even a message VI.  
Ol 91, 2 can be sent hither.

‘I say, therefore, that we must take with us a large 22  
heavy-armed force both of Athenians and of allies, <sup>Food must be brought from home, and we must have the command of the sea that we may be able to procure supplies from elsewhere</sup>  
whether our own subjects or any Peloponnesians whom  
we can persuade<sup>a</sup> or attract by pay<sup>b</sup> to our service, also  
plenty of archers and javelin-men to act against the  
enemy’s cavalry Our naval superiority must be over-  
whelming, that we may not only be able to fight, but  
may have no difficulty in bringing in supplies. And  
there is the food carried from home, such as wheat and  
parched barley, which will have to be conveyed in  
merchant-vessels, we must also have bakers, drafted in  
a certain proportion from each mill, who will receive pay,  
but will be forced to serve, in order that, if we should be  
detained by a calm, the army may not want food, for it  
is not every city that will be able to receive so large a  
force as ours We must make our preparations as com-  
plete as possible, and not be at the mercy of others,  
above all, we must take out with us as much money  
as we can, for as to the supplies of the Egestaeans which  
are said to be awaiting us, we had better assume that  
they are imaginary

‘Even supposing we leave Athens with a force of our 23.  
own, not merely equal to that of the enemy, but in every <sup>We must leave nothing to chance</sup>  
way superior, except indeed as regards the number of  
hoplites which they can put into the field, for in that  
respect equality is impossible, still it will be no easy task  
to conquer Sicily, or indeed to preserve ourselves You  
ought to consider that we are like men going to found a  
city in a land of strangers and enemies, who on the very  
day of their disembarkation must have command of the  
country, for if they meet with a disaster they will have no  
friends. And this is what I fear. We shall have much  
need of prudence, still more of good-fortune (and who  
can guarantee this to mortals?). Wherefore I would trust

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 29 med

<sup>b</sup> Cp vi 43 med ; vii 57 fin

VI. myself and the expedition as little as possible to accident, and would not sail until I had taken such precautions as will be likely to ensure our safety. This I conceive to be the course which is the most prudent for the whole state, and, for us who are sent upon the expedition, a security against danger. If any one thinks otherwise, to him I resign the command' B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

24. These were the words of Nicias. He meant either to deter the Athenians by bringing home to them the vastness of the undertaking, or to provide as far as he could for the safety of the expedition if he were compelled to proceed. The result disappointed him. Far from losing their enthusiasm at the disagreeable prospect, they were more determined than ever, they approved of his advice, and were confident that every chance of danger was now removed. All alike were seized with a passionate desire to sail, the elder among them convinced that they would achieve the conquest of Sicily,—at any rate such an aimment could suffer no disaster, the youth were longing to see with their own eyes the marvels of a distant land, and were confident of a safe return, the main body of the troops expected to receive present pay, and to conquer a country which would be an inexhaustible mine of pay for the future. The enthusiasm of the majority was so overwhelming that, although some disapproved, they were afraid of being thought unpatriotic if they voted on the other side, and therefore held their peace.

25. At last an Athenian came forward, and calling upon Nicias, said that they would have no more excuses and delays, he must speak out and say what forces the people were to vote him. He replied, with some unwillingness, that he would prefer to consider the matter at leisure with his colleagues, but that, as far as he could see at present, they ought to have at least a hundred triremes of their own, of these a certain number might be used as transports<sup>a</sup>, and they must order more

The Athenians are not deterred by the vast force required, the greater the preparation the more they are assured of safety

Nicias gives a provisional estimate of the forces required

<sup>a</sup> Cp ch 31 init, 43 init

BC 415 times from their allies Of heavy-armed troops they VI  
 Ol 91, 2 would require in all, including Athenians and allies,  
 not less than five thousand, and more if they could  
 possibly have them, the rest of the armament must  
 be in proportion, and should comprise archers to be  
 procured both at home and from Crete, and slingers  
 These forces, and whatever else seemed to be required,  
 the generals would make ready before they started

Upon this the Athenians at once decreed that the 26  
 generals should be empowered to act as they thought  
 best in the interest of the state respecting the numbers of <sup>Preparations for</sup>  
 the army and the whole management of the expedition war  
 Then the preparations began Lists for service were  
 made up at home and orders given to the allies The  
 city had newly recovered from the plague and from the  
 constant pressure of war, a new population had grown  
 up, there had been time for the accumulation of money  
 during the peace, so that there was abundance of  
 everything at command

While they were in the midst of their preparations, 27.  
 the Hermae <sup>a</sup> or square stone figures carved after the <sup>Meanwhile</sup>  
 ancient Athenian fashion, and standing everywhere at <sup>occurs the</sup>  
 the doorways <sup>a</sup> both of temples and private houses, in <sup>outrage on</sup>  
 one night had nearly all of them throughout the city <sup>the Her-</sup>  
 their faces mutilated The offenders were not known, <sup>mae the</sup>  
 but great rewards were publicly offered for their detec- <sup>unknown</sup>  
 tion, and a decree was passed that any one, whether <sup>authors of</sup>  
 citizen, stranger, or slave, might without fear of punish- <sup>it are sus-</sup>  
 ment disclose this or any other profanation of which he <sup>pected of</sup>  
 was cognizant The Athenians took the matter greatly <sup>designs</sup>  
 to heart—it seemed to them ominous of the fate of the <sup>against the</sup>  
 expedition; and they ascribed it to conspirators who <sup>democracy</sup>  
 wanted to effect a revolution and to overthrow the  
 democracy

Certain metics and servants gave information, not 28.

<sup>a</sup> Or *κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχωριον* may be taken with πολλοί 'or square figures of carved stone which, after the ancient Athenian fashion, usually stand at the doorways' etc

VI. indeed about the Hermae, but about the mutilation of other statues which had shortly before been perpetrated by some young men in a drunken frolic they also said that the mysteries were repeatedly profaned by the celebration of them in private houses, and of this impiety they accused, among others, Alcibiades. A party who were jealous of his influence over the people, which interfered with the permanent establishment of their own, thinking that if they could get rid of him they would be supreme<sup>a</sup>, took up and exaggerated the charges against him, clamorously insisting that both the mutilation of the Hermae and the profanation of the mysteries were part of a conspiracy against the democracy, and that he was at the bottom of the whole affair. In proof they alleged the excesses of his ordinary life, which were unbecoming in the citizen of a free state

29. He strove then and there to clear himself of the charges, and also offered to be tried before he sailed (for all was now ready), in order that, if he were guilty, he might be punished, and if acquitted, might retain his command. He adjured his countrymen to listen to no calumnies which might be propagated against him in his absence, and he protested that they would be wiser in not sending a man who had so serious an imputation hanging over him on a command so important. But his enemies feared that if the trial took place at once he would have the support of the army, and that the people would be lenient,<sup>b</sup> and would not forget that<sup>b</sup> he had induced the Argives and some Mantineans to join in the expedition. They therefore exerted themselves to postpone the trial. To this end they suborned fresh speakers, who proposed that he should sail now and not delay the expedition, but should return and stand his trial within a certain number of days. Their intention was that he should be

<sup>a</sup> Cp 11 65 fin

<sup>b</sup> Or, supplying *αὐτὸν* with *εὐπαρεύνων*: 'being well disposed to him because' etc.

Information is given about some other profane acts Alcibiades and others are accused of celebrating the mysteries in private houses

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

recalled and tried when they had stirred up a stronger feeling against him, which they could better do in his absence. So it was decided that Alcibiades should sail. VI.

About the middle of summer the expedition started for Sicily. Orders had been previously given to most of the allies, to the corn-ships, the smaller craft, and generally to the vessels in attendance on the armament, that they should muster at Corcyra, whence the whole fleet was to strike across the Ionian gulf to the promontory of Iapygia. Early in the morning of the day appointed for their departure, the Athenians and such of their allies as had already joined them went down to the Piræus and began to man the ships. The entire population of Athens accompanied them, citizens and strangers alike. The citizens came to take farewell, one of an acquaintance, another of a kinsman, another of a son, the crowd as they passed along were full of hope and full of tears, hope of conquering Sicily, tears because they doubted whether they would ever see their friends again, when they thought of the long voyage on which they were sending them. At the moment of parting the danger was nearer, and terrors which had never occurred to them when they were voting the expedition now entered into their souls. Nevertheless their spirits revived at the sight of the armament in all its strength and of the abundant provision which they had made. The strangers and the rest of the multitude came out of curiosity, desiring to witness an enterprise of which the greatness exceeded belief. 30.

Conflict of emotions among the Athenians at the moment of parting

No armament so magnificent or costly had ever been sent out by any single Hellenic power, though in mere number of ships and hoplites that which sailed to Epidaurus under Pericles and afterwards under Hagnon to Potidaea<sup>a</sup> was not inferior. For that expedition consisted of a hundred Athenian and fifty Chian and Lesbian triremes, conveying four thousand hoplites all Athenian citizens, three hundred cavalry, and a multitude of 31.

Beauty and precision of the armament. Vast expenses connected with it

<sup>a</sup> Cp II 56, 58.

VI. allied troops Still the voyage was short and the equip-<sup>BC 415</sup>  
 ments were poor, whereas this expedition was intended<sup>Ol 91, 2</sup>  
 to be long absent, and was thoroughly provided both  
 for sea and land service, wherever its presence might  
 be required On the fleet the greatest pains and  
 expense had been lavished by the trierarchs and the  
 state The public treasury gave a diachma<sup>a</sup> a day to  
 each sailor, and furnished empty hulls for sixty swift  
 sailing vessels, and for forty transports carrying hoplites  
 All these were manned with the best crews which could  
 be obtained The trierarchs, besides the pay given by  
 the state, added somewhat more out of their own means  
 to the wages of the upper ranks of rowers and of<sup>b</sup> the  
 petty officers<sup>b</sup> The figure-heads and other fittings  
 provided by them were of the most costly description  
 Every one strove to the utmost that his own ship  
 might excel both in beauty and swiftness The infantry  
 had been well selected and the lists carefully made  
 up There was the keenest rivalry among the soldiers  
 in the matter of arms and personal equipment And  
 while at home the Athenians were thus competing with  
 one another in the performance of their several duties,  
 to the rest of Hellas the expedition seemed to be a  
 grand display of their power and greatness, rather than  
 a preparation for war If any one had reckoned up  
 the whole expenditure (1) of the state, (2) of individual  
 soldiers and others, including in the first not only what  
 the city had already laid out, but what was entrusted to  
 the generals, and in the second what either at the time  
 or afterwards private persons spent upon their outfit,  
 or the trierarchs upon their ships, the provision for the  
 long voyage which every one may be supposed to have  
 carried with him over and above his public pay, and  
 what soldiers or traders may have taken for purposes  
 of exchange, he would have found that altogether an

<sup>a</sup> *ᾠδή*.

<sup>b</sup> Others translate 'the crews generally,' or 'the soldiers' servants'

BC 415 immense sum amounting to many talents was withdrawn VI  
 Ol 91, 2 from the city Men were quite amazed at the boldness of  
 the scheme and the magnificence of the spectacle, which  
 were everywhere spoken of, no less than at the great  
 disproportion of the force when compared with that of  
 the enemy against whom it was intended Never had  
 a greater expedition been sent to a foreign land, never  
 was there an enterprise in which the hope of future  
 success seemed to be better justified by actual power

When the ships were manned and everything required 32  
 for the voyage had been placed on board, silence was  
 proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet, and all with  
 one voice before setting sail offered up the customary  
 prayers, these were recited, not in each ship, but by a  
 single herald, the whole fleet accompanying him On  
 every deck both officers and men, mingling wine in  
 bowls, made libations from vessels of gold and silver  
 The multitude of citizens and other well-wishers who  
 were looking on from the land joined in the prayer  
 The crews raised the Paean, and when the libations  
 were completed, put to sea After sailing out for some  
 distance in single file, the ships raced with one another  
 as far as Aegina, thence they hastened onwards to  
 Corcyra, where the allies who formed the rest of the  
 army were assembling

Meanwhile reports of the expedition were coming in  
 to Syracuse from many quarters, but for a long time  
 nobody gave credit to them At length an assembly  
 was held. Even then different opinions were expressed,  
 some affirming and others denying that the expedition  
 was coming At last Hermocrates the son of Hermon,  
 believing that he had certain information, came forward,  
 and warned the Syracusans in the following words —

‘I dare say that, like others, I shall not be believed 33  
 when I tell you that the expedition is really coming, and  
 I am well aware that those who are either the authors  
 or reporters of tidings which seem incredible not only  
 fail to convince others, but are thought fools for their

Prayers  
 offered by  
 the whole  
 fleet and  
 by the  
 spectators  
 The sailors  
 make liba-  
 tions and  
 raise the  
 Paean  
 The ships  
 race as far  
 as Aegina

Rumours of  
 the expedi-  
 tion reach  
 Syracuse

Speech of  
 Hermo-  
 crates  
 They are  
 coming and  
 you must  
 prepare for



VI. pains. Yet, when the city is in danger, fear shall not  
 them stop my mouth, for I am convinced in my own mind B C 475  
Ol 91, 2  
 If you are that I have better information than anybody The  
 prepared there is Athenians, wonder as you may, are coming against us  
 nothing to fear, with a great fleet and army, they profess to be assist-  
 Sicily will unite against ing them Egestæan allies and to be restoring the  
 them, and Leontines But the truth is that they covet Sicily, and  
 great ex- especially our city They think that, if they can conquer  
 peditions us, they will easily conquer the rest They will soon  
 never come be here, and you must consider how with your present  
 to good resources you can make the most successful defence.  
 You should not let them take you by surprise because  
 you despise them, or neglect the whole matter because  
 you will not believe that they are coming at all But  
 to him who is not of this unbelieving temper I say —  
 And do not you be dismayed at their audacity and  
 power They cannot do more harm to us than we can  
 do to them, the very greatness of their armament may  
 be an advantage to us, it will have a good effect on  
 the other Sicilians, who will be alarmed, and in their  
 terror will be the more ready to assist us Then, again,  
 if in the end we overpower them, or at any rate drive  
 them away baffled, for I have not the slightest fear of  
 their accomplishing their purpose, we shall have achieved  
 a noble triumph And of this I have a good hope Rarely  
 have great expeditions, whether Hellenic or Barbarian,  
 when sent far from home, met with success They are  
 not more numerous than the inhabitants and their neigh-  
 bours, who all combine through fear, and if owing to  
 scarcity of supplies in a foreign land they miscarry, al-  
 though their ruin may be chiefly due to themselves, they  
 confer glory on those whom they meant to overthrow.  
 The greatness of these very Athenians was based on  
 the utter and unexpected ruin of the Persians<sup>a</sup>, who  
 were always supposed to have directed their expedition  
 against Athens And I think that such a destiny may  
 very likely be reserved for us.

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 69 fin

BC 415  
Ol 91, 2

‘Let us take courage then, and put ourselves into a state of defence, let us also send envoys to the Sicels, and, while we make sure of our old allies, endeavour to gain new ones. We will despatch envoys to the rest of Sicily, and point out that the danger is common to all, we will also send to the Italian cities in the hope that they may either join us, or at any rate refuse to receive the Athenians. And I think that we should send to the Carthaginians, the idea of an Athenian attack is no novelty to them, they are always living in apprehension of it. They will probably feel that if they leave us to our fate, the trouble may reach themselves, and therefore they may be inclined in some way or other, secretly, if not openly, to assist us. If willing to help, of all existing states they are the best able, for they have abundance of gold and silver, and these make war, like other things, go smoothly. Let us also send to the Lacedaemonians and Corinthians and entreat them to come to our aid speedily, and at the same time to revive the war in Hellas. I have a plan which in my judgment is the best suited to the present emergency, although it is the last which you in your habitual indolence will readily embrace<sup>a</sup>. Let me tell you what it is. If all the Sicilian Greeks, or at least if we and as many as will join us, taking two months’ provisions, would put out to sea with all our available ships and meet the Athenians at Tarentum and the promontory of Iapygia, thereby proving to them that before they fight for Sicily they must fight for the passage of the Ionian Sea, we should strike a panic into them. They would then reflect that at Tarentum (which receives us), we, the advanced guard of Sicily, are among friends, and go forth from a friendly country, and that the sea is a large place not easy to traverse with so great an armament as theirs. They would know that after a long voyage their ships will be unable to keep in line, and coming up slowly and few at a time will be at our mercy. On the other hand, if

VI.

34.

Let us  
summon  
our old  
Sicel allies  
and make  
new ones  
Let us ob-  
tain help  
from the  
rest of  
Sicily, Italy,  
Carthage,  
Lacedae-  
mon, and  
Corinth  
If you  
would take  
my advice  
you would  
go and  
meet the  
Athenians  
half way  
We should  
very likely  
defeat  
them, and  
even if we  
did not  
fight  
should still  
embarrass  
them  
They might  
be so  
dismayed  
by our  
boldness  
as to give  
up the ex-  
pedition

<sup>a</sup> Cp. 1 143 fin.

- VI. they lighten their vessels and meet us in a compact <sup>B C 415</sup> body with the swiftest part of their fleet, they may have <sup>Ol 91, 2</sup> to use oars, and then we shall attack them when they are exhausted. Or if we prefer not to fight, we can retire again to Tarentum. Having come over with slender supplies and prepared for a naval engagement, they will not know what to do on these desolate coasts. If they remain we can blockade them; if they attempt to sail on wards they will cut themselves off from the rest of their armament, and will be discouraged, for they will be far from certain whether the cities of Italy and Sicily will receive them. In my opinion the anticipation of these difficulties will hamper them to such a degree, that they will never leave Corcyra. While they are holding consultations, and sending out spies to discover our number and exact position, they will find themselves driven into winter, or in dismay at the unexpected opposition, they may very likely break up the expedition, especially if, as I am informed, the most experienced of their generals has taken the command against his will, and would gladly make any considerable demonstration on our part an excuse for retreating. I am quite sure that rumour will exaggerate our strength. The minds of men are apt to be swayed by what they hear; and they are most afraid of those who commence an attack, or who at any rate show to the aggressor betimes that he will meet with resistance; for then they reflect that the risk is equally divided. And so it will be with the Athenians. They are now attacking us because they do not believe that we shall defend ourselves, and in this opinion they are justified by our refusal to join with the Lacedaemonians in putting them down. But, if they see <sup>a</sup> us enterprising almost to rashness <sup>a</sup>, they will be more dismayed at our unexpected resistance than at our real power. Take my advice, if possible, resolve on this bold step, but if not, adopt other measures of defence as

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'that they were mistaken, and that we boldly venture,' etc.  
Cp ii. 89 med

BC 415 quickly as possible Remember each and all of you VI.  
OI 91, 2 that the true contempt of an invader is shown by deeds of valour in the field, and that meanwhile the greatest service which you can render to the state is to act as if you were in the presence of danger, considering that safety depends on anxious preparation<sup>a</sup> The Athenians are coming, I am certain that they are already on the sea and will soon be here.'

Thus spoke Hermocrates Great was the contention 35 which his words aroused among the Syracusan people, some asserting that the Athenians would never come, and that he was not speaking truth, others asking, 'And if they should come, what harm could they do to us nearly so great as we could do to them?' while others were quite contemptuous, and made a jest of the whole matter A few only believed Hermocrates and realised the danger At last Athenagoras, the popular leader, who had at that time the greatest influence with the multitude, came forward and spoke as follows —

'He is either a coward or a traitor who would not 36. rejoice to hear that the Athenians are so mad as to come hither and deliver themselves into our hands The audacity of the people who are spreading these alarms does not surprise me, but I do wonder at their folly if they cannot see that their motives are transparent Having private reasons for being afraid, they want to strike terror into the whole city<sup>b</sup> that they may hide themselves<sup>b</sup> under the shadow of the common fear And now, what is the meaning of these rumours? They do not grow of themselves, they have been got up by persons who are the troublers of our state And you, if you are wise, will not measure probabilities by their reports, but by what we may assume to be the intentions of shrewd and experienced men such as I conceive the Athenians to be. They are not likely to leave behind them a power such as Peloponnesus. The war which

Peoplesaid,  
They will  
never  
come, and,  
What harm  
will they  
do? A few  
saw the  
danger

Speech of  
Athena-  
goras  
These  
alarms are  
spread by  
traitors,  
who want  
to divert  
public at-  
tention  
from their  
own de-  
signs  
The whole  
story is ex-  
ceedingly  
improbable

<sup>a</sup> Cp 11 11 med.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'that they may hide their own consciousness of guilt'

VI. they have already on their hands is far from settled, and will they go out of their way to bring upon themselves another as great? In my opinion they are only too glad that we are not attacking them, considering the number and power of our states

37 'Even if the rumour of their coming should turn out to be true, I am sure that Sicily is more able than Peloponnesus to maintain a great war. The whole island is better supplied in every way, and our own city is herself far more than a match for the army which is said to be threatening us, aye, and for another as great. I know that they will not bring cavalry with them, and will find none here, except the few horsemen which they may procure from Egesta. They cannot provide a force of hoplites equal to ours<sup>a</sup>, for they have to cross the sea, and to come all this distance, if only with ships and with no troops or lading, would be work enough<sup>b</sup>. I know too that an armament which is directed against so great a city as ours will require immense supplies<sup>c</sup>. Nay, I venture to assert that if they came hither, having at their command another city close upon our border as large as Syracuse, and could there settle and carry on war against us from thence, they would still be destroyed to a man; how much more when the whole country will be their enemy (for Sicily will unite), and when they must pitch their camp the moment they are out of their ships, and will have nothing but their wretched huts and meagre supplies, being prevented by our cavalry from advancing far beyond their lines? Indeed I hardly think that they will effect a landing at all. So far superior, in my judgment, are our forces to theirs

38. 'The Athenians, I repeat, know all that I am telling you, and do not mean to throw away what they have got. I am pretty sure of that. But some of our people

Sicily is more than a match for the Athenians, and another Syracuse, if they had possession of it, could not conquer Syracuse

The Athenians are a shrewd

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi. 23 mit

<sup>b</sup> Placing a comma after *ελθόντας*, omitting the comma after *δεῖ*, and taking *μέγα γάρ* . *κομισθῆναι* as a parenthesis.

<sup>c</sup> Cp vi 21 med.

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

are fabricating reports which neither are, nor are ever likely to be, true. I know, and have always known, that by words like these, and yet more mischievous, if not by acts, they want to intimidate you, the Syracusan people, and make themselves chiefs of the state. And I am afraid that if they persevere they will succeed at last, and that we shall be delivered into their hands before we have had the sense to take precautions or to detect and punish them. This is the reason why our city is always in a state of unrest and disorganisation, fighting against herself quite as much as against foreign enemies, and from time to time subjected to tyrants and to narrow and wicked oligarchies. If the people will only support me I shall endeavour to prevent any such misfortunes happening in our day. With you I shall use persuasion, but to these conspirators I shall apply force, and I shall not wait until they are detected in the act (for who can catch them?), but I shall punish their intentions and the mischief which they would do if they could. For the thoughts of our enemies must be punished before they have ripened into deeds. If a man does not strike first, he will be the first struck. As to the rest of the oligarchical party, I must expose them and have an eye on their designs; I must also instruct them, that, I think, will be the way by which I can best detect them from their evil courses. Come now, young men, and answer me a question which I have often asked myself. "What can you want?" To hold office already? But the law forbids. And the law was not intended to slight you had you been capable, it was passed because you were incapable. And so you would rather not be on an equality with the many? But when there is no real difference between men, why should there be a privileged class?

VI

people and not likely to ruin themselves. These reports are fabricated by oligarchical conspirators, who want to get the government into their hands. I shall resist them to the last.

Trade against the young oligarchs

'I shall be told that democracy is neither a wise nor a just thing, and that those who have the money are most likely to govern well. To which I answer, first of all, that the people is the name of the whole, the

39.

The true state is composed of various elements,

VI. oligarchy of a part, secondly, that the rich are the best B C 415  
Ol 91, 2  
while an oligarchy takes all the good and gives the people their full share of the evil guardians of the public purse, the wise the best coun-  
 sellois, and the many, when they have heard a matter  
 discussed, the best judges<sup>a</sup>, and that each and all of  
 these classes have in a democracy equal privileges  
 Whereas an oligarchy, while giving the people the full  
 share of danger, not merely takes too much of the good  
 things, but absolutely monopolises them And this is  
 what the powerful among you and the young would like  
 to have, and what in a great city they will never obtain

40 'O most senseless of men for such you are indeed  
Blind fools, if you are not knaves, the city will never be imposed upon by you if you do not see the mischief of your own schemes,  
 never in all my experience have I known such blindness  
 among Hellenes, or such wickedness if you have your  
 eyes open to what you are doing Yet even now learn  
 if you are stupid, repent if you are guilty, and let your  
 aim be the welfare of the whole country Remember  
 that the good among you will have an equal or larger  
 share in the government of it than the people<sup>b</sup>, while if  
 you want more you will most likely lose all Away  
 with these reports, we know all about them, and are  
 determined to suppress them Let the Athenians come,  
 and Syracuse will repel her enemies in a manner worthy  
 of herself; we have generals who will look to the matter.  
 But if, as I suspect, none of your tales are true, the  
 state is not going to be deceived, and will not in a  
 moment of panic admit you to power, or impose upon  
 her own neck the yoke of slavery. She will take the  
 matter into her own hands, and when she gives judgment  
 will reckon words to be equally criminal with actions  
 She will not be talked out of her liberty by you, but will  
 do her utmost to preserve it, she will be on her guard,  
 and will put you down with a strong hand'

Thus spoke Athenagoras Whereupon one of the  
One of the generals deprecates the use of bad lan- generals rose, and suffering no one else to come forward,  
 closed the discussion himself in the following words —  
 'There is little wisdom in exchanging abuse or in

<sup>a</sup> Cp 11 40 med

<sup>b</sup> Cp 11 37 init

B C 415  
O I 91, 2

sitting by and listening to it, let us rather, in view of the reported danger, see how the whole city and every man in it may take measures for resisting the invaders worthily. Why should not the city be richly furnished with arms, horses, and all the pride and pomp of war, where is the harm even if they should not be wanted? We, who are generals, will take in hand all these matters and examine into them ourselves, and we will send messengers to the neighbouring cities in order to obtain information, and for any other purpose which may be necessary. Some precautions we have taken already, and whatever occurs to us we will communicate to you.' When the general had thus spoken, the assembly dispersed.

VI

guage he  
thinks the  
report of  
the danger  
a good  
opportunity  
for increas-  
ing the  
army

The Athenians and their allies were by this time collected at Corcyra. There the generals began by holding a final review of the ships, and disposed them in the order in which they were to anchor at their stations. The fleet was divided into three squadrons, and one of them assigned by lot to each of the three generals, in order to avoid any difficulties which might occur, if they sailed together, in finding water, anchorage, and provisions where they touched, they also thought that the presence of a general with each division would promote good order and discipline throughout the fleet. They then sent before them to Italy and Sicily three ships, which had orders to find out what cities in those regions would receive them, and to meet them again on their way, that they might know before they put in.

42.

The Athe-  
nians at  
Corcyra  
make a  
final review  
of their  
armament,  
which is  
formed  
into three  
divisions

At length the great armament proceeded to cross from Corcyra to Sicily. It consisted of a hundred and thirty-four triremes in all, besides two Rhodian vessels of fifty oars. Of these a hundred were Athenian, sixty being swift vessels, and the remaining forty transports the rest of the fleet was furnished by the Chians and other allies. The hoplites numbered in all five thousand one hundred, of whom fifteen hundred were Athenians taken from the roll, and seven hundred who

43.

At length  
they cross  
the sea in  
a hundred  
and thirty-  
four  
triremes  
and two  
pente-  
conters,  
conveying  
five thou-  
sand one  
hundred



## VI.

hoplites,  
four hun-  
dred and  
eighty  
archers,  
seven  
hundred  
slingers,  
a hundred  
and twenty  
Megarian  
light-  
armed, and  
thirty  
horsemen

served as marines were of the fourth and lowest class of Athenian citizens. The remainder of the hoplites were furnished by the allies, mostly by the subject states, but five hundred came from Argos, besides two hundred and fifty Mantinean and other mercenaries. The archers were in all four hundred and eighty, of whom eighty were Cretans. There were seven hundred Rhodian slingers, a hundred and twenty light-armed Megarians who were exiles<sup>a</sup>, and one horse transport which conveyed thirty horsemen and horses.

B.C. 415  
O1 91, 2

## 44

The fleet  
included  
thirty mer-  
chant-ships  
and a hun-  
dred small  
vessels.  
Arriving at  
Rhegium  
they are  
refused  
admittance  
into the  
city, but are  
supplied  
with pro-  
visions and  
allowed to  
anchor.

Such were the forces with which the first expedition crossed the sea. For the transport of provisions thirty merchant-ships, which also conveyed bakers, masons, carpenters, and tools such as are required in sieges, were included in the armament. It was likewise attended by a hundred small vessels; these, as well as the merchant-vessels, were pressed into the service. Other merchant-vessels and lesser craft in great numbers followed of their own accord for purposes of trade. The whole fleet now struck across the Ionian sea from Corcyra. They arrived at the promontory of Iapygia and at Tarentum, each ship taking its own course, and passed along the coast of Italy. The Italian cities did not admit them within their walls, or open a market to them, but allowed them water and anchorage; Tarentum and Locri refused even these. At length they reached Rhegium, the extreme point of Italy, where the fleet reunited. As they were not received within the walls they encamped outside the city at the temple of Artemis, there they were provided by the inhabitants with a market, and drawing up their ships on shore they took a rest. They held a conference with the Rhegians, and pressed them, being Chalcidians themselves, to aid their Chalcidian kinsmen the Leontines. But the Rhegians replied that they would be neutral, and would only act in accordance with the decision of all the Italian Greeks. The Athenian commanders now began to consider how they could best

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iv 74.

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

commence operations in Sicily. Meanwhile they were VI  
expecting the ships which had gone on and were to meet  
them from Egesta, for they wanted to know whether  
the Egestaeans really had the money of which the mes-  
sengers had brought information to Athens.

From many quarters the news began to reach the 45.  
Syracusans that the Athenian fleet was at Rhegium, The Syra-  
cusans  
resolve to  
defend  
themselves  
in earnest  
and the report was confirmed by their spies. They now  
no longer doubted, but fell to work heart and soul. To  
some of the Sicel towns they sent troops, to others  
envoys, they also garrisoned the forts in the territory  
of Syracuse, and within the city itself inspected the  
horses and arms, and saw that they were in good con-  
dition. In short, they made every preparation for a  
war which was rapidly approaching, and almost at their  
gates

The three ships which had gone forward to Egesta 46  
now returned to the Athenians at Rhegium, they re-  
ported that of the money which had been promised Trick  
practised  
by the  
Egestaeans,  
who had  
borrowed  
the plate  
which the  
Athenian  
envoys  
saw at  
Egesta  
thirty talents<sup>a</sup> only were forthcoming and no more. The  
spirits of the generals fell at once on receiving this their  
first discouragement. They were also disappointed at  
the unfavourable answer of the Rhegians, whom they  
had asked first, and might naturally have expected to  
join them because they were kinsmen of the Leontines,  
and had always hitherto been in the Athenian interest.  
Nicias expected that the Egestaeans would fail them<sup>b</sup>,  
to the two others their behaviour appeared even more  
incomprehensible than the defection of the Rhegians.  
The fact was that when the original envoys came from  
Athens to inspect the treasure, the Egestaeans had prac-  
tised a trick upon them. They brought them to the  
temple of Aphrodite at Eryx, and showed them the  
offerings deposited there, consisting of bowls, flagons,  
censers, and a good deal of other plate. Most of the  
vessels were only of silver, and therefore they made  
a show quite out of proportion to their value. They

<sup>a</sup> £7200.

<sup>b</sup> Cp vi 22 fin

VI. also gave private entertainments to the crews of the triemes on each of these occasions they produced, as their own, drinking-vessels of gold and silver not only collected in Eggesta itself, but borrowed from the neighbouring towns, Phoenician as well as Hellenic. All of them exhibiting much the same vessels and making everywhere a great display, the sailors were amazed, and on their arrival at Athens told every one what heaps of wealth they had seen. When the news spread that the Eggestaeans had not got the money, great was the unpopularity incurred throughout the army by these men, who having been first imposed upon themselves had been instrumental in imposing upon others.

47. The generals now held a council of war. Nicias was of opinion that they should sail with the whole fleet against Selinus, which was their main errand. if the Eggestaeans provided pay for all their forces, they would shape their course accordingly, if not, they would demand maintenance for sixty ships, the number which the Eggestaeans had requested<sup>a</sup>, and remain on the spot until they had brought the Selinuntians to terms either by force or by negotiation. They would then pass along the coast before the eyes of the other cities and display the visible power of Athens, while they proved at the same time her zeal in the cause of her friends and allies, after this they would return home, unless a speedy way of relieving the Leontines or obtaining support from some of the other cities should unexpectedly present itself. But they should not throw away their own resources and imperil the safety of Athens

48. Alcibiades urged that it would be a disgrace to have gone forth with so great an armament and to return without achieving anything. They should send envoys to every city of Sicily, with the exception of Selinus and Syracuse, they should also negotiate with the Sicels, making friends of the independent tribes, and persuading the rest to revolt from the Syracusans. They would

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 8 int.

Opinions  
of the three  
generals  
Nicias  
would sail  
against  
Selinus,  
making the  
Eggestaeans  
pay  
Then, after  
displaying  
the power  
of Athens,  
he would  
return  
home

Alcibiades  
would do  
more,  
he would  
attack both  
Selinus and  
Syracuse,  
first gaining  
over the  
other

BC 415  
Ol 91, 2

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

thus obtain food and reinforcements. They should first VI.  
appeal to the Messenians, whose city being on the Sicilian  
highway of traffic was the key of Sicily, and possessed states  
a harbour from which the Athenian forces could most  
conveniently watch the enemy. Finally, when they had  
brought the cities over to them and knew who would  
be on their side in the war, they should attack Selinus  
and Syracuse, unless the Selinuntians would come to  
terms with the Egestaeans, and the Syracusans would  
permit the restoration of the Leontines.

Lamachus was of opinion that they ought to sail 49.  
direct to Syracuse, and fight as soon as possible under Lamachus  
the walls of the city, while the inhabitants were un- thinks  
prepared and the consternation was at its height. He that the  
argued that all armies are most terrible at first; if the Athenians  
appearance of them is long delayed the spirits of men should sail  
revive, and, when they actually come, the sight of them to Syracuse  
only awakens contempt<sup>a</sup>. If the Athenians could strike and fight  
suddenly, while their opponents were still in fear and at once  
suspense, that would be the best chance of victory. They  
Not only the sight of the armament which would never seem should  
so numerous again, but the near approach of suffering establish  
create a panic among the enemy. Many of the Syra- their fleet  
cusans would probably be cut off in the country, not at Megara  
believing in the approach of an invader, and while the  
villagers were trying to convey their property into the  
city, their own army, which would be encamped close  
under the walls, would be masters of the field and  
could have no lack of provisions. In the end, the other  
Sicilian Greeks, instead of joining the Syracusan alli-  
ance, would come over to them, and would no longer  
hesitate and look about them to see which side would  
conquer. He was also of opinion that they should  
make Megara their naval station, <sup>b</sup> the fleet returning

<sup>a</sup> Cp. vii 42 med.

<sup>b</sup> Reading *ἐφορμισθέντας*, a conjecture of Schaefer's adopted by

VI thither from Syracuse and anchoring in the harbour<sup>b</sup>. B C 415  
Ol 91, 2  
The place was deserted, and was not far distant from  
Syracuse either by land or by sea

50 Lamachus having thus spoken nevertheless gave his  
own voice for the proposal of Alcibiades Whereupon  
Alcibiades sailed across in his admiral's ship to Messenè  
and proposed an alliance to the inhabitants He failed  
to convince them, for they refused to receive the Athe-  
nians into the city, although they offered to open a  
market for them outside the walls So he sailed back  
to Rhegium. The generals at once manned sixty ships,  
selecting the crews indifferently out of the entire fleet,  
and taking the necessary provisions coasted along to  
Naxos, they left the rest of the army and one of them-  
selves at Rhegium The Naxians received them into  
their city, and they sailed on to Catana, but the Cata-  
naeans, having a Syracusan party within their walls,  
denied admission to them, so they moved to the river  
Terias and there encamped On the following day they  
went on to Syracuse in long file with all their ships, except  
ten, which they had sent forward to sail into the great  
harbour and see whether there was any fleet launched  
On their approaching the city a herald was to proclaim  
from the decks that the Athenians had come to restore  
their allies and kinsmen the Leontines to their homes,  
and that therefore any Leontines who were in Syracuse  
should regard the Athenians as their friends and bene-  
factors, and join them without fear When the pro-  
clamation had been made, and the fleet had taken a  
survey of the city, and harbours, and of the ground  
which was to be the scene of operations, they sailed  
back to Catana.

51. The Catanacans now held an assembly, and although  
they still refused to receive the army, they told the  
generals to come in and say what they had to say  
While Alcibiades was speaking and the people of the

The plan of  
Alcibiades  
is pursued,  
and he  
himself  
goes as  
envoy to  
Messenè,  
but is not  
admitted  
An Athe-  
nian force  
is received  
at Naxos,  
but ex-  
cluded at  
Catana  
They go on  
to Syracuse

They return  
to Catana,  
where the  
soldiers find  
a way in

Poppo, or, following the MSS and reading *ἐφορηθέντας* 'there taking up a secure position and thence attacking Syracuse.'

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

city had their attention occupied with the assembly, VI.  
the soldiers broke down unobserved a postern gate while Alcibiades is speaking. The whole fleet re-moves thither from Rhegium which had been badly walled up, and finding their way into the town began to walk about in the market-place. Those of the Catanacans who were in the Syracusan interest, when they saw that the enemy had entered, took alarm and stole away. They were not numerous, and the other Catanacans voted the alliance with the Athenians, and told them to bring up the rest of their army from Rhegium. The Athenians then sailed back to Rhegium, and with their entire force moved to Catana, where on their arrival they began to establish their camp.

But meanwhile news came from Camarina that if they 52  
would go thither the Camarinacans would join them. They also heard that the Syracusans were manning a navy. So they sailed with their whole force first to Syracuse, but they found that there was no fleet in preparation, they then passed on to Camarina, and putting in to the open beach they sent a herald to the city. The citizens would not receive them, declaring that their oath<sup>a</sup> bound them not to receive the Athenians if they came with more than one ship, unless they themselves sent for a greater number. So they sailed away without effecting their purpose. They then disembarked on a part of the Syracusan territory, which they ravaged. But a few Syracusan horse coming up killed some of their light-armed troops who were straggling. They then returned to Catana.

There they found that the vessel Salaminia had come 53  
from Athens to fetch Alcibiades, who had been put upon his trial by the state and was ordered home to defend himself. With him were summoned certain of his soldiers, who were accused, some of profaning the mysteries, others of mutilation of the Hermae. For after the departure of the expedition the Athenians prosecuted both enquiries as keenly as ever. They did not investigate

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv. 65 int.

VI. the character of the informers, but in their suspicious mood listened to all manner of statements, and seized and imprisoned some of the most respectable citizens on the evidence of wretches, they thought it better to sift the matter and discover the truth, and they would not allow even a man of good character against whom an accusation was brought to escape without a thorough investigation, merely because the informer was a rogue. For the people, who had heard by tradition that the tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons ended in great oppression, and knew moreover that their power was overthrown, not by Harmodius or any efforts of their own, but by the Lacedaemonians<sup>a</sup>, were in a state of incessant fear and suspicion.

54. Now the attempt of Aristogiton and Harmodius arose out of a love affair, which I will narrate at length, and the narrative will show that the Athenians themselves give quite an inaccurate account of their own tyrants, and of the incident in question, and know no more than other Hellenes<sup>b</sup>. Pisistratus died at an advanced age in possession of the tyranny, and then, not, as is the common opinion, Hipparchus, but Hippias (who was the eldest of his sons) succeeded to his power.—Harmodius was in the flower of youth, and Aristogiton, a citizen of the middle class, became his lover. Hipparchus made an attempt to gain the affections of Harmodius, but he would not listen to him, and told Aristogiton. The latter was naturally tormented at the idea, and fearing that Hipparchus who was powerful would resort to violence, at once formed such a plot as a man in his station might for the overthrow of the tyranny. Meanwhile Hipparchus made another attempt; he had no better success, and thereupon he determined, not indeed to take any violent step, but to insult Harmodius 'in some secret place', so that his motive

Hermæ  
with the  
tradition of  
the Pisis-  
tataidae

Not Hip-  
pias the  
reigning  
tyrant, but  
Hipparchus  
his brother,  
was slain by  
Harmodius  
and Aris-  
togiton  
The at-  
tempt arose  
out of a  
love affair  
The Pisis-  
tataidae,  
though  
tyrants,  
were not  
without  
virtues or  
wanting in  
modera-  
tion they  
retained the  
ancient  
laws, but  
kept their  
hold over  
the offices

<sup>a</sup> Cp Herod. v 65

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Reading *τόπω* with all the MSS., or, reading *τρόπων*: 'in some underhand manner'

B C 514  
Ol 66, 3

could not be suspected To use violence would have VI.  
been at variance with the general character of his administration, which was not unpopular or oppressive to the many, in fact no tyrants ever displayed greater merit or capacity than these Although the tax on the produce of the soil which they exacted amounted only to five per cent., they improved and adorned the city, and carried on successful wars, they were also in the habit of sacrificing in the temples The city meanwhile was permitted to retain her ancient laws, but the family of Pisistratus took care that one of their own number should always be in office Among others who thus held the annual archonship at Athens was Pisistratus, a son of the tyrant Hippias He was named after his grandfather Pisistratus, and during his term of office he dedicated the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora, and another altar in the temple of the Pythian Apollo. The Athenian people afterwards added to one side of the altar in the Agora and so concealed the inscription upon it, but the other inscription on the altar of the Pythian Apollo may still be seen, although the letters are nearly effaced. It runs as follows —

‘Pisistratus the son of Hippias dedicated this memorial of his archonship in the sacred precinct of the Pythian Apollo

That Hippias was the eldest son of Pisistratus and 55.  
succeeded to his power I can positively affirm from  
special information which has been transmitted to me  
But there is other evidence Of the legitimate sons of  
Pisistratus he alone had children; this is indicated by  
the altar just mentioned, and by the column which the  
Athenians set up in the Acropolis to commemorate  
the oppression of the tyrants. For on that column no  
son of Thessalus or of Hipparchus is named, but five  
of Hippias who were born to him of Myrrhinè the  
daughter of Callias the son of Hyperechides, now there  
is a presumption that the son who married first would

Various  
proofs,  
more or  
less convincing,  
of the fact  
that Hippias was  
the elder  
son



- VI. be the eldest. Moreover, his name is inscribed <sup>a</sup> on the same column <sup>a</sup> immediately after his father's, this again <sup>BC 514</sup><sub>Ol 66, 3</sub> is a presumption that he was his eldest son and succeeded him. I think too that Hippias would have found a difficulty in seizing the tyranny if Hipparchus had been tyrant at the time of his death and he had tried to step into his place. As it was, owing to the habitual dread which he had inspired in the citizens, and the strict discipline which he maintained among his body-guard, he held the government with the most perfect security and without the least difficulty. Nor did he behave at all like a younger brother, who would not have known what to do <sup>b</sup> because he had not been regularly used to command <sup>b</sup>. Yet Hipparchus by reason of his violent end became famous, and obtained in after ages the reputation of having been the tyrant.

56. When Hipparchus found his advances repelled by Harmodius he carried out his intention of insulting him. There was a young sister of his whom Hipparchus and his friends first invited to come and carry a sacred basket in a procession, and then rejected her, declaring that she had never been invited by them at all because she was unworthy. At this Harmodius was very angry, and Aristogiton, for his sake, more angry still. They and the other conspirators had already laid their preparations, but were waiting for the festival of the great Panathenaea, when the citizens who took part in the procession assembled in arms, for to wear arms on any other day would have aroused suspicion. Harmodius and Aristogiton were to begin the attack, and the rest were immediately to join in, and engage with the guards. The plot had been communicated to a few only, the better to avoid detection, but they hoped that, however

The rest of  
the story  
The re-  
venge of  
Harmodius  
and Aristogiton

<sup>a</sup> Or, reading with nearly all the MSS *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ στήλῃ* 'on the front part of the column' But the words can hardly bear this meaning. The word *πρώτη* is probably derived from *πρῶτος* which follows.

<sup>b</sup> Or, giving a more precise sense to *ξυνεχῶς* 'because he had succeeded to the command and not been used to it'.

B C 514  
Ol 66, 3

few struck the blow, the crowd who would be armed, VI.  
although not in the secret, would at once rise and assist  
in the recovery of their own liberties

The day of the festival arrived, and Hippias went out 57  
of the city to the place called the Ceramicus, where he  
was occupied with his guards in marshalling the pro-  
cession Harmodius and Aristogiton, who were ready  
with their daggers, stepped forward to do the deed. But  
seeing one of the conspirators in familiar conversation  
with Hippias, who was readily accessible to all, they  
took alarm and imagined that they had been betrayed,  
and were on the point of being seized. Whereupon they  
determined to take their revenge first on the man who  
had outraged them and was the cause of their desperate  
attempt. So they rushed, just as they were, within the  
gates. They found Hipparchus near the Leocorium, as  
it was called, and then and there falling upon him with  
all the blind fury, one of an injured lover, the other of a  
man smarting under an insult, they smote and slew him.  
The crowd ran together, and so Aristogiton for the  
present escaped the guards, but he was afterwards taken  
and not very gently handled. Harmodius perished on  
the spot.

Harmodius  
and Aris-  
togiton,  
suspecting  
that they  
have been  
betrayed,  
leave Hip-  
pias and  
fall upon  
Hippar-  
chus.  
The man-  
ner of his  
and their  
deaths

The news was carried to Hippias at the Ceramicus; 58  
he went at once, not to the place, but to the armed men  
who were to march in the procession and, being at a  
distance, were as yet ignorant of what had happened.  
Betraying nothing in his looks of the calamity which had  
befallen him, he bade them leave their arms and go to a  
certain spot which he pointed out. They, supposing  
that he had something to say to them, obeyed, and then  
bidding his guards seize the arms, he at once selected  
those whom he thought guilty, and all who were found  
carrying daggers; for the custom was to march in the  
procession with spear and shield only.

Hippias,  
dissembling  
his feelings,  
contrives to  
disarm the  
citizens and  
arrest the  
suspected

Such was the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton, 59  
which began in the resentment of a lover; the reckless  
attempt which followed arose out of a sudden fright

The rule  
of Hippias  
grows op-

VI. To the people at large the tyranny simply became more B C 514  
Ol 66, 3  
 oppressive, and Hippias, after his brother's death living  
 in great fear, slew many of the citizens, he also began  
 to look abroad in hope of securing an asylum should  
 a revolution occur. Himself an Athenian, he married  
 his daughter Archedicè to a Lampsacene, Aeantides, son  
 of Hippocles the tyrant of Lampsacus, for he observed  
 that the family of Hippocles had great influence with  
 King Darius. Her tomb is at Lampsacus, and bears  
 this inscription.—

pressive  
 He is  
 deposed  
 by the  
 Lacedae-  
 monians,  
 and goes to  
 the court  
 of Persia  
 Epitaph  
 of his  
 daughter  
 Archedicè

‘This earth covers Archedicè the daughter of Hippias,  
 A man who was great among the Hellenes of his day  
 Her father, her husband, her brothers, and her sons were  
 tyrants,  
 Yet was not her mind lifted up to vanity’

Hippias ruled three years longer over the Athenians.  
 In the fourth year he was deposed by the Lacedae- B C 510  
Ol 67, 3  
 monians and the exiled Alcmaeonidae. He retired  
 under an agreement, first to Sigerum, and then to  
 Aeantides at Lampsacus. From him he went to the  
 court of Darius, whence returning twenty years later  
 with the Persian army he took part in the expedition to  
 Marathon, being then an old man.

60 The Athenian people, recalling these and other B C. 415.  
Ol 91, 2  
 traditions of the tyrants which had sunk deep into  
 their minds, were suspicious and savage against the  
 supposed profaners of the mysteries, the whole affair  
 seemed to them to indicate some conspiracy aiming at  
 oligarchy or tyranny. Inflamed by these suspicions they  
 had already imprisoned many men of high character.  
 There was no sign of returning quiet, but day by day  
 the movement became more furious and the number of  
 arrests increased. At last one of the prisoners, who  
 was believed to be deeply implicated, was induced by a  
 fellow-prisoner to make a confession—whether true or  
 false I cannot say, opinions are divided, and no one  
 knew at the time, or to this day knows, who the offenders  
 were. His companion argued that even if he were not

The Athe-  
 nians be-  
 come more  
 and more  
 excited  
 about the  
 acts of ir-  
 religion,  
 which they  
 believe to  
 indicate  
 some de-  
 sign against  
 the demo-  
 cracy  
 Confession  
 of one  
 of the  
 prisoners

BC 415 guilty he ought to confess and claim a pardon<sup>a</sup>; he VI  
 Ol 91, 2 would thus save his own life, and at the same time  
 deliver Athens from the prevailing state of suspicion.  
 His chance of escaping would be better if he confessed  
 his guilt in the hope of a pardon, than if he denied it  
 and stood his trial. So he gave evidence both against  
 himself and others in the matter of the Hermae. The  
 Athenians were delighted at finding out what they  
 supposed to be the truth, they had been in despair at  
 the thought that the conspirators against the democracy  
 would never be known, and they immediately liberated  
 the informer and all whom he had not denounced. The  
 accused they brought to trial, and executed such of them  
 as could be found. Those who had fled they condemned  
 to death, and promised a reward to any one who would  
 kill them. No one could say whether the sufferers were  
 justly punished, but the beneficial effect on the city at  
 the time was undeniable.

The enemies of Alcibiades, who had attacked him 61.  
 before he sailed, continued their machinations, and popu-  
 lar feeling was deeply stirred against him. The Athe-  
 nians now thought that they knew the truth about the  
 Hermae, and they were more than ever convinced that  
 the violation of the mysteries which had been laid to his  
 charge was a part of the same conspiracy, and was to  
 be explained in the same way. It so happened that  
 while the city was in this state of excitement a small  
 Lacedaemonian force proceeded as far as the Isthmus,  
 having something to do in Boeotia. They were supposed  
 to have come, not in the interest of the Boeotians, but by  
 a secret understanding with Alcibiades, and the Athe-  
 nians really believed that but for their own alacrity in  
 arresting the accused persons the city would have been  
 betrayed. For one whole night the people lay in arms in  
 the temple of Theseus which is within the walls. About  
 this time too the friends of Alcibiades at Argos were sus-  
 pected of conspiring against the Argive democracy, and

Suspicion  
 of Alcibia-  
 des in-  
 creased by  
 the appear-  
 ance of a  
 Lacedae-  
 monian  
 force at the  
 Isthmus.  
 The people  
 are beside  
 themselves.  
 The sus-  
 picion  
 extends to  
 Argos.  
 The Sala-  
 minia is  
 sent to  
 arrest him,  
 but he  
 escapes at  
 Thuri and  
 crosses to  
 Pelopon-  
 nesus.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. vi 27

VI. accordingly the Argive hostages who had been deposited in the islands<sup>a</sup> were at once given up by the Athenians to the vengeance of the Argive people. From every quarter suspicion had gathered around Alcibiades, and the Athenian people were determined to have him tried and executed, so they sent the ship *Salamina* to Sicily bearing a summons to him and to others against whom information had been given. He was ordered to follow the officers home and defend himself, but they were told not to arrest him, the Athenians, having regard to their interests in Sicily, were anxious not to cause excitement in their own camp or to attract the attention of the enemy, and above all not to lose the Mantineans and Argives, whom they knew to have been induced by his influence to join in the expedition<sup>b</sup>. He in his own ship, and those who were accused with him, left Sicily in company with the *Salamina*, and sailed for Athens. When they arrived at Thurii they followed no further, but left the ship and disappeared, fearing to return and stand their trial when the prejudice against them was so violent. The crew of the *Salamina* searched for them, but after a time, being unable to find them, gave up the search and went home. Alcibiades, now an exile, crossed not long afterwards in a small vessel from Thurii to Peloponnesus, and the Athenians on his non-appearance sentenced him and his companions to death.

62. The two Athenian generals who remained in Sicily now divided the fleet between them by lot, and sailed towards Selinus and Egesta, they wanted to know whether the Egestaeans would give them the promised money, and also to ascertain the condition of the Selinuntians and the nature of their quarrel with the Egestaeans. Sailing along the north coast of Sicily, which looks towards the Tyrrhenian Gulf, they touched at Himera, the only Hellenic city in this part of the island. But they were not received, and passed on. On their voyage they took Hyccara, a city on the sea-shore which, although

Expedition  
to Egesta  
Capture of  
Hyccara  
The Athe-  
nian army  
returns by  
land to  
Catana  
Failure to  
take Hybla

<sup>a</sup> Cp. v 84 init.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. vi 29

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

of Sicilian origin, was hostile to the Egestaeans<sup>a</sup>. They reduced the inhabitants to slavery, and handed the place over to the Egestaeans, whose cavalry had now joined them. The Athenian troops then marched back through the country of the Sicels until they arrived at Catana, the ships which conveyed the prisoners going round the coast to meet them. Nicias had sailed straight from Hyccara to Egesta, where he did his business, and having obtained thirty talents<sup>b</sup> of silver, rejoined the army at Catana. The Athenians on their return disposed of their slaves<sup>c</sup>, the sum realised by the sale was about a hundred and twenty talents<sup>d</sup>. They next sailed round to their Sicel allies and bade them send reinforcements. Then with half of their army they marched against Hybla Geleatis, a hostile town, which they failed to take. And so ended the summer.

VI

Early in the ensuing winter the Athenians made 63

preparations for an attack upon Syracuse, the Syracusans likewise prepared to take the offensive. For when they found that their enemies did not assail them at once, as in their first panic they had expected, day by day their spirits rose. And now the Athenians, after cruising about at the other end of Sicily, where they seemed to be a long way off, had gone to Hybla, and their attack upon it had failed. So the Syracusans despised them more than ever. After the manner of the populace when elated, they insisted that since the Athenians would not come to them, their generals should lead them against Catana. Syracusan horsemen, who were always riding up to the Athenian army and watching their movements, would ask insultingly whether, instead of resettling the Leontines in their old home, they were not themselves going to settle down with their good friends the Syracusans in a new one.

The Syracusans begin to despise the Athenians

The generals were aware of the state of affairs. They 64 determined to draw the whole Syracusan army as far

The Athenians de-

<sup>a</sup> Cp. vi 2 med

<sup>c</sup> Cp. vii 13 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp. vi 46 init

<sup>d</sup> £28,800.

VI  
ceive the  
Syracusans  
by a ficti-  
tious mes-  
sage and  
draw  
them off  
to Catana,

as possible out of the city, and then in their absence sail B C 415  
thither by night and take up a convenient position un- Ol 91, 2  
molested. They knew that they would fail of their  
purpose<sup>a</sup> if they tried to disembark their men in the  
face of an enemy who was prepared to meet them, or  
if they marched openly by land and were discovered,  
for they had no cavalry of their own, and the Syracusan  
horse which were numerous would do great harm to their  
light-armed troops and their camp-followers. Whereas  
if they sailed thither by night they would be enabled to  
take up a position in which the cavalry could do them  
no serious mischief. The exact spot near the temple of  
Olympian Zeus which they afterwards occupied was  
indicated by Syracusan exiles who accompanied them.  
Accordingly the generals devised the following plan,  
they sent to Syracuse a man of whose fidelity they were  
assured, but whom the Syracusan leaders believed to be  
a friend of theirs. He was a Catanaean, and professed  
to come from adherents of their party whose names were  
familiar to them, and whom they knew to be still re-  
maining in Catana.<sup>b</sup> He told them that the Athenians  
lay within the city every night away from the camp in  
which their arms were deposited, and if at dawn on a  
set day the Syracusans with their whole force would  
come and attack the troops left in the camp, their  
partisans in Catana would themselves<sup>c</sup> shut the Athe-  
nians up in the town<sup>e</sup> and fire their ships, meanwhile  
the Syracusans might assault the palisade, and easily  
take the camp—preparations had been made<sup>d</sup>, and  
many of the Catanaeans were in the plot, from them  
he came.

65. The Syracusan generals were already in high spirits,  
while they quietly sail and before this proposal reached them had made up

<sup>a</sup> Omitting καὶ before εἰ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν.

<sup>b</sup> Cp vi 51.

<sup>c</sup> Reading αὐτοὺς after ἀποκλήσειν. or, reading τοὺς instead of αὐτοὺς 'shut up those of the Athenians who were in the town.'

<sup>d</sup> Placing a comma after ἤδη.

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

their minds to have all things in readiness for a march to Catana. So they trusted the man the more recklessly, and at once fixed the day on which they would arrive. They then sent him back, and issued orders for an expedition to their whole army, including the Selinuntians and the rest of the allies, who had now joined them. When they were ready and the appointed day drew near they marched towards Catana, and encamped by the river Symaethus in the Leontine territory. The Athenians, aware of the approach of the Syracusans, took all their own army and Sicel or other allies on board their ships and smaller craft, and sailed away at nightfall to Syracuse. At dawn they disembarked opposite the temple of Olympian Zeus, intending to seize a place for their camp, almost at the same moment the Syracusan horse who had advanced before the rest to Catana discovered that the whole Athenian army had put out to sea, whereupon they returned and told the infantry, and then all together hurried back to protect the city.

VI

away by  
night and  
disembark  
at Syracuse

The distance from Catana to Syracuse was considerable, 66.

and in the meantime the Athenians had quietly established themselves in an advantageous position, where they could give battle whenever they pleased, and the Syracusan horse were least likely to harass them either before or during the engagement. On one side they were protected by walls, and houses, and trees, and a marsh; on another by a line of cliffs. They felled the trees near, and bringing them down to the sea made a palisade to protect their ships, on the shore of Dascon too they hurriedly raised a fortification of rough stones and logs at a point where the ground was most accessible to the enemy, and broke down the bridge over the river Anapus. No one came out from the walls to hinder them in their work. The first to appear at all were the returning cavalry, after a while the infantry came up and re-formed. They at once marched right up to the Athenian position, but the Athenians did not come out.

They  
occupy a  
strong  
position.  
The Syra-  
cusans  
return from  
Catana



VI. to meet them, so they retired and encamped on the B C 415  
Ol 91, 2  
other side of the Helorine Road

67 On the next day the Athenians and their allies prepared to give battle. Their order was as follows — The Argives and Mantineans formed the right wing, the Athenians held the centre, on the left wing were the remaining allies. Half of their army which formed the van was ranged eight deep. The other half was drawn up likewise eight deep close to their sleeping-places, in a hollow oblong. The latter were told to watch the engagement, and to move up to the support of any part of the line which might be distressed. In the midst of the reserve thus disposed were placed the baggage-bearers. The Syracusans drew up their heavy-armed sixteen deep, the army consisted of the whole Syracusan people and their allies, chiefly the Selinuntians, who were in the city, they had also two hundred horsemen from Gela, and twenty, with about fifty archers, from Camarina. The cavalry, numbering in all twelve hundred, were placed upon the right wing, and beside them the javelin-men. The Athenians determined to begin the attack. Just before the battle Nicias went up and down, and addressed the following words to all and each of the various peoples who composed the army —

68. ‘What need, soldiers, is there of a long exhortation when we are all here united in the same cause<sup>a</sup>?’ The mere sight of this great army is more likely to put courage into you than an eloquent speech and an inferior force<sup>b</sup>. We are Argives and Mantineans, and Athenians and the chief of the islanders, and must not the presence of so many brave allies inspire every one of us with a good hope of victory, especially when we reflect that our opponents are not like ourselves picked soldiers, but a whole city which has turned out to meet us. They are Sicilians too, who although they may despise us, will not stand their ground against us, for their skill is not equal to their courage. Consider again

We are  
picked men,  
and they  
are the  
populace  
of a city.  
They de-  
spise us,  
but will not  
fight us.  
We are  
far from  
home and  
retreat is  
impossible

Cp vii. 61 init.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. v. 69 fin., vii. 61 fin., 77 med.

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

that we are far from home, and that there is no friendly land near but what you can win with your swords<sup>a</sup> The generals of the enemy, as I know well, are appealing to very different motives They say to them, "you are fighting for your own country," but I say to you that you are fighting in a country which is not your own, and from which, if you do not conquer, retreat will be impossible, for swarms of cavalry will follow at your heels Remember your own reputation, and charge valiantly, deeming the difficulties of your position and the necessity which constrains you to be more formidable than the enemy'

VI

Nicias having thus exhorted his men led them at once to the charge The Syracusans did not expect

that they would have to fight just at that moment, and some of them had even gone away into the city, which was close at hand, others came running up as fast as they could, and, although late, joined the main body one by one at the nearest point For they showed no want of spirit or daring in this or any other engagement; in courage they were not a whit inferior to their enemies, had their skill only been adequate, but when it failed, they could no longer do justice to their good intentions On this occasion they were compelled to make a hasty defence, for they never imagined that the Athenians would begin the attack Nevertheless they took up their arms and immediately went forward to meet them For a while the throwers of stones, and slingers, and archers skirmished in front of the two armies, driving one another before them after the manner of light-armed troops Then the soothsayers brought out the customary victims, and the trumpets sounded and called the infantry to the charge The two armies advanced, the Syracusans to fight for their country, and every man for life now, and liberty hereafter, on the opposite side the Athenians to gain a new country, and to save the old from defeat and ruin, the Argives and the independent allies

69  
The Syra-  
cusans are  
unprepared  
for the  
attack,  
they have  
plenty of  
courage, but  
are deficient  
in skill  
Motives of  
the two  
armies

<sup>a</sup> Cp vii. 77 fin

- VI. eager to share the good things of Sicily, and, if they returned victorious, to see their own homes once more. The courage of the subject allies was chiefly inspired by a lively consciousness that their only chance of life was in victory, they had also a distant hope that, if they assisted the Athenians in overthrowing others, their own yoke might be lightened.

70. The armies met, and for a long time the issue was doubtful. During the battle there came on thunder and lightning, and a deluge of rain, these added to the terror of the inexperienced who were fighting for the first time, but experienced soldiers ascribed the storm to the time of year, and were much more alarmed at the stubborn resistance of the enemy.<sup>a</sup> First the Argives drove back the left wing of the Syracusans, next the Athenians the right wing which was opposed to them. Whereupon the rest of the army began to give way and were soon put to flight. Their opponents did not pursue them far, for the Syracusan horsemen, who were numerous and had not shared in the defeat, interposed, and wherever they saw hoplites advancing from the ranks attacked and drove them back. The Athenians pursued in a body as far as they safely could, and then returned and raised a trophy. The Syracusans rallied on the Helorine Road, and did their best to reform after their defeat. They did not neglect to send some of their forces as a guard to the Olympieum, fearing lest the Athenians should plunder the treasures of the temple. The rest of the army returned to the city.

71. The Athenians, however, did not go to the temple at all, but collecting their dead, and laying them on a pyre, they passed the night where they were. On the following day they gave back the Syracusan dead under a flag of truce, and gathered from the pyre the bones of their own dead. There had fallen of the Syracusans and of their allies about two hundred and sixty; of the

<sup>a</sup> Or, giving a slightly different meaning to the present. 'at the prospect of the enemy's success.'

The Syracusans are defeated, but they are saved in their retreat by their cavalry

The Athenians, sensible of their deficiency in cavalry, return to Catana and Navos, where they

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

BC 415 Athenians and their allies not more than fifty The VI  
 Ol 91, 2 Athenians then taking with them the spoils of their enemies, sailed back to Catana Winter had now set in, and they thought that before they could do anything more at Syracuse they must send for horsemen from Athens, and collect others from their Sicilian allies, without them they would be at the mercy of the Syracusan cavalry. They also wanted to obtain both in Sicily and from Athens a supply of money, and to gain over some of the Sicilian cities These would be more willing to listen to them after their victory They had likewise to provide food, and to make the other requisite preparations for attacking Syracuse in the spring According to 72  
 accordingly they sailed away to Naxos and Catana, intending to winter

The Syracusans, after burying their dead, called an assembly Hermocrates the son of Hermon, a man of first-rate ability, of distinguished bravery, and also of great military experience, came forward and encouraged them He told them not to be disheartened at the result of the battle, for their resolution had not been defeated<sup>a</sup>, but they had suffered from want of discipline Yet they had proved less unequal than might have been expected, and they should remember that they had been contending against the most experienced soldiers of Hellas, they were unskilled workmen, and the Athenians masters in their craft<sup>b</sup> Another great source of weakness had been the number of generals (there were fifteen of them), the division of authority had produced disorganisation and disorder among the troops If they had a few experienced generals, and during the winter got their hoplites into order, providing arms for those who had none, and so raising the number of their forces to the utmost, while at the same time they insisted on strict drill and discipline, they would have a good chance of victory, for they had courage already, and only wanted steadiness in action Both qualities

intend to  
 winter  
 while they  
 obtain rein-  
 forcements  
 from  
 Athens and  
 Sicily

Hermo-  
 crates  
 points out  
 to the Syra-  
 cusans the  
 causes of  
 their de-  
 feat  
 They  
 should have  
 fewer  
 generals  
 with more  
 power,  
 better disci-  
 pline, and  
 greater  
 secrecy

<sup>a</sup> Cp II 87 init., VI 11 fin

<sup>b</sup> Reading *χειροτέχναις*.

VI would improve together, they would learn steadiness in the school of danger, and their natural courage would be reinforced by the confidence which skill inspires. The generals whom they elected should be not only few but entrusted with full power, the people taking a solemn oath to them that they would be allowed to command according to their own judgment. The secrets of the army would then be better kept, and everything would be done in a more orderly and straightforward manner.

73. The Syracusans follow his advice, and send envoys to Corinth and Lacedaemon. The Syracusans listened to him, and voted all that he desired. They chose three generals and no more, Hermocrates himself, Heraclides the son of Lysimachus, and Sicanus the son of Execestus. They also sent ambassadors to Corinth and to Lacedaemon requesting aid, and urged the Lacedaemonians to make war openly and decidedly against the Athenians on their behalf, thus they would either draw them off from Sicily, or at any rate prevent them from sending reinforcements to the army which was there already.

74. Alcibiades having continued that Messenè should be betrayed, now betrays the betrayers. The Athenians take up their winter quarters at Naxos. No sooner had the Athenians returned in the fleet to Catana than they sailed to Messenè, expecting that the city would be betrayed to them. But they were disappointed. For Alcibiades, when he was recalled and gave up his command, foreseeing that he would be an exile, communicated to the Syracusan party at Messenè the plot of which he was cognisant.<sup>a</sup> They at once put to death the persons whom he indicated; and on the appearance of the Athenians the same party, rising and arming, prevented their admission. The Athenians remained there about thirteen days, but the weather was bad, their provisions failed, and they had no success. So they went to Naxos, and having surrounded their camp with a palisade, proposed to pass the winter there. They also despatched a trireme to Athens for money and cavalry, which were to arrive at the beginning of spring.

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi. 50 init

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

The Syracusans employed the winter in raising a wall VI.  
near the city, which took in the shrine of Apollo 75.

Temenites and extended all along that side of Syracuse which looks towards Epipolae, they thus enlarged the area of the city, and increased the difficulty of investing it in case of defeat. They fortified and garrisoned Megara, and also raised a fort at the Olympieum<sup>a</sup>, besides fixing palisades at all the landing-places along the shore. They knew that the Athenians were wintering at Naxos, and so, marching out with their whole army to Catana, they ravaged the country and burnt the huts and the camp of the Athenians, they then returned home. They heard that the Athenians were sending an embassy to gain over the Camarinaeans on the strength of their former alliance, which had been made under Laches<sup>b</sup>, and they despatched a counter embassy of their own. They suspected that the Camarinaeans had not been over-zealous in sending their contingent to the first battle, and would not be willing to assist them any longer now that the Athenians had gained a victory; old feelings of friendship would revive, and they would be induced to join them. Accordingly Hermocrates came with an embassy to Camarina, and Euphemus with another embassy from the Athenians. An assembly of the Camarinaeans was held, at which Hermocrates, hoping to raise a prejudice against the Athenians, spoke as follows —

The Syracusans extend the line of their walls, burn the Athenian camp at Catana, and send an embassy to Camarina

‘We are not here, Camarinaeans, because we suppose 76.

that the presence of the Athenian army will dismay you, we are more afraid of their as yet unuttered words, to which you may too readily lend an ear if you hear them without first hearing us. You know the pretext on which they have come to Sicily, but we can all guess their real intentions. If I am not mistaken they want, not to restore the Leontines to their city, but to drive us out of ours. Who can believe that they who desolate the cities of Hellas mean to restore those of Sicily, or

We fear not the swords but the words of the Athenians. They pretend to be liberators, but they are really enslavers of Hellas, abroad as well as at home, the

<sup>a</sup> Cp vii 4 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp iii 86.

VI. that the enslavers and oppressors of the Chalcidians <sup>BC 415</sup> in Euboea have any feeling of kindred towards the <sup>Ol 91, 2</sup> colonists of these Chalcidians in Leontini? In their conquests at home, and in their attempt to conquer Sicily, is not the principle upon which they act one and the same? The Ionians and other colonists of theirs who were their allies, wanting to be revenged on the Persian, freely invited them to be their leaders, and they accepted the invitation. But soon they charged them, some with desertion, and some with making war upon each other<sup>a</sup>, any plausible accusation which they could bring against any of them became an excuse for their overthrow. It was not for the liberties of Hellas that Athens, or for her own liberty that Hellas, fought against the Persian, they fought, the Athenians that they might enslave Hellas to themselves instead of him, the rest of the Hellenes that they might get a new master, who may be cleverer, but certainly makes a more dishonest use of his wits.

77. 'However, the character of the Athenians is known to you already, and we do not come here to set forth their enormities, which would be an easy task, but rather to accuse ourselves. We have had a warning in the fate of the Hellenes elsewhere; we know that they were reduced to slavery because they would not stand by one another. And when the same tricks are practised upon us<sup>b</sup>, and we hear the old tale once more about the restoration of "our kinsmen the Leontines," and the succour of "our allies the Egestaeans," why do we not all rise as one man and show them that here they will find, not Ionians, nor yet Hellespontians, nor islanders, who must always be the slaves, if not of the Persian, of some other master, but Dorians<sup>c</sup> and free inhabitants of Sicily, sprung from the independent soil of Peloponnesus? Are we waiting till our cities are taken one by one, when we know that this is the only way in which we can be conquered?

<sup>a</sup> Cp. i. 99

<sup>b</sup> Cp. iv. 61 med

<sup>c</sup> Cp. i. 124 int., v. 9 int.; vii. 5 fin.; viii. 25 med

new masters  
whom  
Hellas has  
taken in  
exchange  
for the  
Persians

The old  
tales and  
the old  
tricks are  
being re-  
peated here  
Shall  
we allow  
ourselves to  
be taken in  
by them  
and to  
succumb  
one by one?

BC 415  
Ol 91, 2

We see what their policy is how in some cases their cunning words sow ill-feeling, in others they stir up war by the offer of alliance, or again, by some well-invented phrase specially agreeable to an individual state they do it all the mischief which they can. And does any one suppose that, if his countryman at a distance perishes, the danger will not reach him, or that he who suffers first will have no companions in ruin?

‘If any one fancies that not he, but the Syracusan, is the enemy of the Athenian, and asks indignantly “why should I risk myself for you?” let him consider that in fighting for my country he will be at the same time fighting in mine for his own<sup>a</sup>. And he will fight with less danger, because I shall still be in existence, he will not carry on the struggle alone, for he will have me for an ally<sup>b</sup>. Let him consider that the Athenian is not really seeking to chastise the enmity of the Syracusan, but under pretence of attacking me may be quite as desirous of drawing hard and fast the bonds of friendship with him. And if any one from envy, or possibly from fear (for greatness is exposed to both), would have Syracuse suffer that we may receive a lesson, but survive for his own security, he is asking to have a thing which human power cannot compass. For a man may regulate his own desires, but he is not the dispenser of fortune<sup>c</sup>, and the time may come when he will find himself mistaken, and while mourning over his own ruin he may possibly wish that he could still have my prosperity to envy. But he cannot bring me back again when he has once abandoned me and has refused to take his share in the common danger, which, far from being imaginary, is only too real. For though in name you may be saving me, in reality you will be saving yourselves. And you especially, Camarinaeans, who are our next neighbours, and on whom the danger will fall next, should have anticipated all this, and not be so slack in

VI

78.

In fighting  
for us you  
are fighting  
for your  
selves  
You might  
like us to  
be humbled,  
but you  
cannot  
secure the  
right  
amount of  
humilia-  
tion, and  
when we  
are fallen  
you will  
want to  
have us  
back  
You should  
have offered  
help, and  
not have  
waited to  
be asked

<sup>a</sup> Cp III 13 med

<sup>b</sup> Reading ἐρημος

<sup>c</sup> Cp IV 64 mit



VI your alliance Instead of our coming to you, you should <sup>B C 415</sup> have come to us Suppose the Athenians had gone to <sup>Ol 91, 2</sup> Camarina first, would you not at this moment be praying and begging for assistance? Then why did not you present yourselves at Syracuse, and say to us in our time of danger, "Never yield to the enemy"? But, hitherto, neither you nor any of the Sicilians have shown a spirit like this.

79 'You may perhaps disguise your cowardice under the pretence of impartiality, you may balance between us and the invaders, and plead that you have an alliance with the Athenians But that alliance was made on the supposition that you were invaded by an enemy, not against a friend, and you promised to assist the Athenians if they were wronged by others, not when, as now, they are doing wrong themselves Are the Rhegians who are Chalcidians so very anxious to join in the restoration of their Leontine kinsmen <sup>a</sup>? And yet how monstrous that they, suspecting the real meaning of this plausible claim, should display a prudence for which they can give no reason, and that you, who have every reason for a like prudence, should be eager to assist your natural enemies, and to conspire with them for the destruction of those who by a higher law are your natural kinsmen. This should not be. You must make a stand against them And do not be afraid of their armament. There is no danger if we hold together, the danger is in disunion, and they want to disunite us Even when they engaged with our unaided forces <sup>b</sup>, and defeated us in battle, they failed in their main purpose, and quickly retired.

80. 'If then we can once unite, there is no reason for discouragement But there is every reason why you, who are our allies, should meet us more cordially. We may be sure that help will come to us from Peloponnesus, and the Peloponnesians are far better soldiers than the Athenians. Let no one think that the caution which

You may pretend impartiality, but you will really be conspiring with your enemies against your friends

Union will be strength If you join neither side, you will really be untrue to both

<sup>a</sup> Cp. vi. 44 fin., 46 init.

<sup>b</sup> But cp. vi. 65 init., 67 med.

B C 415 professes to be in league with both, and therefore gives VI.  
Ol 91, 2 aid to neither, is just to us or safe for you. Such a policy, though it may pretend to impartiality, is really unjust. For if through your absence the victor overcomes and the vanquished falls, have you not abandoned the one to his fate, and allowed the other to commit a crime? How much nobler would it be to join your injured kinsmen, and thereby maintain the common interest of Sicily and save the Athenians, whom you call your friends, from doing wrong!

'To sum up — We Syracusans are quite aware that there is no use in our dilating to you or to any one else on matters which you know as well as ourselves. But we prefer a prayer to you, and solemnly adjure you to consider, that, if you reject us, we, who are Dorians like yourselves, are betrayed by you to Ionians our inveterate enemies, who are seeking our ruin. If the Athenians subdue us, your decision will have gained them the day, but the honour will be all their own, and the authors of their victory will be the prize of their victory. If on the other hand we conquer, you who have brought the peril upon us will have to suffer the penalty. Reflect then, and take your choice: will you have present safety and slavery, or the hope of delivering yourselves and us, and thereby escaping the dishonour of submitting to the Athenian yoke, and the danger of our enmity, which will not be short-lived?'

You who are Dorians should not betray your kinsmen to Ionians. If they conquer, you will be absorbed by them, if we conquer, we shall punish you.

Thus spoke Heimocrates. Euphemus, the Athenian envoy, replied as follows — 81

'We had come to renew our former alliance, but the attack made upon us by the Syracusan envoy renders it necessary for us to vindicate our title to empire.<sup>a</sup> He himself bore the strongest witness in our favour when he said that Dorians and Ionians are inveterate enemies. And so they are. We Ionians dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Peloponnesians (who are Dorians and more numerous than ourselves) have had to consider the best

82.  
True, we are Ionians, and the enmity of Dorian and Ionian is the justification of our empire. We had to defend

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 73 init

## VI

ourselves,  
and if we  
enslaved  
our kins-  
men, they  
were slaves  
already,  
and would  
have made  
slaves of  
us

way of securing our independence. After the Persian War we were delivered by the help of our newly-acquired navy from the rule and supremacy of Lacedaemon, they had no more right to domineer over us than we over them, except the right of the stronger, which at the time they possessed. We then assumed the leadership of the King's former subjects, which we still retain, if we were not to be the slaves of the Peloponnesians we thought that we must have the means of self-defence. And what if we did subjugate those kinsmen of ours whom the Syracusans say that we have enslaved, the Ionians and the islanders? On the strictest principles, where was the injustice? For we were their mother-city, and they joined in the Persian invasion. They had not the courage to revolt from him and to destroy their homes, as we did when we left our city. But they chose slavery for their own portion, and would have imposed it upon us.

## 83

We come  
hither for  
our own  
sake as well  
as for  
yours, and  
for yours  
as well as  
for our  
own

'We rule then, in the first place, because we deserve to rule, for we provided the largest navy and showed the most patriotic alacrity in the cause of Hellas<sup>a</sup>, while those who became our subjects were willing slaves to the Persian, and were doing us mischief. And secondly, we were anxious to gain additional strength against the Peloponnesians. We do not tell you in grandiloquent words that we have a right to rule on the ground that we alone overthrew the Barbarians<sup>b</sup>, nor do we pretend that we fought for the liberty of our allies, and not equally for our own and the general liberty<sup>c</sup>. Can any man be blamed because he makes the natural provision for his own safety<sup>d</sup>? The same care of our safety has brought us hither, and we can see that our presence here is for your benefit as well as for our own. This we will prove to you, and our proofs shall be drawn from the calumnies of our enemies, and from the suspicions and fears which most sway your minds. For we know that those who are timorous and mistrustful

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 74 int.

<sup>c</sup> Cp vi 76 fin.

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1 89 int.

<sup>d</sup> Cp 1 75 fin.

BC 415 may be won for the moment by alluring words, but VI  
 Ol 91, 2 that when the time of action comes they follow their  
 own interests

‘We have told you already that fear makes us maintain our empire at home, and that a like fear brings us to your shores. For we desire by the help of our friends to secure our position in Sicily. And we have not come to enslave you, but to save you from being enslaved. Let no one imagine that your welfare is no business of ours, for if you are preserved, and are strong enough to hold out against the Syracusans, they will be less likely to aid the Peloponnesians, and so to injure us. Thus you become at once our first concern. And we are quite consistent in restoring the Leontines, not like their kinsmen in Euboea to be subjects, but to be as strong as ever we can make them, that from their position on the border they may harass the Syracusans and do our work. In Hellas we are a match for our enemies single-handed, and as to our subjection of the Chalcidians at home, which Hermocrates finds so inconsistent with our emancipation of the Chalcidians here, it is for our advantage, on the one hand, that the cities of Euboea should have no armed force and contribute money only, and, on the other hand, that the Leontines and our friends in Sicily should be as independent as possible.

84

It is for our interest that you should be independent. We are quite consistent in restoring the Chalcidians in Sicily and in subjecting the Chalcidians in Euboea.

‘Now to a tyrant or to an imperial city<sup>a</sup> nothing is inconsistent which is expedient, and no man is a kinsman who cannot be trusted. In each case we must make friends or enemies according to circumstances, and here our interest requires, not that we should weaken our friends, but that our friends should be too strong for our enemies. Do not mistrust us. In Hellas we act upon the same principle, managing our allies as our interest requires in their several cases. The Chians and Methymnaeans furnish us with ships, and are their own masters, the majority are less independent, and

85.

We act upon principle, and that principle requires a different policy in different cases.

<sup>a</sup> Cp II 63, III 37 mit

- VI. pay a tribute, others, although they are islanders and might be easily conquered, enjoy complete freedom, because they are situated conveniently for operations about Peloponnesus<sup>a</sup>. So that in Sicily too our policy is likely to be determined by our interest, and, as I was saying, by our fear of the Syracusans. For they desire to be your masters, but first they must unite you in a common suspicion of us, and then either by force, or through your isolation when we have failed and retired, they will dominate Sicily. This is inevitable if you now join them. Your united power will be more than we can manage, and the Syracusans, when we are gone, will be too much for you. He who thinks otherwise is convicted out of his own mouth. For when you originally invited us, the danger which we should incur if we allowed you to fall into the hands of the Syracusans was precisely what you held before our eyes, and now you ought not to distrust the argument by which you hoped to convince us. Nor should you suspect us because we bring hither a force larger than before, for we have to contend against the power of Syracuse. Much more to be mistrusted are they. Without your aid we cannot even remain where we are, and if we were so dishonourable as to make conquests we should be unable to retain them<sup>b</sup>, for the voyage is long, and it would be a hopeless task to garrison great cities which, though situated on an island, have the resources of a continent. Whereas these men are your nearest neighbours. And they dwell, not in a camp, but in a city far more powerful than the forces which we have brought to Sicily; they are always scheming against you, and never miss a chance, as they have often shown, especially in their conduct towards the Leontines. And now they have the impudence to stir you up against those who resist them, and have thus far saved Sicily from passing under their yoke. As if you had no eyes! Far more real than the security offered

B C 415  
OI 91, 2

86.  
You told  
us that  
Syracuse  
would rule  
Sicily, and  
we give you  
back your  
words.  
You have  
nothing  
to fear from  
us, who are  
at a dis-  
tance, but  
much to  
fear from  
the Syra-  
cusans, who  
are your  
neighbours  
and can  
always get  
at you.  
You will be  
sorry some  
day that  
you have  
lost us.

<sup>a</sup> Cp II 7 fin, VII 57 med.

<sup>b</sup> Cp VI 11 init

BC 415  
Ol 91, 2

by them is that to which we invite you, a security which we and you gain from one another, and we beseech you not to throw it away. Reflect the Syracusans are so numerous that with or without allies they can always find their way to you, but you will not often have the chance of defending yourself with the aid of an army like ours. And if from any suspicion you allow us to depart unsuccessful, or perhaps defeated, the time may come when you will desire to see but a fraction of that army, although, if it came, it would be too late to save you.

VI.

‘But we would not have either you, Camarinaeans, 87.

or others moved by their calumnies. We have told you the whole truth about the suspicions which are entertained of us, we will now sum up our arguments, and we think that they ought to convince you. We rule over the cities of Hellas in order to maintain our independence, and we emancipate the cities of Sicily that they may not be used against us. And we are compelled to adopt a policy of interference because we have many interests to guard. Lastly, we come now, as we came before, not uninvited, but upon your own invitation to assist those of you who are suffering wrong. Do not sit in judgment upon our actions, or seek to school us into moderation and so divert us from our purpose (the time for good advice has gone by), but in as far as our busy, meddlesome spirit can be of service to you as well as to ourselves, take and use us, remember that these qualities, so far from being injurious to all alike, actually benefit great numbers of the Hellenes. For in all places—however remote from our sphere—both he who fears and he who intends injustice, the one because he has a lively hope that from us he will obtain redress, and the other because he may well be alarmed for the consequences if we answer to the call, must both alike submit, the one to learn moderation against his will, the other to receive at our hands a deliverance which costs him nothing.

Enough of these suspicions  
We come at your own invitation, and you had better use us if we can be of use to you.  
Do not judge or advise us, but avail yourselves of our power, which is everywhere the terror of the oppressor and the friend of the oppressed, in your inevitable contest with the Syracusans.

VI Do not reject the common salvation which is offered <sup>B C 415</sup>  
to you at this moment, as well as to all who seek it, <sup>Ol 91, 2</sup>  
but following the example of your countrymen join with  
us, and instead of having always to watch the Syra-  
cusans assert your equality and threaten them as they  
have long been threatening you'

88 Thus spoke Euphemus. Now the Camarinaeans were  
swayed by opposite feelings, they had a good will to  
the Athenians, tempered by a suspicion that they might  
be intending to enslave Sicily, whereas the Syracusans,  
from their proximity, were always at feud with them.  
But they were not so much afraid of the Athenians as  
of their Syracusan neighbours, who, as they thought,  
might win without their assistance. This was the reason  
why they sent them the small body of horse which took  
part in the first battle, and in a like spirit they now  
determined that for the future they would give real as-  
sistance only to the Syracusans, but to a very moderate  
extent. For the present however, that they might seem  
to deal equal justice to the Athenians, especially after  
their recent victory, they resolved to return the same  
answer to both. Such were the considerations which  
led them to reply, that as two of their allies were at  
war with one another, they thought that under the  
circumstances the best way of observing their oaths  
would be to assist neither. So the two embassies de-  
parted.

The Syracusans proceeded with their own prepara-  
tions for the war, and the Athenians who were en-  
camped at Naxos tried by negotiation to gain over as  
many of the Sicels as they could. The dwellers in  
the plain who were subjects of the Syracusans mostly  
stood aloof, but the Sicel settlements in the interior  
(which had always been independent) at once, with a  
few exceptions, joined the Athenians, and brought down  
food to the army, in some cases money also. Against  
those who were recalcitrant, troops were despatched by  
the Athenians, and some of them were forced into

The Cama-  
rinaeans  
suspect the  
designs  
of the  
Athenians  
and are  
afraid of  
their Syra-  
cusan  
neighbours  
They re-  
solve to  
assist, if  
either, the  
Syracusans,  
but to  
profess  
neutrality

The Athe-  
nians in  
the Sicel  
country  
They re-  
move from  
Naxos to  
Catana,  
send envoys  
to Carthage  
and Tyrrhe-  
nia, and  
prepare for  
the siege of  
Syracuse

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

submission, but others were protected by the garrisons which the Syracusans sent to their aid. They then transferred their station from Naxos to Catana, and reconstructing the camp which had been burnt by the Syracusans<sup>a</sup>, passed the winter there. In the hope of obtaining assistance they sent a trieme to Carthage with a proposal of friendship, likewise to Tyrrhena, since some of the cities there were offering of themselves to join in the war to the various Sicel tribes<sup>b</sup> and to the Egestaeans they issued orders that they were to send as many horse as possible. They further prepared buicks, tools, and whatever else was requisite for siege operations, intending, when the spring arrived, to prosecute the war with vigour.

The envoys whom the Syracusans had sent to Corinth and Lacedaemon<sup>c</sup> endeavoured on the voyage to persuade the Italian Greeks that they were equally threatened by the Athenian designs, and should take an interest in the war. When they arrived at Corinth they appealed to the Corinthians for aid on the ground of relationship. The Corinthians, taking the lead of all the Hellenic states, with the utmost enthusiasm voted the aid which was asked. They sent with the Syracusan envoys ambassadors of their own to the Lacedaemonians, bearing a joint request that they would resume open hostilities at home, and unite with them in sending help to Sicily. At Lacedaemon the Corinthian ambassadors met Alcibiades and his fellow exiles. He had sailed at once from Thurii in a trading vessel to Cyllenè in Elis, and thence proceeded to Lacedaemon on the invitation of the Lacedaemonians themselves, first obtaining a safe-conduct, for he was afraid of them after his proceedings in the matter of the Mantinean league<sup>d</sup>. And so it came to pass that the Corinthians, the Syracusans, and Alcibiades appeared simultaneously in the Lacedaemonian assembly, and concurred in urging

VI.

The Corinthians are the first who promise aid to the Syracusan envoys. They go with them to Sparta, where they meet Alcibiades, who had come thither under a safe-conduct.

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 75 med

<sup>c</sup> Cp vi 73

<sup>b</sup> Cp vi 98 init.

<sup>d</sup> Cp v 43 ff, 61 ff



VI. the same request The Ephors and the magistrates were already intending to send envoys to the Syracusans bidding them make no terms with the Athenians, although they were not disposed to assist them actively But now Alcibiades came forward and stimulated the energies of the Lacedaemonians in the following words —

89

I must offer explanations I wanted to serve you, but you were ungrateful, and I retaliated I was not a demagogue but an hereditary leader of the state as a whole Democracy, however liable to abuse, was our natural form of government, and we could not change it

‘I must endeavour first of all to remove a prejudice against myself, lest through suspicion of me you should turn a deaf ear to considerations of public interest My ancestors in consequence of some misunderstanding renounced the office of Lacedaemonian Pioxenus, I myself resumed it, and did you many good offices, especially after your misfortune at Pylos. My anxiety to serve you never ceased, but when you were making peace with Athens you negotiated through my enemies, thereby conferring power on them, and bringing dishonour upon me<sup>a</sup> And if I then turned to the Mantineans and Aigives and opposed you in that or in any other way you were rightly served, and any one who while the wound was recent may have been unduly exasperated against me should now take another and a truer view Or, again, if any one thought the worse of me because I was inclined to the people, let him acknowledge that here too there is no real ground of offence Any power adverse to despotism is called democracy, and my family have always retained the leadership of the people in their hands because we have been the persistent enemies of tyrants Living too under a popular government, how could we avoid in a great degree conforming to circumstances? However, we did our best to observe political moderation amid the prevailing licence But there were demagogues, as there always have been, who led the people into evil ways, and it was they who drove me out<sup>b</sup>. Whereas we were the leaders of the state as a whole<sup>c</sup>, and not of a part

<sup>a</sup> Cp. v 43<sup>b</sup> Cp. viii 65 med<sup>c</sup> Cp. vi. 39 init.

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

only, it was our view that all ought to combine in maintaining that form of government which had been inherited by us, and under which the city enjoyed the greatest freedom and glory. Of course, like all sensible men, we knew only too well what democracy is, and I better than any one, who have so good a reason for abusing it. The follies of democracy are universally admitted, and there is nothing new to be said about them. But we could not venture to change our form of government when an enemy like yourselves was so near to us.

VI.

‘Such is the truth about the calumnies under which 90

I labour. And now I will speak to you of the matter which you have in hand, and about which I, in so far as I have better information, am bound to instruct you. We sailed to Sicily hoping in the first place to conquer the Sicilian cities, then to proceed against the Hellenes of Italy, and lastly, to make an attempt on the Carthaginian dominions, and on Carthage itself. If all or most of these enterprises succeeded, we meant finally to attack Peloponnesus, bringing with us the whole Hellenic power which we had gained abroad, besides many barbarians whom we intended to hire—Iberians and the neighbouring tribes, esteemed to be the most warlike barbarians that now are<sup>a</sup>. Of the timber which Italy supplies in such abundance we meant to build numerous additional triremes, and with them to blockade Peloponnesus. At the same time making inroads by land with our infantry, we should have stormed some of your cities and invested others. Thus we hoped to crush you easily, and to rule over the Hellenic world. For the better accomplishment of our various aims our newly-acquired territory would supply money and provisions enough, apart from the revenue which we receive in Hellas.

The Athenian designs embraced Sicily, Italy, Carthage, if we succeeded we were going to invest Peloponnesus, the empire of Hellas would then have been ours

‘You have heard the objects of our expedition from 91.  
him who knows them best, the generals who remain

Sicily is lost unless you

<sup>a</sup> Reading *μαχιμωτάτους* and placing a comma after *ἐκεῖ*.

VI. will persevere and carry them out if they can And <sup>B C 415</sup>  
<sup>Ol 91, 2</sup> now let me prove to you that if you do not come to the  
 rescue Sicily will be lost If the Sicilian cities would  
 all unite they might even now, notwithstanding their  
 want of military skill, resist with success, but the Syra-  
 acusans alone, whose whole forces have been already  
 defeated, and who cannot move freely at sea, will be un-  
 able to withstand the power which the Athenians already  
 have on the spot And Syracuse once taken, the whole  
 of Sicily is in their hands, the subjugation of Italy will  
 follow, and the danger which, as I was saying threatens  
 you from that quarter, will speedily overwhelm you  
 And therefore remember every one of you that the  
 safety, not of Sicily alone, but of Peloponnesus, is at  
 stake No time should be lost You must send to  
 Sicily a force of hoplites who will themselves handle the  
 oars and will take the field immediately on landing A  
 Spartan commander I conceive to be even more indis-  
 pensable than an army, his duty will be to organise the  
 troops which are already enlisted, and to press the un-  
 willing into the service Thus you will inspire confidence  
 in your friends and overcome the fears of the wavering  
 Here too in Hellas you should make open war The  
 Syracusans, seeing that you have not forgotten them,  
 will then persevere in their resistance, while the Athe-  
 nians will have greater difficulty in reinforcing their  
 army You ought above all to fortify Decelea in Attica,  
 the Athenians are always in dread of this, to them it  
 seems to be the only calamity which they have not  
 already experienced to the utmost in the course of the  
 war And the way to hurt an enemy most surely is  
 to inform yourself exactly about the weak points of  
 which you see that he is conscious, and strike at them  
 For every man is likely to know best himself the dangers  
 which he has most to fear I will sum up briefly the  
 chief though by no means all the advantages which you  
 will gain, and the disadvantages which you will inflict,  
 by the fortification of Decelea The whole stock of the

come to the  
 rescue  
 The Sicil-  
 ians will  
 not unite,  
 and Syra-  
 cuse alone  
 is no match  
 for the  
 Athenians  
 Send hop-  
 lites and  
 a Spartan  
 commander  
 at once,  
 and fortify  
 Decelea  
 I know best  
 what the  
 Athenians  
 most dread  
 You must  
 be up and  
 doing

B C 415  
Ol 91, 2

country will fall into your hands The slaves will come over to you of their own accord, what there is besides will be seized by you The Athenians will at once be deprived of the revenues which they obtain from the silver mines of Laurium, and of all the profits which they make by the land or by the law courts above all, the customary tribute will fail, for their allies, when they see that you are now carrying on the war in earnest, will not mind them How far these plans are executed, and with how much speed and energy, Lacedaemonians, depends on you, for I am confident that they are practicable, and I am not likely to be mistaken

92

'You ought not in fairness to think the worse of me because, having been once distinguished as a lover of my country, I now cast in my lot with her worst foes and attack her with all my might, or suspect that I speak only with the forwardness of an exile An exile I am indeed, I have lost an ungrateful country, but I have not lost the power of doing you service, if you will listen to me The true enemies of my country are not those who, like you, have injured her in open war, but those who have compelled her friends to become her enemies I love Athens, not in so far as I am wronged by her, but in so far as I once enjoyed the privileges of a citizen The country which I am attacking is no longer mine, but a lost country which I am seeking to regain He is the true patriot, not who, when unjustly exiled, abstains from attacking his country, but who in the warmth of his affection seeks to recover her without regard to the means I desire therefore that you, Lacedaemonians, will use me without scruple in any service however difficult or dangerous, remembering that, according to the familiar saying, "the more harm I did you as an enemy, the more good can I do you as a friend" For I know the secrets of the Athenians, while I could only guess at yours Remember the immense importance of your present decision, and do not hesitate to send an expedition to Sicily and Attica. By despatching a

Athens has  
compelled  
me to be  
her enemy  
She is no  
longer my  
country  
Yet I do  
her evil  
only that I  
may regain  
her

VI. fraction of your forces to co-operate in Sicily you may <sup>BC 415</sup> save great interests, and may overthrow the Athenian <sup>Ol 91, 2</sup> power once and for ever. And so henceforward you may dwell safely yourselves and be leaders of all Hellas, which will follow you, not upon compulsion, but from affection'

93        Thus spoke Alcibiades the Lacedaemonians, who had  
 The Lacedaemonians determine to fortify Decelea and to send Gylippus to Syracuse  
 been intending to send an army against Athens, but were still hesitating and looking about them, were greatly strengthened in their resolution when they heard all these points urged by him who, as they thought, knew best. Accordingly they now turned their thoughts to the fortification of Decelea, and determined to send immediate assistance to the Syracusans. They appointed Gylippus the son of Cleandridas commander of the Syracusan forces, and desired him to co-operate with the Syracusan and Corinthian representatives, and send aid to Sicily in the speediest and most effective manner which the circumstances admitted. Whereupon he told the Corinthians to despatch immediately two ships to him at Asinè, and to fit out as many more as they meant to send, the latter were to be ready for sea when the season arrived. Coming to this understanding the envoys departed from Lacedaemon.

About this time the trireme which the Athenian generals had despatched from Sicily for money and cavalry\* arrived at Athens. The Athenians hearing their request, voted supplies of food and a force of cavalry for the army. So the winter ended, and with it the seventeenth year in the Peloponnesian War of which Thucydides wrote the history.

94.        At the very beginning of the following spring the <sup>BC 414</sup> Athenians quitted Catana, and sailed along the coast <sup>Ol 91, 3</sup> towards the Sicilian Megara, this place, as I have already mentioned<sup>b</sup>, in the days of Gelo the tyrant was depopulated by the Syracusans, who still retain possession of the country. They disembarked, and after ravaging

Operations of Athenians in the eastern district of Sicily. Arrival of horsemen

Cp vi 74 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp vi 4 init.

BC 414  
Ol 91, 3 the fields proceeded to attack a small Syracusan fortress<sup>a</sup>, VI  
but without success, they then moved on some by land and mon  
and some by sea to the river Teras, and going up from  
the country wasted the plain and burned the corn Athens  
They encountered a few Syracusans, some of whom they  
killed, and setting up a trophy returned to their ships.  
They then sailed back to Catana, and having taken in  
provisions marched with their whole force against Cento-  
ripa, a Sicel town, which capitulated. Thence they  
returned, and on their way burned the corn of the  
Inessians and the Hyblaeans. Arriving at Catana they  
found that the horsemen to the number of two hundred  
and fifty had come from Athens according to order, with  
their equipments, but without horses, which they ex-  
pected to procure on the spot. Thirty mounted archers  
and three hundred talents of silver<sup>b</sup> had arrived also.

During the same spring the Lacedaemonians led an 95  
army against Argos, and advanced as far as Cleonae, A Lacedaemonian  
but retired in consequence of an earthquake. The invasion  
Argives in their turn invaded the neighbouring district of Argolis  
of Thyrea, and took a great deal of spoil from the Lacedaemonians, which was sold for no less than twenty-five talents<sup>c</sup>. Argolis  
Somewhat later the populace of Thespieae<sup>d</sup> invaded  
made an attack upon the government, but the attempt Thyrea  
did not succeed, for the Thebans came to the rescue Rising at  
Some of the insurgents were apprehended, others fled Thespieae  
to Athens.

The Syracusans heard that the Athenians had re- 96.  
ceived their cavalry, and that they would soon be upon The Syra-  
them. They considered that, unless the Athenians cusans  
gained possession of Epipolae (which was a steep place determine  
looking down upon Syracuse), the city could not easily to guard  
be invested, even if they were defeated in battle, they Epipolae,  
therefore determined to guard the paths leading to the but are  
summit that the enemy might not get up by stealth anticipated,  
At all other points the place was secure, as it lies high while  
holding a  
review, by  
the Athe-  
nians,

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 75 init

<sup>c</sup> £6 000.

<sup>b</sup> £72,000

<sup>d</sup> Cp iv 133 init

VI and slopes right down to the city, from the interior of which it can all be seen, the Syracusans call it Epipolae (or the plateau), because it is above the level of the adjacent country. Heimocrates and his colleagues had now entered upon their command. The whole people went out at break of day to the meadow skirting the river Anapus, and proceeded to hold a review of their forces. A selection was at once made of six hundred hoplites who were appointed to guard Epipolae, and to run in a body to any point at which they were needed. They were commanded by Diomilus, an Andrian exile.

97 On the very same morning the Athenians were likewise holding a muster of their army. They had come from Catana with their whole force, and had put in unobserved near a place called Leon, which is distant from Epipolae not quite a mile, there they disembarked their troops. Their ships cast anchor at Thapsus, which is a peninsula with a narrow isthmus, running out into the sea, and not far from Syracuse either by land or water. The Athenian sailors made a palisade across the isthmus and remained at Thapsus, while the troops ran to Epipolae, and gained the summit by the way of the Euryelus before the Syracusans saw them or could come up to them from the meadow where the review was going on. Nevertheless Diomilus with his six hundred hurried to the spot, accompanied by the rest of the army, each man running as fast as he could, but the distance from the meadow which they had to traverse before they could engage was not less than three miles, consequently they were in disorder when they closed with the Athenians. They were defeated in the engagement which ensued on Epipolae, and retired into the city. Diomilus and about three hundred others were slain. The Athenians erected a trophy, and gave up to the Syracusans the bodies of the dead under a flag of truce. On the following day they went down to the city itself, but as the Syracusans did not come

who land,  
unobserved,  
north of the  
city.  
They gain  
the summit  
of Epipolae  
and put to  
flight the  
Syracusan  
hoplites

B C 414  
OI 91, 3

B C 414  
Ol 91, 3

out against them, they retired and built a fort upon Labdalum, at the edge of the cliffs of Epipolae looking towards Megara, in order that when they advanced either to fight or to construct lines, the place might serve as a depository for their baggage and their property

VI.

Not long afterwards the Athenians were joined by 98

three hundred Eggestean horsemen, and about a hundred more furnished by the Sicels, Naxians, and others. They had two hundred and fifty of their own, for some of whom they received horses from the Eggesteans and Catanacans, other horses they bought. The whole number of their cavalry was now raised to six hundred and fifty. They placed a garrison in Labdalum and went down to Syracè, where they took up a position and immediately commenced building a wall round the city.

The Athenians now muster six hundred and fifty horse. They begin to construct a wall round Syracuse. The Syracusans go out to meet them, but retire, and some of their cavalry are defeated.

The Syracusans were amazed at the celerity of the work. They saw that they must interfere, and made up their minds to go out and fight. The two armies were already preparing to engage when the Syracusan generals, seeing that their forces were in disorder and were forming with difficulty, led them back into the city, all but a detachment of the cavalry, who, remaining on the spot, prevented their opponents from gathering stones for the wall, and compelled them to keep together. At length, advancing with one division of their hoplites and all their cavalry, the Athenians attacked the Syracusan horse, whom they put to flight, and killed some of them, they then erected a trophy.

On the following day some of the Athenians proceeded 99

with the construction of that part of the circle which lay towards the north, others began to collect wood and stones and lay them along the intended course of the wall towards Trogilus, where the distance was shortest from the Great Harbour to the outer sea. The Syracusans by the advice of their commanders, chiefly of Hermocrates, determined to risk no more general engagements. They thought it better to raise a counter-wall across the

The Syracusans raise a palisade and counter-wall.



VI. line along which the Athenian wall was building If they <sup>B C 414</sup>  
 were first they would intercept them They might indeed <sup>Ol 91, 3</sup>  
 be attacked by the Athenians while thus engaged, but  
 then they could oppose them with a part of their army;  
 and there would be time to run a palisade across, if not  
 a wall, before any attack took place. The Athenians  
 on the other hand would have to leave their work,  
 and employ their whole army against them So they  
 came out and drew a cross-wall, beginning at their own  
 city, from a point below the circle of the Athenian  
 wall, cutting down the olive-trees in the precinct of  
 Apollo and erecting wooden towers As yet the Athe-  
 nian ships had not sailed round from Thapsus into  
 the Great Harbour, the Syracusans were still masters  
 of their own coasts, and the Athenians brought their  
 necessities from Thapsus by land

100 The Athenians did not interfere with their work, for  
 These, when partly finished, are taken by a sudden attack of the Athenians they were afraid of dividing and weakening their forces,  
 and they were pressing forward that part of the line on  
 which they were employed So when the Syracusans  
 had sufficiently completed a part of their palisade and  
 cross-wall, leaving one division to guard the work, they  
 retreated into the city with the rest of their army The  
 Athenians now destroyed their conduits, which were  
 laid underground to bring drinking-water into the city  
 Then, choosing their time at noon when the Syracusan  
 guard remained within their tents (some of them had  
 even retired into the city) and when the vigilance of  
 their sentinels at the palisade was relaxed, they took a  
 body of three hundred chosen hoplites of their own  
 and some light-armed troops, picked soldiers, to whom  
 they gave heavy arms, and bade them run quickly to  
 the cross-wall The rest of the army proceeded in two  
 divisions under the two generals, one towards the city  
 in case the enemy should come to the rescue, the other  
 to that part of the palisade which adjoined the postern-  
 gate of the city. The three hundred attacked and  
 captured the further end of the palisade, from which

BC 414 the guards retired and fled inside the new outer wall VI  
 Ol 91, 3 which enclosed the shrine of Apollo Tementes<sup>a</sup>. The  
 pursuers pressed forward and made their way in after  
 them; but they were forced out again by the Syra-  
 acusans, and some Aigives and a few of the Athenians  
 fell there. Then the whole army, turning back, de-  
 stroyed the cross-wall, tore up the palisades, carried the  
 stakes to their camp, and raised a trophy.

On the following day the Athenians, beginning at IOI  
 one end of the unfinished circle, proceeded to bring the  
 wall <sup>b</sup>down over<sup>b</sup> the cliff which on this side of Epi-  
 polae looks across the marsh towards the Great Harbour,  
 intending to carry on the line by the shortest way  
 to the harbour right through the level of the marsh.  
 Meanwhile the Syracusans also came out, and begin-  
 ning from the city, proceeded to carry another palisade  
 through the middle of the marsh, with a ditch at the  
 side, in order to prevent the Athenians from completing  
 their line to the sea. The latter, having finished their  
 work as far as the cliff, attacked the new Syracusan  
 palisade and ditch. They ordered the ships to sail  
 round from Thapsus into the Great Harbour of the  
 Syracusans, with the first break of day they descended  
 themselves from Epipolae to the level ground, and  
 passing through the marsh where the soil was clay and  
 firmer than the rest, over planks and gates which they  
 laid down, they succeeded at sunrise in taking nearly  
 the whole of the palisade and the ditch, and the re-  
 mainder not long afterwards. A battle took place in  
 which the Athenians were victorious, and the Syra-  
 acusans on the right wing fled to the city, those on  
 the left along the river. The three hundred chosen  
 Athenian troops pressed on at full speed towards the  
 bridge, intending to stop their passage, but the Syra-  
 acusans, fearing that they would be cut off, and having  
 most of their horsemen on the spot, turned upon the  
 three hundred, and putting them to flight, charged the

The Athe-  
 nians pro-  
 ceed to  
 carry their  
 wall south-  
 wards to-  
 wards the  
 Great  
 Harbour.  
 They take  
 the stock-  
 ade which  
 is intended  
 to intercept  
 them.  
 After de-  
 feating the  
 Syracusans  
 they fall  
 into partial  
 confusion  
 themselves  
 Lamachus  
 is slain.

VI right wing of the Athenians The panic now extended to the whole division at the extremity of the wing Lamachus saw what had happened, and hastened to the rescue from his own place on the left wing taking with him a few archers and the Argive troops, but passing forward across a certain ditch he and a few who had followed him were cut off from the rest, and he fell with five or six others The Syracusans hastily snatched up their bodies, and carried them across the river out of the reach of the enemy But when they saw the rest of the Athenian army advancing towards them they retreated

102. Meanwhile the Syracusans who fled first into the city, observing the resistance made by the left wing, took courage, and coming out drew up against that part of the Athenian line which was opposed to them They also sent a detachment against the wall of circumvallation on Epipolae, supposing that it was undefended, and might be taken They did indeed take and demolish the outwork, which was about a thousand feet in length, but Nicias, who happened to have been left there because he was ill, saved the lines themselves He commanded the attendants of the camp to set fire to the engines and to the timber which had been left lying in front of the wall, for being without troops he knew that there was no other way of escape The expedient succeeded, and in consequence of the fire the Syracusans gave up the attack. The Athenian army too was now hastening from the plain to the circle, with the intention of beating off the enemy, while the ships, as they had been ordered, were sailing from Thapsus into the Great Harbour The Syracusans on the heights, seeing this combined movement, quickly retreated, together with the rest of the army, into the city, thinking that with their present force they were no longer able to prevent the completion of the line of wall towards the sea

103. The Athenians then erected a trophy and restored the Syracusan dead under a flag of truce The Syra-

Meanwhile the Syracusans attack the deserted walls on Epipolae, which are only saved by Nicias setting fire to some timber and engines

Despair of the Syra-

B C 114  
Ol 91, 3.

B C 414  
Ol 9<sup>1</sup>, 3

cusans delivered to them the bodies of Lamachus and

VI

his companions. The whole Athenian forces, both naval and military, were now on the spot, and they proceeded to cut off the Syracusans by a double wall, beginning at the southern cliff of Epipolae and extending to the sea. Provisions came to their army in abundance from various parts of Italy. Many of the Sicel tribes who had hitherto been hesitating now joined the Athenians, and three penteconters came from the Tyrrhenians. Everything began to answer to their hopes. The Syracusans despaired of saving the city by arms, for no help reached them even from Peloponnesus. Within the walls they were talking of peace, and they began to enter into communications with Nicias, who, now that Lamachus was dead, had the sole command. But no definite result was attained, although, as might be expected when men began to feel the pressure of the siege and their own helplessness, many proposals were made to him, and many more were discussed in the city. Their calamities even made them suspicious of one another, accordingly they deposed their generals, attributing the misfortunes which had befallen the city since they were appointed either to their ill-luck or to their treachery. In their room they chose Heraclides, Eucles, and Telias.

cusans at  
the progress  
of the wall  
They  
parley with  
Nicias, and  
are sus-  
picious of  
their gene-  
rals, whom  
they depose

Meanwhile Gylippus the Lacedaemonian and the ships from Corinth<sup>a</sup> were already at Leucas hastening to their relief. They were alarmed at the reports which were continually pouring in, all false, but all agreeing that the Athenian lines round Syracuse were now complete. Gylippus had no longer any hope of Sicily, but thought that he might save Italy, so he and Pythen the Corinthian sailed across the Ionian Gulf to Tarentum as fast as they could, taking two Laconian and two Corinthian ships. The Corinthians were to man ten ships of their own, two Leucadian, and three Ambracian, and to follow. Gylippus on his arrival at Tarentum went on a mission to Thuri, of which his

104.

Gylippus  
arrives at  
Tarentum  
Nicias  
despises the  
smallness  
of his force

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 93 med

- VI      father had formerly been a citizen, he had hoped to gain over the Thurians, but failed, he then continued his voyage from Tarentum along the coast of Italy. He was caught in the Terinaean gulf by a wind which in this region blows violently and steadily from the north, and was carried into the open sea. After experiencing a most violent storm he returned to Tarentum, where he drew up those of his ships which had suffered in the gale and refitted them. Nicias heard of his approach, but despised the small number of his ships, in this respect he was like the Thurians. He thought that he had come on a mere privateering expedition, and for some time set no watch.<sup>a</sup>

105.      During the same summer, about the same time, the Athenians violated the peace with the Lacedaemonians by devastating the Laconian coast. Lacedaemonians and their allies invaded Argolis and wasted most of the Argive territory. The Athenians assisted the Argives with thirty ships. The use which they made of them was a glaring violation of the treaty with the Lacedaemonians. Hitherto they had only gone out on marauding expeditions from Pylos, when they landed, it was not upon the shores of Laconia, but upon other parts of the Peloponnese, and they had merely fought as the allies of the Argives and Mantineans. The Argives had often urged them just to land soldiers on Lacedaemonian ground, and to waste some part of Laconia, however small, without remaining, and they had refused. But now, under the command of Pythodorus, Laespodias, and Demaratus, they landed at Epidaurus called Limera, Prasiae, and other places, and wasted the country. Thereby the Athenians at last gave the Lacedaemonians a right to complain of them and completely justified measures of retaliation. After the Athenian fleet had departed from Argos, and the Lacedaemonians had likewise retired, the Argives invaded Phlasiā, and having ravaged the country and killed a few of the Phlasiāns, returned home.

<sup>a</sup> Cp vii 1 med.

## BOOK VII

B C 414  
 Ol 91, 3
 
 GYLIPPUS and Pythen, after refitting their ships at Tarentum, coasted along to the Epizephyrian Locri. They now learned the truth, that Syracuse was not as yet completely invested, but that an army might still enter by way of Epipolæ. So they considered whether they should steer their course to the left or to the right of Sicily. They might attempt to throw themselves into Syracuse by sea, but the risk would be great, or they might go first to Himera, and gathering a force of the Himeræans, and of any others whom they could induce to join them, make their way by land. They determined to sail to Himeia. Nicias, when he heard that they were at Locri, although he had despised them at first, now sent out four Athenian ships to intercept them; but these had not as yet arrived at Rhegium and came too late. So they sailed through the strait, and touching by the way at Rhegium and Messenè, reached Himera. There having drawn up their ships on the beach they persuaded the Himeræans to make common cause with them, and not only to join in the expedition themselves, but to supply arms to all their unarmed sailors. They then sent to the Selinuntians and told them to come and meet them with their whole army at an appointed place. The Geloans and certain of the Sicels also promised to send them a small force, the latter with the more alacrity because Archonides, a Sicel king in these parts who was a powerful man and friendly to the Athenians, had recently died, and because Gylippus

VII. 1.  
 Gylippus  
 arrives at  
 Himera  
 and, with  
 an army  
 numbering  
 about three  
 thousand  
 in all,  
 marches  
 towards  
 Syracuse.

VII. seemed to have come from Lacedaemon with hearty good-will. And so, taking with him about seven hundred of his own sailors and marines for whom he had obtained arms, about a thousand Himeraean infantry, heavy and light-armed included, and a hundred Himeraean horsemen, some light-armed troops and cavalry from Selinus, a few more from Gela, and of the Sicels about a thousand in all, Gylippus marched towards Syracuse B C 414  
Ol 97, 3

2. In the meantime the Corinthian ships<sup>a</sup> had put to sea from Leucas and were coming with all speed to the aid of the besieged Gongylus, one of the Corinthian commanders, who started last in a single ship, arrived at Syracuse before the rest of the fleet, and a little before Gylippus. He found the citizens on the point of holding an assembly at which the question of peace was to be discussed, from this intention he dissuaded them by the encouraging announcement that more ships, and Gylippus the son of Cleandridas, whom the Lacedaemonians had sent to take the command, were on their way. Whereupon the Syracusans were reassured, and at once went forth with their whole army to meet Gylippus, who, as they were informed, was now close at hand. He had shortly before captured the Sicel fort Getae on his march, and drawing up his men in readiness to fight, came to Epipolae, taking the path by the Euryclus, where the Athenians had found a way before him<sup>b</sup>. Having formed a junction with the Syracusans, he marched against the Athenian lines. He arrived just at the time when the Athenians had all but finished their double wall<sup>c</sup>, nearly a mile long, reaching to the Great Harbour, there remained only a small portion toward the sea, upon which they were still at work. Along the remainder of the line of wall, which extended towards Trogius and the northern sea, the stones were mostly lying ready, a part was half-finished, a part

The Syracusans are about to make terms when Gongylus sails in and encourages them with the news that Gylippus is at hand. They go out to meet him.

Cp. vi. 93 med., 104 med.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. vi. 97 med

<sup>c</sup> Cp. vi. 103 init.

B C 414 had been completed and left So near was Syracuse VII  
Ol 91, 3 to destruction

The Athenians, though at first disconcerted by the sudden advance of Gylippus and the Syracusans, drew up their forces in order of battle. He halted as he approached, and sent a herald to them offering a truce if they were willing to quit Sicily within five days taking what belonged to them. But they despised his offer, and sent away the herald without an answer. Whereupon both armies set themselves in order of battle. Gylippus, seeing that the Syracusans were in confusion, and could with difficulty form, led back his troops to the more open ground. Nicias did not follow, but lay still, close to his own wall. When Gylippus observed that the Athenians remained where they were, he led away his army to the height called Tementes, there they passed the night. On the following day he stationed the greater part of his troops in front of the Athenian wall that they might not despatch a force to any other point, and then sent a detachment against the fort of Labdalum, which was out of sight of the Athenian lines. He took the place, and killed every one whom he found in it. On the same day an Athenian trireme which was keeping watch over the harbour of the Syracusans was taken by them.

The Syracusans and their allies now <sup>a</sup> began to build a single line of wall starting from the city and running upwards across Epipolae at an angle with the Athenian wall, this was a work which, unless it could be stopped by the Athenians, would make the investment of the city impossible. Towards the sea the Athenian wall was now completed, and their forces had come up to the high ground. Gylippus, knowing that a part of the wall was weak, instantly went by night with his army to attack it. But the Athenians, who happened to be passing the night outside the walls, perceived this movement and marched to oppose him, whereupon he at once with-

<sup>a</sup> Or, omitting 'upwards.' 'began to build on the high ground.'

3  
Gylippus and the Syracusans offer battle to Nicias on Epipolae, but they soon withdraw. Nicias remains by the Athenian lines. Labdalum taken by the Syracusans.

4  
The third counter-work. Failure of an attack on the Athenian lines.



VII. drew They then raised the weak portion of their wall higher, and guarded it themselves, while they posted the allies on the other parts of the fortification in the places severally assigned to them B C 414  
Ol 92, 3

The Athenians by the fortification of Plemmyrium obtain greater command of the harbour, but the removal of the army exposes their foragers to the Syracusan cavalry

Nicias now determined to fortify Plemmyrium, a promontory which runs out opposite the city and narrows the entrance to the Great Harbour. He thought that this measure would facilitate the introduction of supplies<sup>a</sup>. His forces would then be able to watch the harbour of the Syracusans from a nearer point, whereas they had hitherto been obliged to put out from the further corner of the Great Harbour whenever a Syracusan ship threatened to move. He was inclined to pay more attention than hitherto to naval operations, for since the arrival of Gylippus the Athenian prospects by land were not so encouraging. Having therefore transferred his ships and a portion of his army to Plemmyrium, he built three forts in which the greater part of the Athenian stores were deposited, and the large boats as well as the ships of war were now anchored at this spot. The removal was a first and main cause of the deterioration of the crews. For when the sailors went out to procure forage and water, of which there was little, and that only to be obtained from a distance, they were constantly cut off by the Syracusan cavalry, who were masters of the country, a third part of their force having been posted in a village at the Olympieum<sup>b</sup> expressly in order to prevent the enemy at Plemmyrium from coming out and doing mischief. About this time Nicias was informed that the rest of the Corinthian fleet<sup>c</sup> was on the point of arriving, and he sent twenty ships, which were ordered to lie in wait for them about Locri and Rhegium and the approach to Sicily.

5. While Gylippus was building the wall across Epipolæ, employing the stones which the Athenians had previously laid there for their own use, he at the same time

Gylippus, engaging the Athenians in a

<sup>a</sup> Cp. vii. 13 init, 24 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp vi. 75 init.

<sup>c</sup> Cp vii 2 init.

BC 414  
Ol 91, 3

constantly led out and drew up in front of the wall the VII  
Syracusans and their allies, and the Athenians on their confined  
part drew up in face of them When he thought that space be  
the moment had arrived he offered battle, the two tween the  
armies met and fought hand to hand between the walls, is  
But there the Syracusan cavalry was useless, the Syia- defeated  
cusans and their allies were defeated, and received their  
dead under a flag of truce, while the Athenians raised  
a trophy. Gylippus then assembled his army and con-  
fessed that the fault was his own and not theirs, for by  
confining their ranks too much between the walls he had  
rendered useless both their cavalry and their javelin-men  
But he meant to make another attempt And he re-  
minded them that while in material force they were equal  
to their enemies, in energy of purpose they ought to be  
far superior That they, who were Peloponnesians and  
Dorians<sup>a</sup>, should allow a mixed rabble of Ionians and  
islanders to remain in the country and not resolve to  
master them and drive them out, was a thing not to be  
thought of

On the first opportunity he led them out again. 6.  
Nicias and the Athenians had determined that, whether But renew-  
the Syracusans would offer battle or not, they must not ing the  
allow them to carry on their counterwork For already conflict on  
their wall had almost passed the end of the Athenian more open  
wall, and if the work advanced any further it would make ground  
no difference to the Athenians whether they fought and where his  
conquered in every battle, or never fought at all So cavalry can  
they went out to meet the Syracusans Gylippus before act, he is  
engaging led his heavy-armed further outside the walls victorious  
than on the former occasion, his cavalry and javelin- The cross-  
men he placed on the flanks of the Athenians in the w'll now  
open space between the points at which their respective carried  
lines of wall stopped In the course of the battle the past the  
cavalry attacked the left wing of the Athenians which Athenian  
was opposed to them, and put them to flight, the defeat wall  
became general, and the whole Athenian army was

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 124 int, v 9 int, vi 77 med., viii. 25 med

VII driven back by main force within their lines. On the following night the Syracusans succeeded in carrying their wall past the works of the enemy. Their operations were now no longer molested by them, and the Athenians, whatever success they might gain in the field, were utterly deprived of all hope of investing the city.

7. Not long afterwards the remaining Corinthian with the Ambraciot and Leucadian ships<sup>a</sup> sailed in, under the command of Erasimides the Corinthian, having eluded the Athenian guardships. They assisted the Syracusans in completing what remained of the Syracusan wall up to the Athenian wall which it crossed. Gylippus meanwhile had gone off into Sicily to collect both naval and land forces, and also to bring over any cities which either were slack in the Syracusan cause or had stood aloof from the war. More ambassadors, Syracusan and Corinthian, were despatched to Lacedaemon and Corinth, requesting that reinforcements might be sent across the sea in merchant-ships or small craft, or by any other available means, since the Athenians were sending for assistance. The Syracusans, who were in high spirits, also manned a navy, and began to practise, intending to try their hand at this new sort of warfare.

8. Nicias observing how they were employed, and seeing that the strength of the enemy and the helplessness of the Athenians was daily increasing, sent to Athens a full report of his circumstances, as he had often done before, but never in such detail. He now thought the situation so critical that, if the Athenians did not at once recall them or send another considerable army to their help, the expedition was lost. Fearing lest his messengers, either from inability to speak or<sup>b</sup> from want of intelligence<sup>b</sup>, or because they desired to please the people, might not tell the whole truth, he wrote a letter, that the Athenians might receive his own opinion of their affairs unimpaired in the transmission, and so

<sup>a</sup> Cp. vii 4 fin.

<sup>b</sup> Or, reading *μνήμης* instead of *γνώμης*. 'from defect of memory.'

Arrival of fresh reinforcements  
Gylippus collects allies in Sicily  
Second embassy to Corinth and Lacedaemon  
Syracusans man a navy

Day by day the Syracusans are gaining and the Athenians losing strength  
Nicias writes to Athens

B C 414  
Ol 91, 3

B C 414  
Ol 91, 3

be better able to judge of the real facts of the case  
The messengers departed carrying his letter and taking  
verbal instructions He was now careful to keep his  
army on the defensive, and to run no risks which he  
could avoid

VII.

At the end of the same summer, Euctemon an Athenian  
general, in concert with Perdikkas and assisted by a  
large force of Thracians, made an attack upon Amphipolis,  
which he failed to take He then brought round  
triremes into the Strymon and besieged the place from  
the river, making Himeraeum his head-quarters. So  
the summer ended

9

Failure of  
an attack  
upon Amphipolis

In the following winter the messengers from Nicias  
arrived at Athens They delivered their verbal instructions,  
and answered any questions which were put to them  
They also presented his letter, which the registrar  
of the city, coming forward, read to the Athenian people.  
It ran as follows —

10.

The messengers of  
Nicias arrive at  
Athens

‘Athenians, in many previous despatches I have reported  
to you the course of events up to this time, but now  
there is greater need than ever that you should inform  
yourselves of our situation, and come to some decision  
After we had engaged the Syracusans, against whom  
you sent us, in several battles, and conquered in most  
of them, and had raised the lines within which we  
are now stationed, Gylippus a Lacedaemonian arrived,  
bringing an army from Peloponnesus and from certain  
of the cities of Sicily In the first engagement he  
was defeated by us, but on the following day we were  
overcome by numerous horsemen and javelin-men, and  
retired within our lines We have therefore desisted  
from our siege-works and remain idle, since we are  
overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy, and  
indeed cannot bring our whole army into the field, for  
the defence of our wall absorbs a portion of our heavy-  
armed. The enemy meanwhile have built a single wall  
which crosses ours, and we cannot now invest them, unless  
a large army comes and takes this cross-wall. So

11

The arrival of  
Gylippus has entirely  
altered our position  
The besiegers are  
now besieged

VII that we, who are supposed to be the besiegers, are <sup>BC 414</sup> really the besieged <sup>Ol 91, 3</sup> <sup>a</sup>, at least by land, and the more so because we cannot go far even into the country, for we are prevented by their horsemen

I 2 'Moreover they have sent ambassadors to Peloponnesus asking for reinforcements, and Gylippus has gone to the cities in Sicily intending to solicit those who are at present neutral to join him, and to obtain from his allies fresh naval and land forces. For they purpose, as I hear, to attack our walls by land, and at the same time to make an effort at sea. And let no one be startled when I say "at sea." Our fleet was originally in first-rate condition: the ships were sound and the crews were in good order, whereas our ships are decaying.

I 3. 'Even if we had a great superiority in the number of our ships, and were not compelled as we are to employ them all in keeping guard, we could hardly have the like advantage. For our supplies have to pass so near the enemy's city that they are with difficulty conveyed to us, our crews are demoralised and our sailors desert.

It has been, and continues to be the ruin of our crews, that the sailors, having to forage and fetch water and wood from a distance, are cut off by the Syracusan horse<sup>b</sup>, while our servants, since we have been reduced to an equality with the enemy, desert us. Of the foreign sailors, some who were pressed into the service

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iv 29 init.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. vii 4 fin.

BC 414  
Ol 91, 3

run off at once to the Sicilian cities, others, having been VII  
originally attracted by high pay, and fancying that they  
were going to trade and not to fight, astonished at the  
resistance which they encountered, and especially at the  
naval strength of the enemy, either find an excuse for  
deserting to the Syracusans, or they effect their escape  
into the country, and Sicily is a large place. Others,  
again, have persuaded the trierarchs to take Hyccarian  
slaves in their room while they themselves are busy  
trading, and thus the precision of the service is lost.

‘I am writing to those who know that the crew of a 14  
vessel does not long remain at its prime,<sup>a</sup> and that the  
sailors who really start the ship and keep the rowing  
together are but a fraction of the whole number<sup>a</sup>. The  
most hopeless thing of all is that, although I am general,  
I am not able to put a stop to these disorders, for tempers  
like yours are not easily controlled. And we cannot  
even fill up the crews, whereas the enemy can obtain  
recruits from many sources. Our daily waste in men  
and stores can only be replaced out of the supplies which  
we brought with us, and these we have no means of  
increasing, for the cities which are now our confederates,  
Naxos and Catana, are unable to maintain us. There  
is only one advantage more which the Syracusans can  
gain over us: if the towns of Italy from which our  
provisions are derived, seeing our reduced condition and  
your neglect of us, go over to the enemy, we shall be  
starved out, and they will have made an end of the war  
without striking a blow. I could have written you  
tidings more cheering than these, but none more profit-  
able, for you should be well-informed of our circum-  
stances if you are to take the right steps. Moreover I  
know your dispositions, you like to hear pleasant things,  
but afterwards lay the fault on those who tell you them  
if they are falsified by the event, therefore I think it  
safer to speak the truth.

I cannot  
prevent  
these  
abuses,  
for your  
Athenian  
tempers will  
not submit  
to disci-  
pline.  
We are  
in danger  
of being  
starved out.  
It is better  
that you  
should  
know the  
truth,  
however  
painful

<sup>a</sup> Or, ‘and that there are few sailors who can start a ship and keep the rowing together.’

## VII

## 15

We have done our duty, but the enemy and their allies are too much for us, I am sick and want to resign. Whatever you do, do quickly

‘ And now, do not imagine that your soldiers and their generals have failed in the fulfilment of the duty which you originally imposed upon them. But when all Sicily is uniting against us, and the Syracusans are expecting another army from Peloponnesus, it is time that you should make up your minds. For the troops which we have here certainly cannot hold out even against our present enemies, and therefore you ought either to recall us or to send another army and fleet as large as this, and plenty of money. You should also send a general to succeed me, for I have a disease in the kidneys and cannot remain here. I claim your indulgence, while I retained my health I often did you good service when in command. But do whatever you mean to do at the very beginning of spring, and let there be no delay. The enemy will obtain reinforcements in Sicily without going far, and although the troops from Peloponnesus will not arrive so soon, yet if you do not take care they will elude you, their movements will either be too secret for you, as they were before<sup>a</sup>, or too quick.’

## 16.

The Athenians resolve to send a second expedition, of which Demosthenes and Eurymedon are appointed commanders

Such was the condition of affairs described in the letter of Nicias. The Athenians, after hearing it read, did not release Nicias from his command, but they joined with him two officers who were already in Sicily, Menander and Euthydemus, until regular colleagues could be elected and sent out, for they did not wish him to bear the burden in his sickness alone. They also resolved to send a second fleet and an army of Athenians taken from the muster-roll and of allies. As colleagues to Nicias they elected Demosthenes the son of Alcisthenes, and Eurymedon the son of Thucles. Eurymedon was despatched immediately to Sicily about the winter solstice, he took with him ten ships conveying a hundred and twenty talents<sup>b</sup> of silver, and was to tell the army in Sicily that they should receive assistance and should not be neglected. Demosthenes remained behind, and was busied in getting ready the expedition

## 17.

The Athenians and

<sup>a</sup> Cp vii. 2 init

<sup>b</sup> £28,800.

B C 4x4  
Ol 9<sup>r</sup>. 3

which he was to bring out in the spring. He announced VII.  
to the allies that troops would be required, and collected Pelopon-  
money, ships, and hoplites at Athens. The Athenians nesians get  
also sent twenty ships to cruise off the Peloponnesian ready their  
coast and intercept any vessels trying to pass from the for ces  
Peloponnesus or Corinth to Sicily. The Sicilian envoys<sup>a</sup>  
had now arrived at Corinth, and the Corinthians had  
heard from them that affairs were looking better in  
Sicily. Seeing how opportune had been the arrival of  
the ships which they had already despatched they were  
more zealous than ever. They prepared to convey  
hoplites to Sicily in merchant-vessels, the Lacedae-  
monians were to do the like from Peloponnesus. The  
Corinthians also proceeded to man twenty-five ships of  
war, intending to hazard a naval engagement against the  
Athenian squadron stationed at Naupactus. They hoped  
that, if the attention of the Athenians was diverted by an  
opposing force, they would be unable to prevent their  
merchant-vessels from sailing.

The Lacedaemonians also prepared for their already 18  
projected invasion of Attica<sup>b</sup>. They were partly stimu- The  
lated by the Syracusans and Corinthians, who having Lacedae-  
heard of the reinforcements which the Athenians were monians,  
sending to Sicily, hoped that they might be stopped by at the insti-  
the invasion. Alcibiades was always at hand insisting gation of  
upon the importance of fortifying Decelea and of carrying Alcibiades,  
on the war with vigour. Above all, the Lacedaemonians prepare to  
were inspirited by the thought that the Athenians fortify  
would be more easily overthrown now that they had Decelea.  
two wars on hand, one against themselves, and another In the  
against the Sicilians. They considered also that this former war  
time they had been the first offenders against the treaty, the Lacedae-  
whereas in the former war the transgression had rather monians  
been on their own side. For the Thebans had entered were guilty  
Plataea in time of peace<sup>c</sup>, and they themselves had of violating  
refused arbitration when offered by the Athenians, the treaty,  
in this, the  
Athenians

<sup>a</sup> Cp vii 7<sup>b</sup> Cp vi. 93 init.<sup>c</sup> Cp ii 2 foll, iii 56 init



VII although the former treaty forbade war in case an adversary was willing to submit to arbitration<sup>a</sup>. They felt that their ill-success was deserved, and they took seriously to heart the disasters which had befallen them at Pylos and elsewhere. But now the Athenians with a fleet of thirty ships had gone forth from Argos and ravaged part of the territory of Epidaurus and Prasiae, besides other places<sup>b</sup>, marauding expeditions from Pylos were always going on, and whenever quarrels arose about disputed points in the treaty and the Lacedaemonians proposed arbitration, the Athenians refused it. Reflecting upon all this, the Lacedaemonians concluded that the guilt of their former transgression was now shifted to the Athenians, and they were full of warlike zeal. During the winter they bade their allies provide iron, and themselves manufactured tools for the fortification of Decelea. They also prepared, and continually urged the other Peloponnesians to prepare, the succours which they intended to send in merchant-vessels to the Syracusans. And so the winter ended, and with it the eighteenth year in the Peloponnesian War of which Thucydides wrote the history.

19 At the very beginning of the next spring, and earlier than ever before, the Lacedaemonians and their allies entered Attica under the command of Agis the son of Archidamus the Lacedaemonian king. They first devastated the plain and its neighbourhood. They then began to fortify Decelea, dividing the work among the cities of the confederacy. Decelea is distant about fourteen miles from Athens, and not much further from Boeotia. The fort was designed for the devastation of the plain and the richest parts of the country, and was erected on a spot within sight of Athens.

While the Peloponnesians and their allies in Attica were thus engaged, the Peloponnesians at home were despatching hoplites in merchant-vessels to Sicily. The Lacedaemonians selected the best of the Helots and

The Lacedaemonians enter Attica and fortify Decelea

Reinforcements leave for Sicily, from which the attention of the

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1.78 fin, 85, 140 med

<sup>b</sup> Cp vi. 105

BC 414  
Ol 91, 3

BC 413  
Ol 91, 4

B C 413 Neodamodes, numbering in all six hundred, and placed VII.  
 Ol 91, 4 them under the command of Eccritus, a Spartan. The Athenians  
 Boeotians furnished three hundred hoplites, who were is diverted  
 commanded by two Thebans, Xenon and Nikon, and by the  
 Hegesander, a Thespian These started first and put out Corinthians  
 into the open sea from Taenarus in Laconia. Not long at Nau-  
 afterwards the Corinthians sent five hundred heavy- pactus  
 armed, some of them from Corinth itself, others who  
 were Arcadian mercenaries, they were all placed under  
 the command of Alexarchus, a Corinthian The Sicyo-  
 nians also sent with the Corinthians two hundred hoplites  
 under the command of Sargeus, a Sicyonian Meanwhile  
 the twenty-five ships which the Corinthians had manned  
 in the winter lay opposite to the twenty Athenian ships  
 at Naupactus until the merchant-vessels conveying the  
 heavy-armed troops had got safely off So the design  
 succeeded, and the attention of the Athenians was  
 diverted from the merchant-ships to the triremes.

At the beginning of spring, whilst the Lacedaemonians 20.  
 were fortifying Decelea, the Athenians sent thirty ships Charicles  
 under the command of Charicles the son of Apollodorus with thirty  
 to cruise about Peloponnesus He was told to touch at ships sent  
 Argos, and there to summon and take on board a force to Laconia  
 of heavy armed which the Argives, being allies of the The second  
 Athenians, were bound to furnish Meanwhile they armament  
 despatched under Demosthenes their intended expe- under De-  
 dition to Sicily it consisted of sixty Athenian ships and mosthenes  
 five Chian, twelve hundred heavy-armed Athenians taken musters at  
 from the roll, and as many others as could possibly be Aegina  
 obtained from the different islanders, they also collected  
 from their subject-allies supplies of all sorts for the war  
 Demosthenes was told first of all to co-operate with  
 Charicles on the coast of Laconia. So he sailed to  
 Aegina, and there waited until the whole of his arma-  
 ment was assembled and until Charicles had taken on  
 board the Argives.

In the same spring and about the same time Gylip- 21.  
 pus returned to Syracuse, bringing from each of the Gylippus  
 and Her-

VII. cities which he had persuaded to join him as many <sup>B C 473</sup>  
<sup>Ol 91, 4</sup> troops as he could obtain. He assembled the Syracusans and told them that they should man as large a fleet as possible and try their fortune at sea, he hoped to obtain a decisive result which would justify the risk. Hermocrates took the same view, and urged them strongly not to be faint-hearted, but to attack the enemy with their ships. He said that the Athenians had not inherited their maritime skill,<sup>a</sup> and would not retain it for ever<sup>a</sup>, there was a time when they were less of a naval people than the Syracusans themselves<sup>b</sup>, but they had been made sailors from necessity by the Persian invasion. To daring men like the Athenians those who emulated their daring were the most formidable foes. The same reckless courage which had often enabled the Athenians, although inferior in power, to strike terror into their adversaries might now be turned against them by the Syracusans. He well knew that if they faced the Athenian navy suddenly and unexpectedly, they would gain more than they would lose, the consternation which they would inspire would more than counterbalance their own inexperience and the superior skill of the Athenians. He told them therefore to try what they could do at sea, and not to be frightened. Thus under the influence of Gylippus, Hermocrates, and others, the Syracusans, now eager for the conflict, began to man their ships.

22. When the fleet was ready, Gylippus, under cover of night, led forth the whole land-army, intending to attack in person the forts on Plemmyrium. Meanwhile the triremes of the Syracusans, at a concerted signal, sailed forth, thirty-five from the greater harbour and forty-five from the lesser, where they had their arsenal. These latter sailed round into the Great Harbour, intending to form a junction with the other ships inside and make a combined attack on Plemmyrium, that the Athenians, assailed both by sea and land, might be disconcerted.

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'or been sailors from all time.'

<sup>b</sup> Cp 1 14

hermocrates  
incite the  
Syracusans  
to try the  
sea, they  
should  
imitate the  
daring  
spirit of  
their foes

At dawn  
Gylippus  
attacks the  
forts on  
Plemmy-  
rium, while  
their fleet  
encounters  
the Athe-  
nians in the  
harbour

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

The Athenians however quickly manned sixty ships, and VII  
with twenty-five of them engaged the thirty-five of the  
Syracusans which were in the Great Harbour with the  
remainder they encountered those which were sailing  
round from the arsenal The two squadions met at once  
before the mouth of the Great Harbour the struggle  
was long and obstinate, the Syracusans striving to force  
an entrance, the Athenians to prevent them

Meanwhile Gylippus, quite early in the morning, while 23.  
the Athenians in Plemmyrium who had gone down to the  
water-side had their minds occupied by the sea-  
fight, made a sudden attack upon their forts. He  
captured the largest of them first, then the two lesser,  
their garrisons forsaking them when they saw the largest  
so easily taken Those who escaped from the fort-  
less first captured, getting into a merchant-vessel and  
some boats which were moored at Plemmyrium, found  
their way to the main station of the Athenians, but  
with difficulty, for they were chased by a swift trireme,  
the Syracusans at that time having the advantage in  
the Great Harbour But when the two lesser fortresses  
were taken, the Syracusans were already losing the  
day, and the fugitives got past them with greater ease.  
For the Syracusan ships which were fighting before the  
mouth of the harbour, having forced their way through  
the enemy, entered in disorder, and falling foul of one  
another gave away the victory to the Athenians, who  
routed not only these, but also the others by whom they  
were at first worsted inside the harbour Eleven Syra-  
cusan ships were disabled, the crews in most of them  
were slain, in three, made prisoners The Athenians  
themselves lost three ships They now drew to land  
the wrecks of the Syracusan ships, and erecting a trophy  
on the little island in front of Plemmyrium returned  
to their own station

The forts  
are taken,  
but in the  
sea-fight  
the Syra-  
cusans are  
defeated

But although the Syracusans were unsuccessful in 24.  
the sea-fight, still they had taken the fortresses of  
Plemmyrium. They erected three trophies, one for  
The loss  
of Plem-  
myrium

VII.  
disastrous  
to the  
Athenians

each fort Two out of the three forts they repaired <sup>BC 413</sup> and garrisoned, but one of the two which were cap- <sup>Ol 91, 4</sup> tured last they demolished Many perished and many prisoners were made at the capture of the forts, and abundant spoil of different kinds was taken, for the Athenians used them as a store, and much corn and goods of traders were deposited in them, also much property belonging to the tierarchs, including the sails and other fittings of forty triremes, and three triremes which had been drawn up on the beach The loss of Plemmyrium was one of the greatest and severest blows which befell the Athenians For now they could no longer even introduce provisions with safety, but the Syracusan ships lay watching to prevent them, and they had to fight for the passage<sup>a</sup> General discouragement and dismay prevailed throughout the army

25.  
The Syra-  
cusans send  
a third  
embassy to  
Pelopon-  
nesus, and  
despatch  
a squadron  
which inter-  
cepts some  
Athenian  
supplies

The Syracusans next sent out twelve ships under the command of Agatharchus, a Syracusan One of these hastened to Peloponnesus conveying envoys who were to report their improved prospects, and to urge more strongly than ever the prosecution of the war in Hellas. The remaining eleven sailed to Italy, hearing that ships laden with supplies were on their way to the Athenians They fell in with and destroyed most of these ships, and burnt a quantity of ship-timber which was lying ready for the Athenians in the territory of Caulonia. Then they came to Locri, and while they were at anchor there, one of the merchant-vessels from Peloponnesus sailed in, bringing some Thespian hoplites<sup>b</sup> These the Syracusans took on board, and sailed homewards The Athenians watched for them near Megara with twenty ships and took one ship with the crew, but the rest made their escape to Syracuse

The Athe-  
nians pull  
up the  
palisade  
which the  
Syracusans  
had driven

There was some skirmishing in the harbour about the palisades which the Syracusans had fixed in the sea in front of their old dock-houses, that their ships might ride at anchor in the enclosed space, where they

<sup>a</sup> Cp. vii. 4 med, 13 init

<sup>b</sup> Cp. vii 19 med

BC 413 could not be struck by the enemy, and would be out VII  
 Ol 9<sup>1</sup>, 4 of harm's way The Athenians brought up a ship of <sup>in to pro-</sup>  
 ten thousand talents<sup>a</sup> burden, which had wooden towers <sup>tect their</sup>  
 and bulwarks, and from their boats they tied cords to ships  
 the stakes and <sup>b</sup>wrenched and tore them up<sup>b</sup>, or dived  
 and sawed them through underneath the water Meanwhile the Syracusans kept up a shower of missiles from  
 the dock-houses, which the men in the ship returned  
 At length the Athenians succeeded in pulling up most  
 of the palisades The stakes which were out of sight  
 were the most dangerous of all, there being some which  
 were so fixed that they did not appear above the water,  
 and no vessel could safely come near They were like  
 a sunken reef, and a pilot, not seeing them, might easily  
 catch his ship upon them Even these were sawn off  
 by men who dived for hire, but the Syracusans dove  
 them in again Many were the contrivances employed  
 on both sides, as was only natural, when two armies  
 confronted each other at so short a distance. There  
 were continual skirmishes, and they practised all kinds  
 of stratagems

The Syracusans also sent to the Sicilian cities Corinthian, Ambraciot, and Lacedaemonian ambassadors announcing the taking of Plemmyrium, and explaining that <sup>A second embassy, asking for help, is sent from Syracuse to the cities of Sicily</sup>  
 in the sea-fight they had been defeated, not so much by  
 the superior strength of the enemy, as through their own  
 disorder They were also to report their great hopes  
 of success, and to ask for assistance both by land and  
 sea They were to add that the Athenians were ex-  
 pecting reinforcements, and if they could succeed in  
 destroying the army then in Sicily before these arrived,  
 there would be an end of the war Such was the course  
 of events in Sicily.

Demosthenes, when the reinforcements which he was 26  
 to take to Sicily had all collected, sailed from Aegina, <sup>Devastation of Laconia and direction</sup>  
 to Peloponnesus and joined Charicles and his thirty

<sup>a</sup> About 250 tons

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'wrenched them up and broke them off'

VII ships<sup>a</sup> He embarked the Argive hoplites, and, pro-<sup>B C 413</sup>  
ceeding to Laconia, first devastated some part of the<sup>Ol 91, 4</sup>  
lands of Epidaurus Limeia Next the Athenians landed  
in the district of Laconia opposite Cythera, where there  
is a temple of Apollo They ravaged various parts of  
the country, and fortified a sort of isthmus in the neigh-  
bourhood, that the Helots of the Lacedaemonians might  
desert and find a refuge there, and that privateers might  
make the place, as they did Pylos, their head-quarters  
for marauding expeditions Demosthenes assisted in  
the occupation, and then sailed to Corcyra, intending to  
collect additional forces from the allies in that region,  
and to make his way with all speed to Sicily Charicles  
waited until he had completed the fort, and then leaving  
a garrison, he sailed home with his thirty ships, accom-  
panied by the Argives

27 During the same summer there arrived at Athens  
thirteen hundred Thracian targeteers of the Dian race,  
who carried daks, they were to have sailed with De-  
mosthenes to Sicily, but came too late, and the Athe-  
nians determined to send them back to their native  
country Each soldier was receiving a drachma<sup>b</sup> per  
day, and to use them against Decelea would have been  
too expensive.

Thucydides digresses to speak of the great sufferings caused by the fortification of Decelea, which permanently commanded the whole country Desertion of twenty thousand slaves, great destruction of cattle and injury to cavalry

For during this summer Decelea had been fortified by  
the whole Peloponnesian army, and was henceforward  
regularly occupied for the annoyance of the country by  
a succession of garrisons sent from the allied cities,  
whose incursions did immense harm to the Athenians.  
the destruction of property and life which ensued was a  
chief cause of their fall Hitherto the invasions had been  
brief and did not prevent them from gathering the pro-  
duce of the soil in the interval, but now the Pelo-  
ponnesians were always on the spot, and sometimes  
they were reinforced by additional troops, but always  
the regular garrison, who were compelled to find their  
own supplies, overran and despoiled the country. The

<sup>a</sup> Cp. vii 20 init<sup>b</sup> 9½d

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

Lacedaemonian king, Agis, was present in person, and VII.  
devoted his whole energies to the war. The sufferings  
of the Athenians were terrible. For they were dis-  
possessed of their entire territory, more than twenty  
thousand slaves had deserted<sup>a</sup>, many of them artisans,  
all their sheep and cattle had perished, and now that  
the cavalry had to go out every day and make descents  
upon Decelea or keep guard all over the country, their  
horses were either wounded by the enemy, or lamed by  
the roughness of the ground and the incessant fatigue

Provisions, which had been formerly conveyed by the 28  
shorter route from Euboea to Oropus and thence over-  
land through Decelea, were now carried by sea round the  
promontory of Sunium at great cost. Athens was obliged  
to import everything from abroad, and resembled a fort  
rather than a city. In the day-time the citizens guarded  
the battlements by relays, during the night every man  
was on service except the cavalry, some at their places  
of arms, others on the wall<sup>b</sup>, summer and winter alike,  
until they were quite worn out. But worse than all was  
the cruel necessity of maintaining two wars at once, and  
they carried on both with a determination which no  
one would have believed unless he had actually seen it.  
That, blockaded as they were by the Peloponnesians,  
who had raised a fort in their country, they should refuse  
to let go Sicily, and, themselves besieged, persevere in the  
siege of Syracuse, which as a mere city might rank with  
Athens, and—whereas the Hellenes generally were ex-  
pecting at the beginning of the war, some that they would  
survive a year, others two or perhaps three years, certainly  
not more, if the Peloponnesians invaded Attica—that in  
the seventeenth year from the first invasion, after so  
exhausting a struggle, the Athenians should have been  
strong enough and bold enough to go to Sicily at all,  
and to plunge into a fresh war as great as that in  
which they were already engaged—how contrary was all  
this to the expectation of mankind! Through the vast

Provisions  
brought a  
long way  
round.  
Citizens on  
guard by  
turns in the  
day, and  
the whole  
population  
by night,  
summer and  
winter.  
Two wars  
instead of  
one, the  
besiegers  
besieged.  
The great  
paradox.

<sup>a</sup> Cp viii 40 med

<sup>b</sup> Cp ii 13 fin, viii 69 mit



VII expense thus incurred, above all through the mischief done by Decelea, they were now greatly impoverished B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

New  
financial  
measure

It was at this time that they imposed upon their allies, instead of the tribute, a duty of five per cent on all things imported and exported by sea, thinking that this would be more productive. For their expenses became heavier and heavier as the war grew in extent, and at the same time their sources of revenue were dried up.

29

The Thracians are sent home by the Athenians, who cannot afford to keep them. Being desirous to do what mischief they can by the way, they sack Mycalessus. The pathetic tale of its sufferings moves Thucydides to pity.

And so, being in extreme want of money, and desirous to economise, they at once sent away the Thracians who came too late for Demosthenes, ordering Ditrephes to convey them home, but, as they must needs sail through the Euripus, to employ them in any way which he could against the enemy. He landed them at Tanagra and there made a hasty raid, in the evening he sailed from Chalcis in Euboea across the Euripus, and disembarking his troops in Boeotia led them against the town of Mycalessus. He passed the night unperceived at the temple of Heimes, which is distant from Mycalessus about two miles, and at the dawn of day he assaulted and captured the city, which is not large. The inhabitants were taken off their guard, for they never imagined that an enemy would come and attack them at so great a distance from the sea. The walls were weak, and in some places had fallen down, in others they were built low, while the citizens, in their sense of security, had left their gates open. The Thracians dashed into the town, sacked the houses and temples, and slaughtered the inhabitants. They spared neither old nor young, but cut down, one after another, all whom they met, the women and children, the very beasts of burden, and every living thing which they saw. \*For the Thracians, when they dare, can be as bloody as the worst barbarians\*. There in Mycalessus the wildest panic ensued, and destruction in every form was rife. They even fell

\* Or, 'For the Thracians, like all very barbarous tribes, are most bloody when they are least afraid.'

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

upon a boy's school, the largest in the place, which the VII  
children had just entered, and massacred them every one  
No greater calamity than this ever affected a whole city,  
never was anything so sudden or so terrible

When the news reached the Thebans they hastened 30  
to the rescue. Coming upon the Thracians before they  
had gone far, they took away the spoil, and putting them  
to flight, pursued them to the Euipus, where the ships  
which had brought them were moored. Of those who  
fell, the greater number were slain in the attempt to  
embark, for they did not know how to swim, and the  
men on board, seeing what was happening, had anchored  
their vessels out of bow-shot. In the retreat itself the  
Thracians made a very fair defence against the Theban  
cavalry which first attacked them, running out and  
closing in again, after the manner of their country,  
and their loss was trifling. But a good many who  
remained for the sake of plunder were cut off within  
the city and slain. The whole number who fell was  
two hundred and fifty, out of thirteen hundred. They  
killed, however, some of the Thebans and others who  
came to the rescue, in all about twenty, both horse-  
men and hoplites. Scirphondas, one of the Theban  
Boeotarchs, was slain. A large proportion of the My-  
calessians perished. Such was the fate of Mycalessus,  
considering the size of the city, no calamity more de-  
plorable occurred during the war<sup>a</sup>.

The The-  
bans soon  
come upon  
them and  
they are  
driven back  
with loss  
to their  
ships

Demosthenes, after helping to build the fort on the 31.  
Laconian coast, sailed away to Corcyra<sup>b</sup>. On his way  
thither he destroyed a merchant-vessel anchored at  
Pheia in Elis, which was intended to convey some of the  
Corinthian hoplites to Sicily. But the crew escaped,  
and sailed in another vessel. He went on to Zacynthus  
and Cephallenia, where he took on board some hoplites,  
and sent to the Messenians of Naupactus for others, he  
then passed over to the mainland of Acarnania, and  
touched at Alyzia and Anactorium<sup>c</sup>, which were at that

Demos-  
thenes  
sailing up  
the west  
coast meets  
Euryme-  
don, who  
brings news  
from Sicily  
They collect  
troops for  
Sicily and  
send rein-  
forcements  
to Naupac-  
tus

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iii 113 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp vii 26

<sup>c</sup> Cp. iv 49, v 30 med

VII. time occupied by the Athenians While he was in <sup>B C 413</sup> those regions he met Eurymedon returning from Sicily, <sup>Ol 91, 4</sup> whither he had been sent during the winter in charge of the money which had been voted to the army<sup>a</sup>, he reported, among other things, the capture of Plemmyrium by the Syracusans, of which he had heard on his voyage home. Conon too, the governor of Naupactus, brought word that the twenty-five Corinthian ships<sup>b</sup> which were stationed on the opposite coast were still showing a hostile front, and clearly meant to fight He requested the generals to send him reinforcements, since his own ships—eighteen in number—were not able to give battle against the twenty-five of the enemy Demosthenes and Eurymedon sent ten ships, the swiftest which they had, to the fleet at Naupactus, while they themselves completed the muster of the expedition Eurymedon, sailing to Corcyra, ordered the Corcyraeans to man fifteen ships, and himself levied a number of hoplites. He had turned back from his homeward voyage, and was now holding the command, to which, in conjunction with Demosthenes, he had been appointed Demosthenes meanwhile had been collecting slingers and javelin-men in the neighbourhood of Acarnania

32. The ambassadors from Syracuse who had gone to the cities of Sicily after the taking of Plemmyrium, and had persuaded them to join in the war, were now about to bring back the army which they had collected Nicias, having previous information, sent word to the Sicel allies of Athens who commanded the road, such as the Centoripes and Alicyaei, and told them not to let the forces of the enemy pass, but to unite and stop them; there was no likelihood, he said, that they would even think of taking another road, since they were not allowed to go through the country of the Agrigentines So when the forces of the Sicilian towns were on their way, the Sicels, complying with the request of the Athenians, set an ambush in three divisions, and falling upon them

Part of the reinforcements sent by the cities of Sicily to Syracuse are destroyed in an ambushade by the Sicel allies of the Athenians

<sup>a</sup> Cp vii. 16 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp vii. 17 fin, 19 fin

B C 413 suddenly when they were off their guard, destroyed VII  
Ol 91, 4 about eight hundred of them, and all the envoys except  
the Corinthian, he brought the survivors, numbering  
fifteen hundred, to Syracuse

About the same time arrived a reinforcement from 33  
Camarina<sup>a</sup> of five hundred hoplites, three hundred javelin-  
men, and three hundred archers The Geloans also sent  
five ships with four hundred javelin-men and two hundred  
horsemen Hitherto the Sicilian cities had only watched  
the course of events, but now the whole island, with  
the exception of Agrigento, which was neutral, united  
with the Syracusans against the Athenians

After their misfortune in the Sicel country, the Syra-  
cusans deferred their intended attack for a time The  
forces which Demosthenes and Eurymedon had collected  
from Corcyra and the mainland were now ready, and  
they passed over the Ionian Sea to the promontory of  
Iapygia Proceeding onwards, they touched at the  
Iapygian islands called Choerades, and took on board  
a hundred and fifty Iapygian javelin-men of the Mes-  
sapien tribe After renewing an ancient friendship with  
Artas, a native prince who had furnished the javelin-  
men, they went on to Metapontium in Italy They  
persuaded the Metapontians, who were their allies, to  
let them have two triremes and three hundred javelin-  
men, these they took with them and sailed to Thurii.  
At Thurii they found that the party opposed to the  
Athenians had just been driven out by a revolution  
Wishing to hold another muster and inspection of their  
whole army, and to be sure that no one was missing,  
they remained there for some time They also did their  
best to gain the hearty co-operation of the Thurians,  
and to effect an offensive and defensive alliance with  
them, now that they had succeeded in expelling the  
anti-Athenian party

About the same time the Peloponnesians in their fleet 34  
of twenty-five ships, which was stationed opposite the

Reinforce-  
ments from  
Camarina  
and Gela  
Nearly the  
whole of  
Sicily unites  
against the  
Athenians

The Athe-  
nian fleet  
crosses to  
Iapygia  
They are  
received  
at Thurii,  
where they  
hold a  
review

Indecisive  
naval action

VII Athenian fleet at Naupactus to protect the passage of the merchant-vessels going to Sicily, made ready for action. They manned some additional ships, which raised their number nearly to that of the Athenians, and anchored at Euneus of Achaia, which is in the territory of Rhypae. The bay in which they were stationed has the form of a crescent, and the infantry of the Corinthians and of the allies, which had come from the country on both sides to co-operate with the fleet, was disposed on the projecting promontories. The ships, which were under the command of Polyanthes the Corinthian, formed a close line between the two points. The Athenians sailed out against them from Naupactus with thirty-three ships, under the command of Diphilus. For a while the Corinthians remained motionless, in due time the signal was raised and they rushed upon the Athenians and engaged with them. The battle was long and obstinate. Three Corinthian ships were destroyed. The Athenians had no ships absolutely sunk, but about seven of them were rendered useless, for they were struck full in front by the beaks of the Corinthian vessels, which had the projecting beams of their prows designedly built thicker, and their bows were stove in. The engagement was undecided and both sides claimed the victory, but the Athenians gained possession of the wrecks because the wind blew them towards the open sea and the Corinthians did not put out again. So the two fleets parted. There was no pursuit, nor were any prisoners taken on either side. For the Corinthians and Peloponnesians were fighting close to the land and thus their crews escaped, while on the Athenian side no ship was sunk. As soon as the Athenians had returned to Naupactus the Corinthians set up a trophy, insisting that they were the victors, because they had disabled more of the enemy's ships than the enemy of theirs. They refused to acknowledge defeat on the same ground which made the Athenians unwilling to claim the victory. For the

in the  
Corinthian  
gulf be-  
tween the  
Corinthians  
and the  
Athenians  
The former  
greatly  
assisted by  
an improve-  
ment in the  
structure of  
their ships

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

Corinthians considered themselves conquerors, if they VII.  
were not severely defeated, but the Athenians thought that they were defeated because they had not gained a signal victory. When however the Peloponnesians had sailed away and the land-army was dispersed, the Athenians raised another trophy in Achaia, at a distance of about two miles and a quarter from the Corinthian station at Euneus. Such was the result of the engagement.

Demosthenes and Eurymedon, when the Thurians had 35.  
determined to help them, and had furnished seven hundred hoplites and three hundred javelin-men, commanded the ships to sail towards the territory of Crotona, and themselves, after holding a review of all their infantry at the river Sybaris, led them through the territory of Thuri. On their arrival at the river Hylas the people of Crotona sent to them, and said that they could not allow the army to march through their country. So they directed their march down to the sea and passed the night at the mouth of the river, where they were met by their ships. On the following day they re-embarked the army and coasted along, touching at the cities which they passed, with the exception of Locri<sup>a</sup>, until they came to the promontory of Petra near Rhegium.

The Syracusans, hearing of their approach, desired to 36  
have another trial of the fleet, and to use the army which they had collected with the express purpose of bringing on an engagement before Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived in Sicily. Profiting by the experience which they had acquired in the last sea-fight, they devised several improvements in the construction of their vessels. They cut down and strengthened the prows, and also made the beams which projected from them thicker, these latter they supported underneath with stays of timber extending from the beams through the sides of the ship a length of nine feet within and nine without, after the fashion in which the Corinthians had refitted their prows before they fought with the squadron from Naupactus.

The Thurians join the Athenians. The Athenian fleet and army pass along the Italian coasts to Rhegium.

The Syracusans make preparations for another sea-fight. They adopt the Corinthian invention of flattening the prows of their ships and strengthening the projecting beams, a device well suited to the narrow

<sup>a</sup> Cp. vi 44 med

VII. For the Syracusans hoped thus to gain an advantage B C 413  
Ol 91, 4 over the Athenian ships, which were not constructed to resist their improvements, but had their prows slender, because they were in the habit of rowing round an enemy and striking the side of his vessel instead of meeting him prow to prow. The plan would be the more effectual, because they were going to fight in the Great Harbour, where many ships would be crowded in a narrow space. They would charge full in face, and presenting their own massive and solid beaks would stave in the hollow and weak forepart of their enemies' ships<sup>a</sup>, while the Athenians, confined as they were, would not be able to wheel round them or break their line before striking, to which manœuvres they mainly trusted—the want of room would make the one impossible, and the Syracusans themselves would do their best to prevent the other. What had hitherto been considered a defect of skill on the part of their pilots, the practice of striking beak to beak, would now be a great advantage, to which they would have constant recourse, for the Athenians, when forced to back water, could only retreat towards the land, which was too near, and of which but a small part, that is to say, their own encampment, was open to them. The Syracusans would be masters of the rest of the harbour, and, if the Athenians were hard pressed at any point, they would all be driven together into one small spot, where they would run foul of one another and fall into confusion. (Which proved to be the case, for nothing was more disastrous to the Athenians in all these sea-fights than the impossibility of retreating, as the Syracusans could, to any part of the harbour.) Again, while they themselves had command of the outer sea and could charge from it and back water into it whenever they pleased, the Athenians would be unable to sail into the open and turn before striking<sup>b</sup>, besides, Plemmyrium was hostile to them, and the mouth of the harbour was narrow.

space, in which the Athenians had no room to manœuvre, and to the inferior skill of their own pilots

<sup>a</sup> Omitting the comma at αὐτοῖς

<sup>b</sup> Cp II 91 med

B. C. 413  
O1 9<sup>1</sup>, 4

Having thus adapted their plans to the degree of VII  
naval skill and strength which they possessed, the Syra- 37.

cusans, greatly encouraged by the result of the previous Gylippus and the land forces  
engagement, attacked the Athenians both by sea and attack the Athenian  
land. A little before the fleet sailed forth Gylippus led lines, and  
the land-forces out of the city against that part of the at the same  
Athenian wall which faced Syracuse, while some of the time eighty  
heavy-armed troops, which together with the cavalry Syracusan  
and light infantry were stationed at the Olympieum, ships sail  
approached the lines of the enemy from the opposite out sud-  
side. Nearly at the same instant the ships of the Syra- denly, they  
cusans and their allies sailed out. The Athenians at first are met by  
thought that they were going to make an attempt by seventy-five  
land only, but when they saw the ships suddenly bearing Athenian  
down upon them they were disconcerted. Some mounted ships  
the walls or prepared to meet their assailants in front of  
them, others went out against the numerous cavalry and  
javelin-men, who were hastening from the Olympieum  
and the outer side of the wall, others manned the ships  
or prepared to fight on the beach. When the crews had  
got on board they sailed out with seventy-five ships;  
the number of Syracusan ships being about eighty

During a great part of the day the two fleets continued 38.  
advancing and retreating and skirmishing with one Slight result  
another. Neither was able to gain any considerable of the  
advantage, only the Syracusans sank one or two ships first day's  
of the Athenians; so they parted, and at the same time fighting  
the infantry retired from the walls. On the following Nicias re-  
day the Syracusans remained quiet and gave no sign pairs his  
of what they meant to do next. Seeing how close the ships and  
conflict had been, Nicias expected another attack, he places  
therefore compelled the trierarchs to repair their ships merchant-  
vessels so  
wherever they were injured, and anchored merchant- as to pro-  
vessels in front of the palisades which the Athenians tect them if  
had driven into the sea so as to form a kind of dock defeated  
for the protection of their own ships, these he placed at  
a distance of about two hundred feet from one another, in  
order that any ship which was hard-pressed might have



- VII. a safe retreat and an opportunity of going out again at leisure. These preparations occupied the Athenians for a whole day from morning to night B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

39 On the next day, in the same manner as before but at an earlier hour, the Syracusans attacked the Athenians both by sea and land. Again the ships faced one another, and again a great part of the day was passed in skirmishing. At length Ariston the son of Pyrrhichus, a Corinthian, who was the ablest pilot in the Syracusan fleet, persuaded the commanders to send a message to the proper authorities in the city desiring them to have the market transferred as quickly as possible to the shore, and to compel any one who had food for sale to bring his whole stock thither. The sailors would thus be enabled to disembark and take their midday meal close to the ships, and so after a short interval they might, without waiting until the next day, renew the attack upon the Athenians when least expected.

40 The generals, agreeing to the proposal, sent the message, and the market was brought down to the shore. Suddenly the Syracusans backed water and rowed towards the city, then disembarking they at once took their meal on the spot. The Athenians, regarding their retreat as a confession of defeat, disembarked at leisure, and among other matters set about preparing their own meal, taking for granted that there would be no more fighting that day. Suddenly the Syracusans manned their ships and again bore down upon them, the Athenians, in great disorder and most of them fasting, hurried on board, and with considerable difficulty got under weigh. For some time the two fleets looked at one another, and did not engage, after a while the Athenians thought they had better not delay until they had fairly tired themselves out, but attack at once. So, cheering on one another, they charged and fought. The Syracusans remained firm, and meeting the enemy prow to prow, as they had resolved, stove in by the strength of their beaks a great part of the bows.

The second day is wearing away without a serious engagement, when the Syracusans retire and take their midday meal on the beach

They soon return, to the great surprise of the Athenians, who are now compelled to charge and fight

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

of the Athenian ships Their javelin-men on the decks VII.  
greatly injured the enemy Still more mischief was  
done by Syracusans who rowed about in light boats and  
dashed in upon the blades of the enemy's oars, or ran up  
alongside and threw darts at the sailors

By such expedients as these the Syracusans, who 41  
made a great effort, gained the victory, and the Athe-  
nians, retreating between the merchant-vessels, took The Athe-  
nians are  
defeated  
and return  
to their  
moorings  
with a  
loss of  
seven ships  
refuge at their own moorings The ships of the enemy  
pursued them as far as the entrance, but they were  
prevented from following further by leaden dolphins, Two Syra-  
cusan  
vessels  
following  
too closely  
are caught  
in the en-  
trance to  
the dock  
which were suspended aloft from beams placed in the  
merchant-vessels Two Syracusan ships, in the exulta-  
tion of victory, approached too near and were disabled,  
one of them was taken with its whole crew The Syra-  
cusans damaged many of the Athenian ships and sank  
seven, the crews were either killed or taken prisoners  
They then retired and raised trophies of the two sea-  
fights They were now quite confident that they were  
not only equal but far superior to the Athenians at  
sea, and they hoped to gain the victory on land as  
well So they prepared to renew the attack on both  
elements

But in the midst of their preparations Demosthenes 42.  
and Eurymedon arrived with the Athenian reinforce-  
ments They brought a fleet, including foreign ships, of  
about seventy-three sail, carrying five thousand heavy  
infantry of their own and of their allies, numerous javelin-  
men, slingers, and archers, both Hellenic and Barbarian,  
and abundant supplies of every kind The Syracusans  
and their allies were in consternation. It seemed to  
them as if their perils would never have an end when  
they saw, notwithstanding the fortification of Decelea,  
another army arriving nearly equal to the former, and  
Athens displaying such exuberant strength, while the  
first Athenian army regained a certain degree of confi-  
dence after their disasters Demosthenes at once saw  
how matters stood; he knew that there was no time to

While the  
Syracusans  
are making  
prepara-  
tions for  
a fresh  
attack, De-  
mosthenes  
arrives  
Being  
determined  
to strike  
hard and  
at once, he  
plans an  
attack upon  
the Syracu-  
san cross-  
wall by  
way of the  
Eurymedon

- VII. be lost, and resolved that it should not be with him as it <sup>B C 413</sup> had been with Nicias. For Nicias was dreaded at his <sup>Ol 91, 4</sup> first arrival, but when, instead of at once laying siege to Syracuse, he passed the winter at Catana, he fell into contempt, and his delay gave Gylippus time to come with an army from Peloponnesus. Whereas if he had struck hard at first, the Syracusans would never even have thought of getting fresh troops, strong in their own self-sufficiency, they would have recognised their inferiority only when the city had been actually invested, and then, if they had sent for reinforcements, they would have found them useless. Demosthenes, reflecting on all this, and aware that he too would never again be in a position to inspire such terror as on the day of his arrival, desired to take the speediest advantage of the panic caused by the appearance of his army. Accordingly, seeing that the cross-wall of the Syracusans which had prevented the Athenians from investing them was but a single line, and that if he could gain the command of the way up to Epipolae and take the camp which was on the high ground the wall would be easily captured, for no one would remain to withstand them, he resolved to make the attempt at once. This would be the shortest way of putting an end to the war. If he succeeded, Syracuse would fall into his hands, if he failed, he meant to bring away the expedition, he would no longer wear out the Athenian army, and weaken the state to no purpose.

The Athenians began by ravaging the fields of the Syracusans about the Anapus, and regained their former superiority both by sea and land. At sea the Syracusans no longer opposed them; and on land they merely sent out parties of cavalry and javelin-men from the Olympicum.

43. Before he attacked Epipolae, Demosthenes wished to try what could be effected with engines against the counter-wall. But the engines which he brought up were burnt by the enemy, who fought from the wall,

Failure of  
an attempt  
to take  
the wall  
in front

BC 413  
Ol 91, 4

and, after making assaults at several points, the Athenian forces were repulsed. He now determined to delay no longer, and persuaded Nicias and his colleagues to carry out the plan of attacking Epipolae. To approach during the daytime and ascend the heights undetected appeared to be impossible, so he resolved to attack by night. He ordered provisions for five days, and took with him all the masons and carpenters in the army, also a supply of arrows and of the various implements which would be required for siege-works if he were victorious. About the first watch he, Eumydon, and Menander led out the whole army and marched towards Epipolae. Nicias was left in the Athenian fortifications. Reaching Epipolae at the Euryelus, where their first army had originally ascended<sup>a</sup>, and advancing undiscovered by the garrison to the fort which the Syracusans had there erected, they took it and killed some of the guards. But the greater number made good their escape and carried the news to the three fortified camps, one of the Syracusans, one of the other Sicilians, and one of the allies, which had been formed on Epipolae; they also gave the alarm to the six hundred who were an advanced guard stationed on this part of Epipolae<sup>b</sup>. They hastened to the rescue, but Demosthenes and the Athenians came upon them and, in spite of a vigorous resistance, drove them back. The Athenians immediately pressed forward, they were determined not to lose a moment or to slacken their onset until they had accomplished their purpose. Others took the first part of the Syracusan counter-wall and began to drag off the battlements, the guards ran away. Meanwhile the Syracusans, the allies, and Gylippus with his own troops, were hurrying from the outworks. The boldness of this night attack quite amazed them. They had not recovered from their terror when they met the Athenians, who were at first too strong for them and drove them back. But now the conquerors, in the confidence of

VII.  
Leaving  
Nicias in  
the camp,  
Demosthenes  
proceeds  
before mid-  
night by  
way of the  
Euryelus  
with his  
army to  
ascend Epi-  
polae, he  
takes the  
first fort  
and drives  
back Gylip-  
pus and  
his troops,  
who are  
amazed at  
the sudden  
onset.  
The Athe-  
nians are  
hurrying  
forward  
when they  
are met  
by the  
Boeotians  
and put to  
flight.

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 97 med

<sup>b</sup> Cp vi 96 fin.

VII. victory, began to advance in less order, they wanted to force their way as quickly as they could through all that part of the enemy which had not yet fought, and they were afraid that if they relaxed their efforts the Syracusans might rally. The Boeotians were the first to make a stand: they attacked the Athenians, turned, and put them to flight.

44. The whole army now fell into utter disorder, and the perplexity was so great that from neither side could the particulars of the conflict be exactly ascertained. In the daytime the combatants see more clearly, though even then only what is going on immediately around them, and that imperfectly—nothing of the battle as a whole. But in a night engagement, like this in which two great armies fought—the only one of the kind which occurred during the war—who could be certain of anything? The moon was bright, and they saw before them, as men naturally would in the moonlight, the figures of one another, but were unable to distinguish with certainty who was friend or foe. Large bodies of heavy-armed troops, both Athenian and Syracusan, were moving about in a narrow space, of the Athenians some were already worsted, while others, still unconquered, were carrying on the original movement. A great part of their army had not yet engaged, but either had just mounted the heights, or were making the ascent, and no one knew which way to go. For in front they were defeated already, there was nothing but confusion, and all distinction between the two armies was lost by reason of the noise. The victorious Syracusans and their allies, who had no other means of communication in the darkness, cheered on their comrades with loud cries as they received the onset of their assailants. The Athenians were looking about for each other, and every one who met them, though he might be a friend who had turned and fled, they imagined to be an enemy. They kept constantly asking the watchword (for there was no other mode of knowing one another), and thus they not only

All now becomes confusion. Those behind press on those before, who are already turning back. The moonlight, the dense masses, the narrow space, the watchword, the Persian, contribute to the rout. Friends attack friends. Many throw themselves from the cliffs, leaving their arms behind, others miss their way in the dark and are cut off.

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

B C 413 caused great confusion among themselves by all asking VII.  
Ol 91 4 at once, but revealed the word to the enemy

The watchword of the Syracusans was not so liable to be discovered, because being victorious they kept together and were more easily recognised. So that when they were encountered by a superior number of the enemy they, knowing the Athenian watchword, escaped, but the Athenians in a like case, failing to answer the challenge, were killed. Most disastrous of all were the mistakes caused by the sound of the Paean, which, the same being heard in both armies, was a great source of perplexity. For there were in the battle Argives, Corcyraeans, and other Dorian allies of the Athenians, and when they raised the Paean they inspired as much alarm as the enemy themselves, so that in many parts of the army, when the confusion had once begun, not only did friends terrify friends and citizens their fellow-citizens, but they attacked one another, and were with difficulty disentangled. The greater number of those who were pursued and killed perished by throwing themselves from the cliffs, for the descent from Epipolae is by a narrow path. The fugitives who reached the level ground, especially those who had served in the former army and knew the neighbourhood, mostly escaped to the camp. But of the newly-arrived many missed their way, and, wandering about until day-break, were then cut off by the Syracusan cavalry who were scouring the country.

On the following day the Syracusans erected two 45  
trophies, one on Epipolae at the summit of the ascent, Syracusans erect two trophies  
the other at the spot where the Boeotians made the first stand. The Athenians received their dead under a More arms than dead taken  
flag of truce. A considerable number of them and of their allies had fallen; there were however more arms taken than there were bodies of the slain, for those who were compelled to leap from the heights, whether they perished or not, had thrown away their shields.

The confidence of the Syracusans was restored by 46  
their unexpected success, and they sent Sicanius with Encouraged by their

VII. fifteen ships to Agugentum, then in a state of revolution, <sup>B C 413</sup> <sup>Ol 91, 4</sup> that he might win over the place if he could Gylippus <sup>success the</sup> <sup>Syracusans</sup> <sup>seek for the</sup> <sup>third time</sup> <sup>aid in Sicily</sup> <sup>They make</sup> <sup>an attempt</sup> <sup>on Agri-</sup> <sup>gentum</sup> had gone off again by land to collect a new army in the other parts of Sicily, hoping after the victory of Epipolae to carry the Athenian fortifications by storm.

47 <sup>Athenian</sup> <sup>council of</sup> <sup>war</sup> <sup>There is</sup> <sup>sickness in</sup> <sup>the camp</sup> <sup>and the</sup> <sup>soldiers are</sup> <sup>dispirited</sup> <sup>Demos-</sup> <sup>thenes votes</sup> <sup>for imme-</sup> <sup>diate de-</sup> <sup>parture</sup> Meanwhile the Athenian generals, troubled by their recent defeat and the utter discouragement which prevailed in the army, held a council of war. They saw that their attempts all failed, and that the soldiers were weary of remaining. For they were distressed by sickness, proceeding from two causes: the season of the year was that in which men are most liable to disease, and the place in which they were encamped was damp and unhealthy. And they felt that the situation was in every way hopeless. Demosthenes gave his voice against remaining; he said that the decisive attack upon Epipolae had failed, and, in accordance with his original intention, he should vote for immediate departure, while the voyage was possible, and while with the help of the ships which had recently joined them they had the upper hand at any rate by sea. It was more expedient for the city that they should make war upon the Peloponnesians, who were raising a fort in Attica, than against the Syracusans, whom they could now scarcely hope to conquer, and there was no sense in carrying on the siege at a vast expense and with no result. This was the opinion of Demosthenes.

48 <sup>Nicias, who</sup> <sup>is partly</sup> <sup>swayed by</sup> <sup>information</sup> <sup>from Syra-</sup> <sup>cuse, is</sup> <sup>in his</sup> <sup>own mind</sup> <sup>undecided</sup> <sup>But in</sup> <sup>public he</sup> <sup>refuses to</sup> <sup>go</sup> <sup>They will</sup> <sup>be censured</sup> <sup>at home,</sup> <sup>and even</sup> Nicias in his own mind took the same gloomy view of their affairs, but he did not wish openly to confess their weakness, or by a public vote given in a numerous assembly to let their intention reach the enemy's ears, and so to lose the advantage of departing secretly whenever they might choose to go. He had moreover still some reason to suppose that the Syracusans, of whose condition he was better informed than the other generals, were likely to be worse off than themselves if they would only persevere in the siege; they would be worn out by the exhaustion of their resources, and now the Athe-

BC 413  
Ol 91, 4

nians with their additional ships had much greater command of the sea, There was a party in Syracuse itself which wanted to surrender the city to the Athenians, and they kept sending messages to Nicias and advising him not to depart. Having this information he was still wavering and considering, and had not made up his mind. But in addressing the council he positively refused to withdraw the army, he knew, he said, that the Athenian people would not forgive their departure if they left without an order from home. The men upon whose votes their fate would depend would not, like themselves, have seen with their own eyes the state of affairs, they would only have heard the criticisms of others, and would be convinced by any accusations which a clever speaker might bring forward<sup>a</sup>. Indeed many or most of the very soldiers who were now crying out that their case was desperate would raise the opposite cry when they reached home, and would say that the generals were traitors, and had been bribed to depart, and therefore he, knowing the tempers of the Athenians, would for his own part rather take his chance and fall, if he must, alone by the hands of the enemy, than die<sup>b</sup> unjustly on a dishonourable charge at the hands of the Athenians. And, after all, the Syracusans were in a condition worse than their own, for they had to maintain mercenary troops, they were spending money on garrisons, and had now kept up a large navy for a whole year, already in great difficulties, they would soon be in greater, they had expended two thousand talents<sup>c</sup> and were heavily in debt; the whole of their large army had to be fed, and if there were any lack of provisions their affairs would be ruined. For they depended on mercenaries, who, unlike the Athenian allies, were under no compulsion to serve. Therefore he said they

VII.

accused of  
treason by  
their own  
soldiers.  
Better to  
die at the  
hands of  
enemies  
than of  
friends.  
And the  
Syracusans,  
in debt and  
dependent  
on mercen-  
aries, are  
worse off  
than them-  
selves.

<sup>a</sup> Cp iii. 38 med.

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'would for his own part rather take his chance, and fall, if he must, by the hands of the enemy, like any private soldier, than die.'

<sup>c</sup> £48,000.



VII ought to persevere in the siege, and not go away <sup>a</sup> dis- B C 413  
Ol 91, 4  
heartened by the greatness of the expense, for they  
were far richer than the enemy <sup>a</sup>

49. Nicias spoke thus decidedly because he knew exactly  
 Demos- how matters stood in Syracuse, he was aware of their  
 thenes and Eurymedon want of money, and of the secret existence of that party  
 at first insist that within the walls which wished well to the Athenians, and  
 the expedi- tion shall leave Syra- was continually sending word to him not to depart, and  
 cuse and the confidence in his navy, if not in his army, which now  
 encamp possessed him was greater than ever But Demosthenes  
 elsewhere, would not hear for an instant of persisting in the siege,  
 but they afterwards if, he said, the army must remain and ought not to be  
 hesitate, removed without a vote of the assembly, then they should  
 believing that Nicias retire to Thapsus or Catana, whence they might overrun  
 has some the whole country with their land-forces, maintaining  
 secret themselves at the expense of the enemy and doing him  
 reason for great damage They would thus fight their battles, not  
 remaining cooped up in the harbour, which gave an advantage to  
 the enemy, but in the open sea, where their skill would  
 be available and then charges and retreats would not be  
 circumscribed by the narrow space which now hampered  
 their movements whenever they had to put in or out. In  
 a word, he wholly disapproved of the Athenians con-  
 tinuing in their present position, they should with all  
 speed break up the siege and be gone Eurymedon took  
 the same side. Still Nicias resisted; there was delay  
 and hesitation, and a suspicion that he might have some  
 ground which they did not know for his unwillingness  
 to yield. And so the Athenians stayed on where they  
 were.

50 Meanwhile Gylippus and Sicanus returned to Syracuse.  
 Gylippus Sicanus had not succeeded in his design upon Agrigen-  
 returns with tum, for while he was at Gela on his way the party inclined  
 reinforcements to friendship with the Syracusans had been driven out.  
 Failure of Gylippus brought back a large army, together with the  
 Syracusan hoplites who had been sent in merchant-vessels from Pello-  
 design on Agrigen-  
 tum

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'disheartened at the idea of the enemy's riches, for they were far richer themselves'

B C 413 ponnesus in the spring<sup>a</sup>, and had come by way of Libya to VII.  
 Ol 91 + Selinus They had been driven to Libya by stress of Adventures of Peloponnesian ships on their way to Sicily. The Syracusans prepare a new attack. The Athenian generals now agree to depart, when the moon is eclipsed. Nicias and the soldiers refuse to stir  
 weather, and the Cyrenaeans had given them two triremes  
 and pilots. On their voyage they had made common cause  
 with the Evesperitae, who were besieged by the Libyans.  
 After defeating the Libyans they sailed on to Neapolis,  
 a Carthaginian factory which is the nearest point to  
 Sicily, the passage taking two days and a night only,  
 thence they crossed and came to Selinus. On their  
 arrival, the Syracusans immediately prepared to renew  
 their attack upon the Athenians, both by land and sea.  
 And the Athenian generals, seeing that their enemy had  
 been reinforced by a new army, and that their own affairs,  
 instead of improving, were daily growing worse in every  
 respect, and being especially troubled by the sickness of  
 their troops, repented that they had not gone before.  
 Even Nicias now no longer objected, but only made the  
 condition that there should be no open voting. So,  
 maintaining such secrecy as they could, they gave orders  
 for the departure of the expedition, the men were to  
 prepare themselves against a given signal. The prepara-  
 tions were made and they were on the point of sailing,  
 when the moon, being just then at the full, was eclipsed.  
 The mass of the army was greatly moved, and called  
 upon the generals to remain. Nicias himself, who was  
 too much under the influence of divination and omens,  
 refused even to discuss the question of their removal until  
 they had remained thrice nine days, as the soothsayers  
 prescribed. This was the reason why the departure of  
 the Athenians was finally delayed.

And now the Syracusans, having heard what had 51.  
 happened, were more eager than ever to prosecute the  
 war to the end, they saw in the intention of the Athe-  
 nians to depart a confession that they were no longer  
 superior to themselves, either by sea or land, and they  
 did not want them to settle down in some other part of  
 Sicily where they would be more difficult to manage,  
The Syracusans determine not to let their enemies go. They again attack the Athenians and drive a small party of

<sup>a</sup> Cp VII 19

VII. but sought to compel them forthwith to fight at sea <sup>B C 413</sup> <sup>Ol 91, 4</sup> under the disadvantages of their present position So <sup>Ol 91, 4</sup> they manned their ships and exercised for as many days as they thought sufficient When the time came they began by attacking the Athenian lines A small number both of the hoplites and of the cavalry came out of some of the gates to meet them, they cut off however a portion of the hoplites, and, putting the whole body to flight, drove them within their walls The entrance was narrow, and the Athenians lost seventy horses and a few infantry.

52. The Syracusan army then retired On the morrow their ships, in number seventy-six, sailed forth, and at the same time their land-forces marched against the walls. The Athenians on their side put out with eighty-six ships, and the two fleets met and fought Eurymedon, who commanded the right wing of the Athenians, hoping to surround the enemy, extended his line too far towards the land, and was defeated by the Syracusans, who, after overcoming the Athenian centre, shut him up in the inner bay of the harbour There he was slain, and the vessels which were under his command and had followed him were destroyed The Syracusans now pursued and began to drive ashore the rest of the Athenian fleet

53 Gylippus, observing the discomfiture of the enemy, who were being defeated and driven to land beyond their own palisade and the lines of their camp, hastened with a part of his army to the causeway which ran along the harbour, intending to kill all who landed, and to assist the Syracusans in capturing the ships, which could be more easily towed away if the shore was in the hands of their friends The Tyrrhenians, who guarded this part of the Athenian lines, seeing Gylippus and his forces advance in disorder, rushed out, and attacking the foremost put them to flight, and drove them into the marsh called Lysimeleia But soon the Syracusans and their allies came up in greater numbers. The Athenians in

them within  
their lines

Third sea-  
fight in the  
harbour  
Eurymedon  
is cut off  
and the  
Athenians  
are de-  
feated

The defeat  
is partially  
compensated  
by an  
advantage  
which the  
Tyrrhe-  
nians and  
Athenians  
gain over  
Gylippus  
near the  
marsh  
The fire-  
ship fails

B C 413 fear for their ships advanced to the support of the VII.  
 Ol 91, 4 Tyrrenians, and joined in the engagement, the Syra-  
 cusans were overcome and pursued, and a few of their  
 heavy-armed slain. Most of the Athenian ships were  
 saved and brought back to the Athenian station. Still  
 the Syracusans and their allies took eighteen, and killed  
 the whole of their crews. Then, hoping to burn the  
 remainder of the fleet, they procured an old merchant-  
 vessel, which they filled with faggots and brands, these  
 they lighted, and as the wind blew right upon the enemy  
 they let the ship go. The Athenians, alarmed for the  
 safety of their fleet, contrived means by which they ex-  
 tinguished the flames, and succeeded in keeping the fire-  
 ship at a distance. Thus the danger was averted.

The Syracusans now raised a trophy of their naval 54  
 victory, and another marking their interception of the  
 hoplites on the higher ground close to the wall at the  
 place where they took the horses. The Athenians raised  
 a trophy of the victory over the land-forces whom the  
 Tyrrenians drove into the marsh, and of that which  
 they had themselves gained with the rest of the army.

The Syracusans, who up to this time had been afraid 55  
 of the reinforcements of Demosthenes, had now gained  
 a brilliant success by sea as well as by land, the Athe-  
 nians were in utter despair. Great was their surprise  
 at the result, and still greater their regret that they had  
 ever come. The Sicilian were the only cities which  
 they had encountered similar in character to their own<sup>a</sup>,  
 enjoying the same democratic institutions and strong in  
 ships, cavalry, and population. They were not able by  
 holding out the prospect of a change of government to  
 introduce an element of discord among them which might  
 have gained them over<sup>b</sup>, nor could they master them  
 by a decided superiority of force. They had failed  
 at almost every point, and were already in great straits,  
 when the defeat at sea, which they could not have thought  
 possible, reduced their fortunes to a still lower ebb.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. viii 96 fin.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. vi 20 init.

<sup>c</sup> Or, 'by their'

The Syra-  
 cusans  
 raise two  
 trophies,  
 the Athe-  
 nians also  
 raise a  
 trophy

The Athe-  
 nians in  
 despair,  
 they had  
 never before  
 contended  
 with a  
 democratic  
 and popu-  
 lar city  
 like their  
 own

VII The Syracusans at once sailed round the shore of the <sup>B C 473</sup>  
 56. harbour without fear, and determined to close the mouth, <sup>Ol 91 4</sup>  
 that the Athenians might not be able, even if they

The Syracusans  
 prepare to  
 close the  
 mouth of  
 the har-  
 bour  
 They aspire  
 to take the  
 lead in the  
 liberation  
 of Hellas

wanted, to sail out by stealth For they were now  
 striving, no longer to achieve their own deliverance, but  
 to cut off the escape of the Athenians, they considered  
 their position already far superior, as indeed it was, and  
 they hoped that if they could conquer the Athenians  
 and their allies by sea and land, their success would be  
 glorious in the eyes of all the Hellenes, who would at  
 once be set free, some from slavery, others from fear  
 For the Athenians, having lost so much of their power,  
 would never be able to face the enemies who would rise  
 up against them And the glory of the deliverance  
 would be ascribed to the Syracusans, who would be  
 honoured by all living men and all future ages. <sup>a</sup>The  
 conflict was still further ennobled by the thought that  
 they were now conquering <sup>a</sup>, not only the Athenians, but  
 a host of their allies And they themselves were not  
 alone, but many had come to their support, they were  
 the leaders of a war in which Corinth and Lacedaemon  
 were their partners, they had offered their own city to  
 bear the brunt of the encounter, and they had made an im-  
 mense advance in naval power. More nations met at Syra-  
 cuse than ever gathered around any single city, although  
 not so many as the whole number of nations enrolled in  
 this war under the Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

57.  
 Athenian  
 allies

I will now enumerate the various peoples who came  
 to Sicily as friends or enemies, to share either in the con-  
 quest or in the defence of the country, and who fought  
 before Syracuse <sup>b</sup>, choosing their side, not so much from  
 a sense of right or from obligations of kinship, as from  
 the accident of compulsion or their own interest.

(A) In Hel-  
 las Proper

The Athenians themselves, who were Ionians, went of

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking the words as a reflection, not of the Syracusans, but  
 of Thucydides himself 'And indeed there was everything to  
 ennoble the conflict, for they were now conquering' etc. '

<sup>b</sup> Adopting the conjecture *Συρακούσας*.

B C 473 their own free-will against the Syracusans, who were VII.  
Ol 91, 4 Dorians, they were followed by the Lemnians and Im-<sup>(1) Their</sup>  
brians, and the then inhabitants of Aegina<sup>a</sup>, and by the own settlers  
Hestiaeans dwelling at Hestiae in Euboea<sup>b</sup> all these  
were their own colonists, speaking the same language  
with them, and retaining the same institutions

Of the rest who joined in the expedition, some were <sup>(11) Subjects</sup>  
subjects, others independent allies, some again mercen- and tribu-  
aries Of the subjects and tributaries, the Eretrians, taries who  
Chalcidians, Styreans, and Carystians came from E- were (1)  
uboea, the Ceans, Andrians, and Tenians from the Ionians  
islands, the Milesians, Samians, and Chians from Ionia  
Of these however the Chians<sup>c</sup> were independent, and  
instead of paying tribute, provided ships. All or nearly  
all were Ionians and descendants of the Athenians, with  
the exception of the Carystians, who are Dryopes  
They were subjects and constrained to follow, but still  
they were Ionians fighting against Dorians There were <sup>(2) Aeolians,</sup>  
also Aeolians, namely, the Methymnaeans<sup>d</sup>, who partly  
furnished ships but were not tributaries, and the Tenedians subjects  
and Aenians, who paid tribute These Aeolians were  
compelled to fight against their Aeolian founders, the  
Boeotians, who formed part of the Syracusan army  
The Plataeans were the only Boeotians opposed to  
Boeotians, an antagonism which was natural, for they  
hated one another The Rhodians and Cytherians were <sup>(3) Dorians,</sup>  
both Dorians, the Cytherians, although Lacedaemonian kindred  
colonists, bore arms in the Athenian cause against against  
the Lacedaemonians who came with Gylippus, and the kindred  
Rhodians, though by descent Argive, were compelled  
to fight against the Syracusans, who were Dorians, and  
against the Geloans, who were actually their own  
colony<sup>e</sup>, and were taking part with Syracuse. Of the <sup>(111) Allies</sup>  
islanders around Peloponnesus, the Cephallenians and Za- called  
cynthians were independent<sup>f</sup>, still, being islanders, they independent, who  
were really

<sup>a</sup> Cp. II. 27 med

<sup>c</sup> Cp VI 85 med

<sup>e</sup> Cp VI. 4 med.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. I 114 fin

<sup>d</sup> Cp. III. 50 med, VI 85 med.

<sup>f</sup> Cp II 7 fin., VI 85 med

VII. followed under a certain degree of constraint, for the <sup>BC 413</sup>  
 compelled, either (1) Athenians were masters of the sea The Corcyraeans, <sup>Ol 91, 4</sup>  
 islanders, or (2) cities were serving against Corinthians and Syracusans, al-  
 though they were the colonists of the one and the kins-  
 men of the other, they followed under a decent appear-  
 ance of compulsion, but gladly, because they hated the  
 Corinthians<sup>a</sup>. The Messenians too, as the inhabitants  
 of Naupactus were now called, including the garrison of  
 Pylos, which was at that time held by the Athenians,  
 were taken by them to the war. A few Megarians<sup>b</sup>,  
 having the misfortune to be exiles, were thus induced  
 to fight against the Selinuntians, who were Megarians  
 like themselves<sup>c</sup>.

(iv) Volun- The service of the remaining allies was voluntary  
 tary allies The Argives<sup>d</sup>, not so much because they were allies  
 of Athens, as because they hated the Lacedaemonians,  
 and individually for the sake of their own immediate  
 advantage, followed the Athenians, who were Ionians,  
 being themselves Dorians, to fight against Dorians  
 The Mantineans and other Arcadians were mercenaries  
 accustomed to attack any enemy who from time to time  
 might be pointed out to them, and were now ready, if  
 they were paid, to regard the Arcadians, who were in  
 the service of the Corinthians<sup>e</sup>, as their enemies The  
 Cretans and Aetolians also served for hire, the Cretans,  
 who had once joined with the Rhodians in the founda-  
 tion of Gela<sup>f</sup>, came with reluctance, nevertheless for  
 pay they consented to fight against their own colonists.  
 Some of the Acarnanians came to aid their Athenian  
 allies, partly from motives of gain, but much more out of  
 regard for Demosthenes<sup>g</sup> and good-will to Athens. All  
 these dwelt on the eastern side of the Ionian Gulf

(B) Allies Of the Hellenes in Italy, the Thurians and Meta-  
 in Italy pontians, compelled by the necessities of a revolutionary  
 and Sicily,

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1. 25 med <sup>b</sup> Cp iv. 74, vi 43 fin. <sup>c</sup> Cp. vi. 4 init

<sup>d</sup> Cp. vi 43. <sup>e</sup> Cp vii 19 fin

<sup>f</sup> Cp vi 4 med. <sup>g</sup> Cp iii 105 foll; vii 31 fin

BC 413 period, joined in the enterprise, of the Hellenes in VII.  
 Ol 91 4 Sicily, the Naxians and Catanaeans Of Barbarians, <sup>including</sup> <sup>barbarians</sup>  
 there were the Egestaeans, who invited the expedition,  
 and the greater part of the Sicels, and, besides native  
 Sicilians, certain Tyrrhenians<sup>a</sup> who had a quarrel with  
 the Syracusans, also Iapygians<sup>b</sup>, who served for hire  
 These were the nations who followed the Athenians

The Syracusans, on the other hand, were assisted by 58  
 the Camarinaeans, who were their nearest neighbours, <sup>Syracusan</sup>  
 and by the Geloans, who dwelt next beyond them, and <sup>allies</sup>  
 then (for the Agrigentines, who came next, were neutral) <sup>(1) Inhabit-</sup>  
 by the still more distant Selinuntians All these in- <sup>ants of</sup>  
 habited the region of Sicily which lies towards Libya <sup>Sicily, (1)</sup>  
 On the side looking towards the Tyrrhenian Gulf the <sup>from the</sup>  
 Himeraeans, the only Hellenic people in those parts, <sup>southern,</sup>  
 were also their only allies These were the Hel- <sup>(2) from the</sup>  
 lenic peoples in Sicily who fought on the side of the <sup>northern</sup>  
 Syracusans; they were Dorians and independent. As <sup>district</sup>  
 for Barbarians, they had only such of the Sicels as had  
 not gone over to the Athenians.

Of Hellenes who were not inhabitants of Sicily, the <sup>(11) Inhabit-</sup>  
 Lacedaemonians provided a Spartan general, the Lacc- <sup>ants of Hel-</sup>  
 daemonian forces were all Neodamodes and Helots. <sup>las Proper</sup>  
 (The meaning of the word Neodamode is freedman)  
 The Corinthians were the only power which furnished  
 both sea and land forces. Their Leucadian and Am-  
 braciot kinsmen accompanied them, from Arcadia came  
 mercenaries sent by Corinth, there were also Sicyonians  
 who served under compulsion<sup>c</sup>, and of the peoples  
 beyond the Peloponnese, the Boeotians—This external  
 aid however was small compared with the numerous  
 troops of all kinds which the Sicilians themselves sup-  
 plied, for they dwelt in great cities, and had collected  
 many ships and horses and hoplites, besides a vast  
 multitude of other troops And again, the proposition  
 furnished by the Syracusans themselves was greater

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 103 med

<sup>b</sup> Cp vii 33 med

<sup>c</sup> Cp v 81 med, vi 19 fin.



VII. than that of all the rest put together, on account of the size of the city and the magnitude of their own danger B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

59 Such were the allies who were assembled on both sides At that time they were all on the spot, and nothing whatever came afterwards to either army.

The Syracusans begin to close the harbour

The Syracusans and the allies naturally thought that the struggle would be brought to a glorious end if, after having defeated the Athenian fleet, they took captive the whole of their great armament, and did not allow them to escape either by sea or land. So they at once began to close the mouth of the Great Harbour, which was about a mile wide, by means of triremes, merchant-vessels, and small boats, placed broadside, which they moored there. They also made every preparation for a naval engagement, should the Athenians be willing to hazard another, and all their thoughts were on a grand scale

60. The Athenians, seeing the closing of the harbour and inferring the intentions of the enemy, proceeded to hold a council The generals and officers met and considered the difficulties of their position The most pressing was the want of food For they had already sent to Catana, when they intended to depart, and stopped the supplies, and they could get no more unless they recovered the command of the sea. They resolved therefore to quit their lines on the higher ground and to cut off by a cross-wall a space close to their ships, no greater than was absolutely required for their baggage and for their sick, after leaving a guard there they meant to put on board every other man, and to launch all their ships, whether fit for service or not, they would then fight a decisive battle, and, if they conquered, go to Catana, but if not, they would burn their ships, and retreat by land in good order, taking the nearest way to some friendly country, Barbarian or Hellenic This design they proceeded to execute, and withdrawing quietly from the upper walls, manned their whole fleet, compelling every man of any age at all suitable for service

The Athenians prepare for a last struggle They withdraw from the higher ground, and determine to fight their way out by sea, or if defeated, by land

B C 473 to embark The entire number of the ships which they VII.  
 Ol 91, 4 manned was about a hundred and ten They put on  
 board numerous archers and javelin-men, Acarnanians,  
 and other foreigners, and made such preparations for  
 action as the nature of the plan imposed upon them by  
 their necessities allowed. When all was nearly ready, Nicias  
 Nicias, perceiving that the soldiers were depressed by seeing the  
 their severe defeat at sea, which was so new an ex- dejection  
 perience to them, while at the same time the want of of his  
 provisions made them impatient to risk a battle with soldiers  
 the least possible delay, called his men together, and strives to  
 before they engaged exhorted them as follows.— encourage  
 them

‘Soldiers of Athens and of our allies, we have all the 61  
 same interest in the coming struggle<sup>a</sup>, every one of us If we win  
 as well as of our enemies will now have to fight for his we may see  
 life and for his country, and if only we can win in the our homes  
 impending sea-fight, every one may see his native city once more  
 and his own home once more We are not  
 faint-hearted, nor behave as if we were mere novices in mere tyros,  
 the art of war, who when defeated in their first battle and ought  
 are full of cowardly apprehensions and continually not to be  
 retain the impress of their disaster You, Athenians, cast down  
 have had great military experience, and you, allies, by reverses  
 are always fighting at our side Remember the sudden  
 turns of war, let your hope be that fortune herself may  
 yet come over to us, and prepare to retrieve your de-  
 feat in a manner worthy of the greatness of your own  
 army which you see before you<sup>b</sup>.

‘We have consulted the pilots about any improve- 62  
 ments which seemed likely to avail against the crowding We are  
 of ships in the narrow harbour, as well as against the going to  
 troops on the enemy’s decks, which in previous engage- fight a land-  
 ments did us so much harm, and we have adopted them battle at  
 as far as we had the means. Many archers and javelin- sea, and  
 men will embark, and a great number of other troops have new  
 whom if we were going to fight in the open sea we should devices  
 not employ because they increase the weight of the ships, suggested  
 by our  
 recent  
 experience

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 68 init

<sup>b</sup> Cp vi. 68 init, vii 77 med.

VII and therefore impede our skill, but here, where we are obliged to fight a land-battle on ship-board <sup>a</sup>, they will be useful. We have thought of all the changes which are necessary in the construction of our ships, and in order to counteract the thickness of the beams on the enemy's prows, for this did us more mischief than anything else, we have provided iron grapnels, which will prevent the ship striking us from retreating if the marines are quick and do their duty. For, as I tell you, we are positively driven to fight a land-battle on ship-board, and our best plan is neither to back water ourselves nor to allow the enemy to back water after we have once closed with him. Recollect that the shore, except so far as our land-forces extend, is in their hands.

63. 'Knowing all this, you must fight to the last with all your strength, and not be driven ashore. When ship strikes ship refuse to separate until you have swept the enemy's heavy-armed from their decks. I am speaking to the hoplites rather than to the sailors, for this is the special duty of the men on deck. We may still reckon on the superiority of our infantry. The sailors I would exhort, nay I would implore them, not to be paralysed by their disasters, for they will find the arrangements on deck improved, and the numbers of the fleet increased. Some among you have long been deemed Athenians, though they are not, and to them I say, Consider how precious is that privilege, and how worthy to be defended. You were admired in Hellas because you spoke our language and adopted our manners, and you shared equally with ourselves in the substantial advantages of our empire, while you gained even more than we by the dread which you inspired in subject-states and in your security against injustice. You alone have been free partners in that empire; you ought not to betray it now. And so, despising the Corinthians whom you have beaten again and again, and the Sicilians who never dared to withstand us when our fleet was in its prime, repel your

To the  
soldiers  
I say  
When once  
engaged  
you must  
not separate  
until you  
have swept  
the enemy's  
decks  
To the  
sailors  
You have  
more and  
better ships  
To the  
allies  
Remember  
the glory  
and the  
advantages  
which you  
derived  
from your  
connexion  
with  
Athens  
Show that  
your weak-  
ness is  
more than  
another's  
strength

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 49 init

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

enemies, and show that your skill even amid weakness and disaster is superior to the strength of another in the hour of his success VII.

‘ Let me appeal once more to you who are Athenians, and remind you that there are no more ships like these in the dockyards of the Piraeus, and that you have no more recruits fit for service In any event but victory your enemies here will instantly sail against Athens, while our countrymen at home, who are but a remnant, will be unable to defend themselves against the attacks of their former foes reinforced by the new invaders You who are in Sicily will instantly fall into the hands of the Syracusans (and you know how you meant to deal with them), and your friends at Athens into the hands of the Lacedaemonians. In this one struggle you have to fight for yourselves and them Stand firm therefore now, if ever, and remember one and all of you who are embarking that you are both the fleet and army of your country, and that on you hangs the whole state and the great name of Athens for her sake if any man exceed another in skill or courage let him display them now, he will never have a better opportunity of doing good to himself and saving his country’ 64.

And you, Athenians, must not forget that the safety of your friends at home is at stake, and that the greatness and glory of Athens is entrusted to you

Nicias, as soon as he had done speaking, gave orders to man the ships Gylippus and the Syracusans could see clearly enough from the preparations which the Athenians were making that they were going to fight But they had also previous notice, and had been told of the iron grapnels, and they took precautions against this as against all the other devices of the Athenians They covered the prows of their vessels with hides, extending a good way along the upper part of their sides, so that the grapnels might slip and find no hold. When all was ready, Gylippus and the other generals exhorted their men in the following words — 65.

The Syracusans meet the Athenian improvements with counter-improvements Gylippus exhorts them

‘ That our recent actions have been glorious, and that in the coming conflict we shall be fighting for a glorious prize, most of you, Syracusans and allies, seem to be 66.

Our past victories are a pledge

VII  
of our  
future  
success,  
as the  
defeats of  
the enemy  
in former  
engage-  
ments are  
ominous of  
his defeat  
in this  
They came  
hither to  
enslave us  
with their  
navy, but  
now the  
power of  
the sea has  
departed  
from them  
to us

aware what else would have inspired you with so much energy? But if any one is not so quick in apprehending these things as he ought to be, he shall hear of them from me. The Athenians came hither intending to enslave first of all Sicily, and then, if they succeeded, Peloponnesus and the rest of Hellas, they having already the largest dominion of any Hellenic power, past or present. But you set mankind the example of withstanding that invincible navy, which you have now defeated in several engagements at sea, and which you will probably defeat in this. For when men are crippled in what they assume to be their strength, any vestige of self-respect is more completely lost than if they had never believed in themselves at all. When once their pride has had a fall they throw away the power of resistance which they might still exert. And this we may assume to be the condition of the Athenians.

67  
Success  
infuses  
courage  
Their new  
inventions  
are bad  
imitations  
of ours,  
which they  
cannot use  
Their ships  
are weighed  
down with  
fighting-  
men  
They are  
simply  
desperate

‘Far otherwise is it with us. The natural courage, which even in the days of our inexperience dared to risk all, is now better assured, and when we go on to reflect that he is the strongest who has overcome the strongest, the hopes of every one are redoubled. And in all enterprises the highest hopes infuse the greatest courage. Their imitation of our modes of fighting will be useless to them. To us they come naturally, and we shall readily adapt ourselves to any arrangements of ours which they have borrowed. But to them the employment of troops on deck is a novelty, they will be encumbered with crowds of hoplites and of javelin-men, Acarnanians and others, who are mere awkward landmen put into a ship, and will not even know how to discharge their darts when they are required to keep their places. Will they not imperil the ships? And their own movements will be so unnatural to them that they will all fall into utter confusion. The greater number of the enemy’s ships will be the reverse of an advantage to him, should any of you fear your inequality in that respect, for a large fleet confined in a small space will be hampered in action and

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

far more likely to suffer from our devices And I would VII  
have you know what I believe on the best authority to  
be the simple truth Their misfortunes paralyse them,  
and they are driven to despair at finding themselves  
helpless They have grown reckless, and have no con-  
fidence in their own plans They will take their chance  
as best they can, and either force a way out to sea, or in  
the last resort retreat by land, for they know that they  
cannot in any case be worse off than they are

‘Against such disorder, and against hateful enemies 68

whose good-fortune has run away from them to us, let  
us advance with fury We should remember in the first  
place that men are doing a most lawful act when they  
take vengeance upon an enemy and an aggressor, and  
that they have a right to satiate their heart’s animosity;  
secondly, that this vengeance, which is proverbially the  
sweetest of all things, will soon be within our grasp I  
need not tell you that they are our enemies, and our  
worst enemies They came against our land that they  
might enslave us, and if they had succeeded they would  
have inflicted the greatest sufferings on our men, and the  
worst indignities upon our wives and children, and would  
have stamped a name of dishonour upon our whole city.  
Wherefore let no one’s heart be softened towards them.  
Do not congratulate yourselves at the mere prospect of  
getting safely rid of them Even if they conquer they can  
only depart But supposing that we obtain, as we most  
likely shall, the fulness of our desires, in the punishment  
of the Athenians and in the confirmation to Sicily of the  
liberties which she now enjoys, how glorious will be our  
prize! Seldom are men exposed to hazards in which  
they lose little if they fail, and win all if they succeed.’

Now is the  
time for  
revenge,  
which is the  
sweetest of  
all things  
Safety we  
have al-  
ready  
Let us do  
to them  
as they  
would have  
done to us  
We may  
gain every-  
thing, and  
cannot lose  
much

When Gylippus and the other Syracusan generals 69

had, like Nicias, encouraged their troops, perceiving the  
Athenians to be manning their ships, they presently did  
the same Nicias, overwhelmed by the situation, and  
seeing how great and how near the peril was (for the  
ships were on the very point of rowing out), feeling too,

The peril  
comes  
nearer and  
nearer and  
Nicias once  
more re-  
pents to the  
hierarchs

VII. as men do on the eve of a great struggle, that all which B C 413  
 he had done was nothing, and that he had not said half Ol 91, 4  
 enough, again addressed the trierarchs, and calling each  
 of them by his father's name, and his own name, and  
 the name of his tribe, he entreated those who had made  
 any reputation for themselves not to be false to it, and  
 those whose ancestors were eminent not to tarnish their  
 hereditary fame. He reminded them that they were  
 the inhabitants of the freest country in the world, and  
 how in Athens there was no interference with the daily  
 life of any man<sup>a</sup>. He spoke to them of their wives and  
 children and their fathers' Gods, as men will at such a  
 time, for then they do not care whether their common-  
 place phrases seem to be out of date or not, but loudly  
 reiterate the old appeals, believing that they may be of  
 some service at the awful moment. When he thought  
 that he had exhorted them, not enough, but as much as  
 the scanty time allowed, he retired, and led the land-  
 forces to the shore, extending the line as far as he  
 could, so that they might be of the greatest use in en-  
 couraging the combatants on board ship. Demosthenes,  
 Menander, and Euthydemus, who had gone on board  
 the Athenian fleet to take the command, now quitted  
 their own station, and proceeded straight to the closed  
 mouth of the harbour, intending to force their way to  
 the open sea where a passage was still left.

70. The Syracusans and their allies had already put out  
 with nearly the same number of ships as before. A de-  
 tachment of them guarded the entrance of the harbour;  
 the remainder were disposed all round it in such a manner  
 that they might fall on the Athenians from every side  
 at once, and that their land-forces might at the same  
 time be able to co-operate wherever the ships retreated  
 to the shore. Sicanus and Agatharchus commanded  
 the Syracusan fleet, each of them a wing, Pythen and  
 the Corinthians occupied the centre. When the Athenians  
 approached the closed mouth of the harbour the

the old tale  
of free-  
dom and  
country,  
wives and  
children,  
and their  
fathers'  
Gods  
They then  
go on  
board

Disposition  
of the  
Syracusan  
fleet  
The Athe-  
nians rush  
to the  
mouth of  
the harbour  
The Syra-  
cusans bear  
down upon  
them  
Fury and  
disorder  
of the  
conflict

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

violence of their onset overpowered the ships which were stationed there, they then attempted to loosen the fastenings. Whereupon from all sides the Syracusans and their allies came bearing down upon them, and the conflict was no longer confined to the entrance, but extended throughout the harbour. No previous engagement had been so fierce and obstinate. Great was the eagerness with which the rowers on both sides rushed upon their enemies whenever the word of command was given, and keen was the contest between the pilots as they manœuvred one against another. The marines too were full of anxiety that, when ship struck ship, the service on deck should not fall short of the rest, every one in the place assigned to him was eager to be foremost among his fellows. Many vessels meeting—and never did so many fight in so small a space, for the two fleets together amounted to nearly two hundred—they were seldom able to strike in the regular manner, because they had no opportunity of first retiring or breaking the line, they generally fouled one another as ship dashed against ship in the hurry of flight or pursuit. All the time that another vessel was bearing down, the men on deck poured showers of javelins and arrows and stones upon the enemy, and when the two closed, the marines fought hand to hand, and endeavoured to board. In many places, owing to the want of room, they who had struck another found that they were struck themselves, often two or even more vessels were unavoidably entangled about one, and the pilots had to make plans of attack and defence, not against one adversary only, but against several coming from different sides. The crash of so many ships dashing against one another took away the wits of the sailors, and made it impossible to hear the boatswains, whose voices in both fleets rose high, as they gave directions to the rowers, or cheered them on in the excitement of the struggle. On the Athenian side they were shouting to their men that they must force a passage and seize the opportunity now or never

VII

Manœuvres of pilots, courage of the marines, crash of vessels, shouts of boatswains, the Athenians fighting for life, the Syracusans for glory. Will they find a home among their foes? Will they fly from the flurys?



VII. of returning in safety to their native land To the <sup>B C 413</sup> Syracusans and their allies was represented the glory <sup>Ol 91, 4</sup> of preventing the escape of their enemies, and of a victory by which every man would exalt the honour of his own city The commanders too, when they saw any ship backing water without necessity, would call the captain by his name, and ask, of the Athenians, whether they were retreating because they expected to be more at home upon the land of their bitterest foes than upon that sea <sup>a</sup> which had been their own so long<sup>a</sup>, on the Syracusan side, whether, when they knew perfectly well that the Athenians were only eager to find some means of flight, they would themselves fly from the fugitives.

71

Fearful anxiety of the men drawn up on shore, especially when the battle wavers They accompany the conflict with cries and movements of the body At length the Athenians are driven ashore The army seeing the ships lost know themselves to be lost, like the Lacedaemonians at Pylos

While the naval engagement hung in the balance the two armies on shore had great trial and conflict of soul The Sicilian soldier was animated by the hope of increasing the glory which he had already won, while the invader was tormented by the fear that his fortunes might sink lower still. The last chance of the Athenians lay in their ships, and their anxiety was dreadful The fortune of the battle varied, and it was not possible that the spectators on the shore should all receive the same impression of it Being quite close and having different points of view, they would some of them see their own ships victorious, their courage would then revive, and they would earnestly call upon the Gods not to take from them their hope of deliverance. But others, who saw their ships worsted, cried and shrieked aloud, and were by the sight alone more utterly unnerved than the defeated combatants themselves Others again, who had fixed their gaze on some part of the struggle which was undecided, were in a state of excitement still more terrible, they kept swaying their bodies to and fro in an agony of hope and fear as the stubborn conflict went on and on, for at every instant they were all but saved or all but lost.

<sup>a</sup> Or, reading *πόνου* after *δλίγου* 'which by the labour of years they had made their own.'

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

And while the strife hung in the balance you might VII.  
hear in the Athenian army at once lamentation, shouting,  
cries of victory or defeat, and all the various sounds  
which are wrung from a great host in extremity of  
danger Not less agonising were the feelings of those  
on board At length the Syracusans and their allies,  
after a protracted struggle, put the Athenians to flight,  
and triumphantly bearing down upon them, and en-  
couraging one another with loud cries and exhortations,  
drove them to land Then that part of the navy which  
had not been taken in the deep water fell back in  
confusion to the shore, and the crews rushed out of the  
ships into the camp<sup>a</sup> And the land-forces, no longer  
now divided in feeling, but uttering one universal groan  
of intolerable anguish, ran, some of them to save the  
ships, others to defend what remained of the wall, but  
the greater number began to look to themselves and to  
their own safety Never had there been a greater panic  
in an Athenian army than at that moment They now  
suffered what they had done to others at Pylos For at  
Pylos the Lacedaemonians, when they saw their ships  
destroyed, knew that their friends who had crossed over  
into the island of Sphacteria were lost with them<sup>b</sup>  
And so now the Athenians, after the rout of their fleet,  
knew that they had no hope of saving themselves by  
land unless events took some extraordinary turn.

Thus, after a fierce battle and a great destruction of 72.  
ships and men on both sides, the Syracusans and their  
allies gained the victory. They gathered up the wrecks  
and bodies of the dead, and sailing back to the city,  
erected a trophy The Athenians, overwhelmed by their  
misery, never so much as thought of recovering their  
wrecks or of asking leave to collect their dead Their  
intention was to retreat that very night Demosthenes  
came to Nicias and proposed that they should once more  
man their remaining vessels and endeavour to force the  
passage at daybreak, saying that they had more ships

Demos-  
thenes  
desires to  
renew the  
conflict  
But the  
sailors are  
paralysed  
and refuse  
to embark  
So it is  
decided to  
depart by  
land

VII. fit for service than the enemy For the Athenian fleet <sup>B C 413</sup> still numbered sixty, but the enemy had less than fifty <sup>Ol 91, 4</sup> Nicias approved of his proposal, and they would have manned the ships, but the sailors refused to embark, for they were paralysed by their defeat, and had no longer any hope of succeeding So the Athenians all made up their minds to escape by land

73

Hermocrates, anticipating their design, wants the Syracusans, who was keeping holiday, to intercept them, but, the magistrates declaring the thing impossible, he persuades the Athenians themselves to delay their march,

Hermocrates the Syracusan suspected their intention, and dreading what might happen if their vast army, retreating by land and settling somewhere in Sicily, should choose to renew the war, he went to the authorities, and represented to them that they ought not to allow the Athenians to withdraw by night (mentioning his own suspicion of their intentions), but that all the Syracusans and their allies should march out before them, wall up the roads, and occupy the passes with a guard They thought very much as he did, and wanted to carry out his plan, but doubted whether their men, who were too glad to repose after a great battle, and in time of festival—for there happened on that very day to be a sacrifice to Heracles—could be induced to obey Most of them, in the exultation of victory, were drinking and keeping holiday, and at such a time how could they ever be expected to take up arms and go forth at the order of the generals? On these grounds the authorities decided that the thing was impossible Whereupon Hermocrates himself, fearing lest the Athenians should gain a start and quietly pass the most difficult places in the night, contrived the following plan when it was growing dark he sent certain of his own acquaintances, accompanied by a few horsemen, to the Athenian camp. They rode up within earshot, and pretending to be friends (there were known to be men in the city who gave information to Nicias of what went on) called to some of the soldiers, and bade them tell him not to withdraw his army during the night, for the Syracusans were guarding the roads, he should make preparation at leisure and retire by day. Having delivered their

B C 413 message they departed, and those who had heard them VII.  
Ol 91, 4 informed the Athenian generals

On receiving this message, which they supposed to be 74  
genuine, they remained during the night And having  
once given up the intention of starting immediately,  
they decided to remain during the next day, that the  
soldiers might, as well as they could, put together their  
baggage in the most convenient form, and depart, taking  
with them the bare necessities of life, but nothing else

Meanwhile the Syracusans and Gylippus, going forth and so  
before them with their land-forces blocked the roads in gives the  
the country by which the Athenians were likely to pass, Syracusans  
guarded the fords of the rivers and streams, and posted time to  
themselves at the best points for receiving and stopping block the  
them. Their sailors rowed up to the beach and dragged roads  
away the Athenian ships The Athenians themselves  
burnt a few of them, as they had intended, but the rest  
the Syracusans towed away, unmolested and at their  
leisure, from the places where they had severally run  
aground, and conveyed them to the city

On the third day after the sea-fight, when Nicias and 75.  
Demosthenes thought that their preparations were com-  
plete, the army began to move They were in a dread-  
ful condition, not only was there the great fact that  
they had lost their whole fleet, and instead of their  
expected triumph had brought the utmost peril upon  
Athens as well as upon themselves, but also the sights  
which presented themselves as they quitted the camp  
were painful to every eye and mind The dead were  
unburied, and when any one saw the body of a friend  
lying on the ground he was smitten with sorrow and  
dread, while the sick or wounded who still survived  
but had to be left were even a greater trial to the  
living, and more to be pitied than those who were  
gone Their prayers and lamentations drove their com-  
panions to distraction; they would beg that they might  
be taken with them, and call by name any friend or  
relation whom they saw passing; they would hang upon  
Miserly of  
the de-  
parture  
There are  
sights of  
death every-  
where, the  
sick and  
wounded  
are left  
behind,  
cursing  
their  
comrades,  
the vast  
army is  
in tears,  
the sense  
of disgrace,  
the want  
of food,  
and the  
contrast  
between  
their arrival  
and their  
departure,  
quite over-  
power  
them

VII. their departing comrades and follow as far as they could, and when their limbs and strength failed them and they dropped behind many were the imprecations and cries which they uttered. So that the whole army was in tears, and such was their despair that they could hardly make up their minds to stir, although they were leaving an enemy's country, having suffered calamities too great for tears already, and deading miseries yet greater in the unknown future. There was also a general feeling of shame and self-reproach,—indeed they seemed, not like an army, but like the fugitive population of a city captured after a siege, and of a great city too. For the whole multitude who were marching together numbered not less than forty thousand. Each of them took with him anything he could carry which was likely to be of use. Even the heavy-armed and cavalry, contrary to their practice when under arms, conveyed about their persons their own food, some because they had no attendants, others because they could not trust them, for they had long been deserting, and most of them had gone off all at once. Nor was the food which they carried sufficient, for the supplies of the camp had failed. Their disgrace and the universality of the misery, although there might be some consolation in the very community of suffering, was nevertheless at that moment hard to bear, especially when they remembered from what pomp and splendour they had fallen into their present low estate. Never had an Hellenic army<sup>a</sup> experienced such a reverse. They had come intending to enslave others, and they were going away in fear that they would be themselves enslaved. Instead of the prayers and hymns with which they had put to sea, they were now departing amid appeals to heaven of another sort. They were no longer sailors but landsmen, depending, not upon their fleet, but upon their infantry. Yet in face of the great danger which still threatened them all these things appeared endurable.

<sup>a</sup> Omitting τῶν.

Yet more  
overwhelm-  
ing is the  
thought of  
the future

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

B C 413  
Ol 9<sup>t</sup>, 4

Nicias, seeing the army disheartened at their terrible fall, went along the ranks and encouraged and consoled them as well as he could. In his fervour he raised his voice as he passed from one to another and spoke louder and louder, desiring that the benefit of his words might reach as far as possible. VII 76

Address of  
Nicias

‘Even now, Athenians and allies, we must hope men have been delivered out of worse straits than these, and I would not have you judge yourselves too severely on account either of the reverses which you have sustained or of your present undeserved miseries. I too am as weak as any of you, for I am quite prostrated by my disease, as you see. And although there was a time when I might have been thought equal to the best of you in the happiness of my private and public life, I am now in as great danger, and as much at the mercy of fortune, as the meanest. Yet my days have been passed in the performance of many a religious duty, and of many a just and blameless action. Therefore my hope of the future remains unshaken, and our calamities do not appal me as they might<sup>a</sup>. Who knows that they may not be lightened? For our enemies have had their full share of success, and if our expedition provoked the jealousy of any God<sup>b</sup>, by this time we have been punished enough. Others ere now have attacked their neighbours, they have done as men will do, and suffered what men can bear. We may therefore begin to hope that the Gods will be more merciful to us, for we now invite their pity rather than their jealousy. And look at your own well-armed ranks, see how many brave soldiers you are, marching in solid array<sup>c</sup>, and do not be dismayed, bear in mind that wherever you plant yourselves you are a city already, and that no city of Sicily will find it easy to resist your attack, or can dislodge you if you choose. 77

We have suffered more than we deserve, and I as much as any one, though my life has been blameless. But we may hope that the Gods will now take pity upon us. Look at your own numbers, and remember that there is nowhere a refuge for the coward, but everywhere for the brave. We must get to the Sicels at once, for we have no more food. While Athenians live, Athens lives.

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking *κατ' ἀξίαν* closely with *φοβούσι*. ‘and our calamities do not appal me, as if they were deserved,’ or, ‘although our calamities, undeserved as they are, do certainly appal me.’

<sup>b</sup> Cp vii 50 fin

<sup>c</sup> Cp vi 68 init., vii. 61 fin

VII. to settle. Provide for the safety and good order of your own march, and remember every one of you that on whatever spot a man is compelled to fight, there if he conquer he may find a home and a fortress. We must press forward day and night, for our supplies are but scanty. The Sicels through fear of the Syracusans still adhere to us, and if we can only reach any part of their territory we shall be among friends, and you may consider yourselves secure. We have sent to them, and they have been told to meet us and bring food. In a word, soldiers, let me tell you that you must be brave, there is no place near to which a coward can fly<sup>a</sup>. And if you now escape your enemies, those of you who are not Athenians may see once more the home for which they long, while you Athenians will again rear aloft the fallen greatness of Athens. For men, and not walls or ships in which are no men, constitute a state<sup>B C 473 Ol 91, 4</sup>.

78. Thus exhorting his troops Nicias passed through the army, and wherever he saw gaps in the ranks or the men dropping out of line, he brought them back to their proper place. Demosthenes did the same for the troops under his command, and gave them similar exhortations. The army marched disposed in a hollow oblong the division of Nicias leading, and that of Demosthenes following, the hoplites enclosed within their ranks the baggage-bearers and the rest of the army. When they arrived at the ford of the river Anapus they found a force of the Syracusans and of their allies drawn up to meet them, these they put to flight, and getting command of the ford, proceeded on their march. The Syracusans continually harassed them, the cavalry riding alongside, and the light-armed troops hurling darts at them. On this day the Athenians proceeded about four and a-half miles and encamped at a hill. On the next day they started early, and, having advanced more than two miles, descended into a level plain, and encamped. The country was inhabited, and they were desirous of

The Athenians move on in two divisions, one under Nicias, and the other under Demosthenes. They succeed in passing the river Anapus, and proceed a few miles southward. The Syracusans overtake them and occupy a steep pass on their route.

Second day

<sup>a</sup> Cp. vi 68 med. and fin

B C 413 obtaining food from the houses, and also water which VII.  
Ol 9<sup>r</sup>, 4 they might carry with them, as there was little to be had

for many miles in the country which lay before them. Meanwhile the Syracusans had gone on before them, and at a point where the road ascends a steep hill called the Acraean height, and there is a precipitous ravine on

Third day either side, were blocking up the pass by a wall. On the next day the Athenians advanced, although again impeded by the numbers of the enemy's cavalry who rode along-side, and of their javelin-men who threw darts at them. For a long time the Athenians maintained the struggle, but at last retired to their own encampment. Their supplies were now cut off, because the horsemen circumscribed their movements

Fourth day In the morning they started early and resumed their 79  
march. They pressed onwards to the hill where the way was barred, and found in front of them the Syracusan infantry drawn up to defend the wall, in deep array, for the pass was narrow. Whereupon the Athenians advanced and assaulted the barrier, but the enemy, who were numerous and had the advantage of position, threw missiles upon them from the hill which was steep, and so, not being able to force their way, they again retired and rested. During the conflict, as is often the case in the fall of the year, there came on a storm of rain and thunder, whereby the Athenians were yet more disheartened, for they thought that everything was conspiring to their destruction<sup>a</sup>. While they were resting, Gylippus and the Syracusans despatched a division of their army to raise a wall behind them across the road by which they had come, but the Athenians sent some of their own troops and frustrated their intention. They then retired with their whole army in the direction of the  
Fifth day plain and passed the night. On the following day they again advanced. The Syracusans now surrounded and attacked them on every side, and wounded many of them. If the Athenians advanced they retreated, but charged

The Athenians make no impression on the Syracusan position

<sup>a</sup> Cp vi 70 int.



VII. them when they returned, falling especially upon the hindmost of them, in the hope that, if they could put to flight a few at a time, they might strike a panic into the whole army. In this fashion the Athenians struggled on for a long time, and having advanced about three-quarters of a mile rested in the plain. The Syracusans then left them and returned to their own encampment.

80 The army was now in a miserable plight, being in

The condition of the Athenians grows worse and worse. At night they change their route and go towards the sea. A panic occurs. Nicias crosses the Cacyparis

want of every necessary, and by the continual assaults of the enemy great numbers of the soldiers had been wounded. Nicias and Demosthenes, perceiving their condition, resolved during the night to light as many watch-fires as possible and to lead off their forces. They intended to take another route and march towards the sea in the direction opposite to that from which the Syracusans were watching them. Now their whole line of march lay, not towards Catana, but towards the other side of Sicily, in the direction of Camarina and Gela, and the cities, Hellenic or Barbarian, of that region. So they lighted numerous fires and departed in the night. And then, as constantly happens in armies<sup>a</sup>, especially in very great ones, and as might be expected when they were marching by night in an enemy's country, and with the enemy from whom they were flying not far off, there arose a panic among them, and they fell into confusion. The army of Nicias, which led the way, kept together, and was considerably in advance, but that of Demosthenes, which was the larger half, got severed from the other division, and marched in less order. At daybreak they succeeded in reaching the sea, and striking into the Helorine road marched along it, intending as soon as they arrived at the river Cacyparis to follow up the stream through the interior of the island. They were expecting that the Sicels for whom they had sent would meet them on this road. When they had reached the river they found there also a guard of the Syracusans cutting off the passage by a

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

Sixth day

<sup>a</sup> Cp iv. 125 init.

B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

wall and palisade They forced their way through, and crossing the river, passed on towards another river which is called the Erineus, this being the direction in which their guides led them

VII

When daylight broke and the Syracusans and their allies saw that the Athenians had departed, most of them thought that Gylippus had let them go on purpose, and were very angry with him They easily found the line of their retreat, and quickly following, came up with them about the time of the midday meal. The troops of Demosthenes were last, they were marching slowly and in disorder, not having recovered from the panic of the previous night, when they were overtaken by the Syracusans, who immediately fell upon them and fought Separated as they were from the others, they were easily hemmed in by the Syracusan cavalry and driven into a narrow space The division of Nicias was as much as six miles in advance, for he marched faster, thinking that their safety depended at such a time, not in remaining and fighting, if they could avoid it, but in retreating as quickly as they could, and resisting only when they were positively compelled Demosthenes, on the other hand, who had been more incessantly harassed throughout the retreat, because marching last he was first attacked by the enemy, now, when he saw the Syracusans pursuing him, instead of pressing onward, had ranged his army in order of battle Thus lingering he was surrounded, and he and the Athenians under his command were in the greatest danger and confusion For they were crushed into a walled enclosure, having a road on both sides and planted thickly with olive-trees, and missiles were hurled at them from all points The Syracusans naturally preferred this mode of attack to a regular engagement For to risk themselves against desperate men would have been only playing into the hands of the Athenians. Moreover, every one was sparing of his life, their good fortune was already assured, and they did not want to fall in the hour of victory. Even

81

The Syra-  
cusans soon  
overtake  
the division  
of Demos-  
thenes,  
which is  
surrounded  
by them

VII by this irregular mode of fighting they thought that B C 413  
Ol 97, 4  
they could overpower and capture the Athenians

82 And so when they had gone on all day assailing them  
The troops are worn out, offers of freedom to the islanders generally refused. But at last the whole force is driven to capitulate  
 with missiles from every quarter, and saw that they were quite worn out with their wounds and all their other sufferings, Gylippus and the Syracusans made a proclamation, first of all to the islanders, that any of them who pleased might come over to them and have their freedom. But only a few cities accepted the offer. At length an agreement was made for the entire force under Demosthenes. Their arms were to be surrendered, but no one was to suffer death, either from violence or from imprisonment, or from want of the bare means of life. So they all surrendered, being in number six thousand, and gave up what money they had. This they threw into the hollows of shields and filled four. The captives were at once taken to the city. On the same day Nicias and his division reached the river Enneus, which he crossed, and halted his army on a rising ground.

83. On the following day he was overtaken by the Syra- Seventh day  
Nicias being informed of the surrender of Demosthenes tries in vain to negotiate with Gylippus. He attempts to steal away by night, but fails. Three hundred escape in the darkness  
 cusans, who told him that Demosthenes had surrendered, and bade him do the same. He, not believing them, procured a truce while he sent a horseman to go and see. Upon the return of the horseman bringing assurance of the fact, he sent a herald to Gylippus and the Syracusans, saying that he would agree, on behalf of the Athenian state, to pay the expenses which the Syracusans had incurred in the war, on condition that they should let his army go, until the money was paid he would give Athenian citizens as hostages, a man for a talent. Gylippus and the Syracusans would not accept these proposals, but attacked and surrounded this division of the army as well as the other, and hurled missiles at them from every side until the evening. They too were grievously in want of food and necessities. Nevertheless they meant to wait for the dead of the night and then to proceed. They were just resuming their arms, when the Syracusans discovered them

B C 413 and raised the Paean The Athenians, perceiving that VII.  
Ol 91, 4 they were detected, laid down their arms again, with the  
exception of about three hundred men who broke through  
the enemy's guard, and made their escape in the dark-  
ness as best they could

Eighth day When the day dawned Nicias led forward his army, 84  
and the Syracusans and the allies again assailed them  
on every side, hurling javelins and other missiles at  
them The Athenians hurried on to the river Assi-  
narus They hoped to gain a little relief if they foisted  
the river, for the mass of horsemen and other troops  
overwhelmed and crushed them, and they were worn  
out by fatigue and thirst But no sooner did they  
reach the water than they lost all order and rushed in,  
every man was trying to cross first, and, the enemy  
pressing upon them at the same time, the passage of the  
river became hopeless Being compelled to keep close  
together they fell one upon another, and trampled each  
other under foot some at once perished, pierced by  
their own spears, others got entangled in the baggage  
and were carried down the stream. The Syracusans  
stood upon the further bank of the river, which was  
steep, and hurled missiles from above on the Athenians,  
who were huddled together in the deep bed of the stream  
and for the most part were drinking greedily The  
Peloponnesians came down the bank and slaughtered  
them, falling chiefly upon those who were in the river.  
Whereupon the water at once became foul, but was  
drunk all the same, although muddy and dyed with  
blood, and the crowd fought for it.

At last, when the dead bodies were lying in heaps 85.  
upon one another in the water and the army was  
utterly undone, some perishing in the river, and any who  
escaped being cut off by the cavalry. Nicias surrendered  
to Gylippus, in whom he had more confidence than in  
the Syracusans He entreated him and the Lacedae-  
monians to do what they pleased with himself, but not  
to go on killing the men So Gylippus gave the word

The troops  
of Nicias  
hurry on  
to the river  
Assinarus,  
they rush in  
pell-mell,  
they are  
attacked by  
the enemy,  
the water  
runs blood,  
and the  
living and  
dead are  
huddled  
together in  
the stream

Nicias at  
last sur-  
renders to  
Gylippus  
The three  
hundred are  
brought in  
Greatness  
of the  
slaughter  
Many  
prisoners

VII to make prisoners Thereupon the survivors, not in- <sup>B C 413</sup>  
become the property of the soldiers, and many escape cluding however a large number whom the soldiers concealed, were brought in alive As for the three hundred who had broken through the guard in the night, the Syracusans sent in pursuit and seized them. The total of the public prisoners when collected was not great, for many were appropriated by the soldiers, and the whole of Sicily was full of them, they not having capitulated like the troops under Demosthenes A large number also perished, the slaughter at the river being very great, quite as great as any which took place in the Sicilian war, and not a few had fallen in the frequent attacks which were made upon the Athenians during their march Still many escaped, some at the time, others ran away after an interval of slavery, and all these found refuge at Catana

86 The Syracusans and their allies collected their forces and returned with the spoil, and as many prisoners as they could take with them, into the city The captive Athenians and allies they deposited in the quarries, which they thought would be the safest place of confinement Nicias and Demosthenes they put to the sword, although against the will of Gylippus For Gylippus thought that to carry home with him to Lacedaemon the generals of the enemy, over and above all his other successes, would be a brilliant triumph One of them, Demosthenes, happened to be the greatest foe, and the other the greatest friend of the Lacedaemonians, both in the same matter of Pylos and Sphacteria For Nicias had taken up their cause<sup>a</sup>, and had persuaded the Athenians to make the peace which set at liberty the prisoners taken in the island The Lacedaemonians were grateful to him for the service, and this was the main reason why he trusted Gylippus and surrendered himself to him. But certain Syracusans, who had been in communication with him, were afraid (such was the report) that on some suspicion of their guilt he might be put to the torture and bring trouble on them in the hour of their

The public prisoners are confined in the quarries, Nicias and Demosthenes are put to death

<sup>a</sup> Cp v. 16 med

BC 413 prosperity. Others and especially the Corinthians, feared VII.  
 Ol 91, 4 that, being rich, he might by bribery escape and do  
 them further mischief. So the Syracusans gained the  
 consent of the allies and had him executed. For these  
 or the like reasons he suffered death. No one of the  
 Hellenes in my time was less deserving of so miserable  
 an end, for he lived in the practice of every virtue.

Those who were imprisoned in the quarries were at 87  
 the beginning of their captivity harshly treated by the Syracusans. There were great numbers of them, and  
 they were crowded in a deep and narrow place. At  
 first the sun by day was still scorching and suffocating,  
 for they had no roof over their heads, while the autumn  
 nights were cold, and the extremes of temperature  
 engendered violent disorders. Being cramped for room  
 they had to do everything on the same spot. The  
 corpses of those who died from their wounds, exposure  
 to the weather, and the like, lay heaped one upon another.  
 The smells were intolerable, and they were at the  
 same time afflicted by hunger and thirst. During eight  
 months they were allowed only about half a pint of  
 water and a pint of food a day. Every kind of misery  
 which could befall man in such a place befell them.  
 This was the condition of all the captives for about ten  
 weeks. At length the Syracusans sold them, with the  
 exception of the Athenians and of any Sicilian or Italian  
 Greeks who had sided with them in the war. The whole  
 number of the public prisoners is not accurately known,  
 but they were not less than seven thousand.

Of all the Hellenic actions which took place in this  
 war, or indeed of all Hellenic actions which are on record,  
 this was the greatest—the most glorious to the victors,  
 the most ruinous to the vanquished, for they were  
 utterly and at all points defeated, and their sufferings  
 were prodigious. Fleet and army perished from the  
 face of the earth, nothing was saved, and of the many  
 who went forth few returned home.

Thus ended the Sicilian expedition.

Sufferings  
 of the  
 prisoners  
 from cold,  
 heat,  
 noisome  
 smells,  
 scanty  
 allowance  
 of food  
 and water.  
 The whole  
 number  
 of them  
 about seven  
 thousand

Thus ended  
 the greatest  
 of all  
 Hellenic  
 actions

## BOOK VIII.

VIII 1. THE news was brought to Athens, but the Athenians B C 413  
Ol 91, 4 could not believe that the armament had been so completely annihilated, although they had the positive assurances of <sup>a</sup> the very soldiers who <sup>a</sup> had escaped from the scene of action. At last they knew the truth, and then they were furious with the orators who had joined in promoting the expedition—as if they had not voted it themselves<sup>b</sup>—and with the soothsayers, and prophets, and all who by the influence of religion had at the time inspired them with the belief that they would conquer Sicily. Whichever way they looked there was trouble, they were overwhelmed by their calamity, and were in fear and consternation unutterable. The citizens mourned and the city mourned, they had lost a host of cavalry and hoplites and the flower of their youth, and there were none to replace them<sup>c</sup>. And when they saw an insufficient number of ships in their docks, and no crews to man them, nor money in the treasury, they despaired of deliverance. They had no doubt that their enemies in Sicily, after the great victory which they had already gained, would at once sail against the Piræus. Their enemies in Hellas, whose resources were now doubled, would likewise set upon them with all their might both by sea and land, and would be assisted by their own revolted allies. Still they determined under any circumstances not to give way. They would procure

At first the Athenians will not believe the truth, and are furious when they know it. Their prospects are hopeless. However, they determine not to yield. They appoint a council of elders, and are disposed to economise and to behave well.

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking *πάνυ* with *στρατιωτῶν*. 'trustworthy soldiers who.'

<sup>b</sup> Cp. ii. 60 med, 61 med.

<sup>c</sup> Cp vii 64.

B.C. 413 timber and money by whatever means they might, and VIII.  
 Ol. 91, 4 build a navy They would make suie of their allies,  
 and above all of Euboea. Expenses in the city were to  
 be economised, and they were to choose a council of the  
 elder men, who should advise together, and lay before  
 the people the measures which from time to time might  
 be required After the manner of a democracy, they  
 were very amenable to discipline while their fright  
 lasted They proceeded to carry out these resolutions.  
 And so the summer ended

During the following winter all Hellas was stirred 2.  
 by the great overthrow of the Athenians in Sicily The  
 states which had been neutral determined that the time  
 had come when, invited or not, they could no longer  
 stand aloof from the war, they must of their own accord  
 attack the Athenians They considered, one and all,  
 that if the Sicilian expedition had succeeded, they would  
 sooner or later have been attacked by them The war  
 would not last long, and they might as well share in the  
 glory of it The Lacedaemonian allies, animated by a  
 common feeling, were more eager than ever to make a  
 speedy end of their protracted hardships But none  
 showed greater alacrity than the subjects of the Athe-  
 nians, who were everywhere willing even beyond their  
 power to revolt, for they judged by their excited  
 feelings<sup>a</sup>, and would not admit a possibility that the  
 Athenians could survive another summer To the Lace-  
 daemonians all this was most encouraging, and they  
 had in addition the prospect that their allies from Sicily  
 would join them at the beginning of spring with a large  
 force of ships as well as men, necessity having at last  
 compelled them to become a naval power. Everything  
 looked hopeful, and they determined to strike promptly  
 and vigorously. They considered that by the successful  
 termination of the war they would be finally delivered  
 from dangers such as would have surrounded them if the  
 Athenians had become masters of Sicily<sup>b</sup> Athens once

The neutral  
 states, the  
 Lacedae-  
 monian and  
 Athenian  
 allies, are all  
 alike eager  
 to have a  
 share in a  
 war which  
 appears to  
 be nearly  
 at an end  
 and to  
 involve no  
 danger  
 Hopes  
 of the  
 Lacedae-  
 monians

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iv. 108 med.

<sup>b</sup> Cp. vi. 90



VIII overthrown, they might assume to themselves the undisputed leadership of Hellas B C 413  
Ol 91, 4

3. At the beginning therefore of this winter, Agis the Lacedaemonian king led out a body of troops from Decelea, and collected from the allies contributions towards the expenses of a navy. Then passing to the Malian Gulf, he carried off from the Oetaeans, who were old enemies<sup>a</sup>, the greater part of their cattle, and exacted money of them, from the Achaeans of Phthia, and from the other tribes in that region, although the Thessalians, to whom they were subject, were very wroth and protested, he likewise extorted money and took hostages, whom he deposited at Corinth, and tied to force upon them the Lacedaemonian alliance. The whole number of ships which the allies were to build was fixed at a hundred twenty-five were to be built by the Lacedaemonians themselves and twenty-five by the Boeotians, fifteen by the Phocians and Locrians, fifteen by the Corinthians, ten by the Arcadians, Pellensians, and Sicyonians, ten by the Megarians, Troezenians, Epidaurians, and Hermioneans. Every sort of preparation was made, for the Lacedaemonians were determined to prosecute the war as soon as the spring set in.

4. The Athenians also carried out their intended preparations during this winter. They collected timber and built ships, they fortified Sunium for the protection of their corn-ships on the voyage to Athens, also they abandoned the fort in Laconia which they had erected while sailing to Sicily<sup>b</sup>, and cut down any expenses which seemed unnecessary. Above all, they kept strict watch over their allies, apprehending revolt.

During the same winter, while both parties were as intent upon their preparations as if the war were only just beginning, first among the Athenian subjects the Euboeans sent envoys to negotiate with Agis. Agis accepted their proposals, and summoned from Lacedaemon Alcamenes the son of Sthenelaidas, and Melan-

Agis carries away the cattle of the Oetaeans, and exacts money from the Achaeans of Phthia. The Lacedaemonians and allies are to build a hundred ships

The Athenians build a fleet and fortify Sunium. They cut down expense and keep an eye upon their allies

First the Euboeans, then (2) the Lesbians, who are supported by their Boeotian kinsmen, negotiate

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iii 92 foll

<sup>b</sup> Cp. vii, 26 med.

BC 413 thus, that they might take the command in Euboea VIII.  
 Ol 91, 4 They came, accompanied by three hundred of the Neo-  
 damodes But while he was making ready to convey with Agis,  
 them across the strait, there arrived envoys from Lesbos, who has  
 which was likewise anxious to revolt, and as the Boeo- more power  
 tians<sup>a</sup> were in their interest, Agis was persuaded to defer than the  
 the expedition to Euboea while he prepared to assist the home  
 Lesbians He appointed Alcamenes, who had been govern-  
 designed for Euboea, their governor, and he further ment  
 promised them ten ships, the Boeotians promising ten  
 more All this was done without the authority of the  
 Lacedaemonian government, for Agis, while he was  
 with his army at Decelea, had the right to send troops  
 whithersoever he pleased, to raise levies, and to exact  
 money And at that particular time he might be said  
 to have far more influence over the allies than the  
 Lacedaemonians at home, for he had an army at his  
 disposal, and was dreaded wherever he went

While he was supporting the Lesbians, certain Chians 5.  
 and Erythraeans (who were also ready to revolt) had (3) The  
 recourse, not to Agis, but to Lacedaemon, they were Chians and  
 accompanied by an envoy from Tissaphernes, whom Erythraeans  
 King Darius the son of Artaxerxes had appointed to be assisted by  
 governor of the provinces on the coast of Asia Tissaphernes ask  
 aid from  
 Sparta  
 The King's  
 tribute in  
 question.  
 Tissaphernes too was inviting the assistance of the Lacedae-  
 monians, and promised to maintain their troops, for the  
 King had quite lately been demanding of him the  
 revenues due from the Hellenic cities in his province,  
 which he had been prevented by the Athenians from col-  
 lecting, and therefore still owed He thought that if he  
 could weaken the Athenians he would be more likely to get  
 his tribute, he hoped also to make the Lacedaemonians  
 allies of the King, and by their help either to slay or take  
 alive, in accordance with the King's orders, Amorges the  
 natural son of Pissuthnes, who had revolted in Caria

While the Chians and Tissaphernes were pursuing 6  
 their common object, Calligaitus the son of Laophon, (4) Phai na-  
 bazus, who

<sup>a</sup> Cp III 2 fin, 5 med, 13 int., VIII 100 med

VIII. a Megarian, and Timagoras the son of Athenagoras, a <sup>B C 413</sup>  
sends over  
money,  
invites the  
Lacedae-  
monian  
fleet to the  
Hellespont  
The Chians  
having the  
support of  
Alcibiades  
are first re-  
ceived into  
alliance,  
they are  
promised  
the assist-  
ance of a  
Peloponne-  
sian fleet Cyzicenc, both exiles from their own country, who were <sup>Ol 91, 4</sup>  
residing at the court of Pharnabazus the son of Phainaces,  
came to Lacedaemon. They had been commissioned by  
Pharnabazus to bring up a fleet to the Hellespont, like  
Tissaphernes he was anxious, if possible, to induce the  
cities in his province to revolt from the Athenians, that  
he might obtain the tribute from them, and he wanted  
the alliance between the Lacedaemonians and the King  
to come from himself. The two parties—that is to say,  
the envoys of Pharnabazus and those of Tissaphernes—  
were acting independently, and a vehement contest  
arose at Lacedaemon, the one party urging the Lace-  
daemonians to send a fleet and army to Ionia and  
Chios, the other to begin with the Hellespont. They  
were themselves far more favourable to the proposals  
of the Chians and Tissaphernes, for Alcibiades was  
in their interest, and he was a great hereditary friend  
of Endius, one of the Ephors of that year. Through  
this friendship the Lacedaemonian name of Alcibiades  
came into his family, for Alcibiades was the name of  
Endius' father.\* Nevertheless the Lacedaemonians, be-  
fore giving an answer, sent a commissioner, Phrynus, one  
of their Perioeci, to see whether the Chians had as many  
ships as they said, and whether the power of the city was  
equal to her reputation. He reported that what they  
had heard was true. Whereupon they at once made  
alliance with the Chians and Erythraeans and voted  
them forty ships—there being at Chios already, as the  
Chians informed them, not less than sixty. Of the forty  
ships they at first intended to send out ten themselves  
under the command of Melanctidas their admiral; but  
an earthquake occurred, so instead of Melanctidas they  
appointed Chalcideus, and instead of the ten ships they  
prepared to send five only, which they equipped in

\* Literally, 'for Endius was called Endius the son of Alcibiades,'  
implying that in the family of Endius the names Endius and Alci-  
biades alternated

B.C. 412<sup>12</sup> Ol. 92<sup>2</sup> Laconia So the winter ended and with it the nineteenth year in the Peloponnesian War of which Thucydides wrote the history. VIII.

At the beginning of the next summer the Chians pressed the Lacedaemonians to send the fleet at once. For their proposals, like those of the other allies, had been made secretly, and they were afraid that the Athenians would detect them. Thereupon the Lacedaemonians sent to Corinth three Spartans, who were to give orders that the ships then lying at the Isthmus should be as quickly as possible dragged over from the Corinthian gulf to the coast on the other side. They were all to be despatched to Chios, including the ships which Agis had intended for Lesbos. The allied fleet then at the Isthmus numbered in all thirty-nine 7.

The ships are to be dragged over the Isthmus

Calligeitus and Timagoras, who represented Pharnabazus, took no part in the expedition to Chios, nor did they offer to contribute towards the expenses of it the money which they had brought with them, amounting to twenty-five talents<sup>a</sup>, they thought of sailing later with another expedition. Agis, when he saw that the Lacedaemonians were bent on going to Chios first, offered no opposition, so the allies held a conference at Corinth, and after some deliberation determined to sail, first of all to Chios, under the command of Chalcideus, who was equipping the five ships in Laconia, then to proceed to Lesbos, under the command of Alcamenes, whom Agis had previously designed to appoint to that island, and finally to the Hellespont, for this last command they had selected Clearchus the son of Rhamphias. They resolved to carry over the Isthmus half the ships first, these were to sail at once, that the attention of the Athenians might be distracted between those which were starting and those which were to follow. They meant to sail quite openly, taking it for granted that the Athenians were powerless, since no navy of theirs worth speaking of had as yet appeared 8.

Agis, who had originally favoured Lesbos, acquiesces in the expedition to Chios

<sup>a</sup> £6000

VIII. In pursuance of their plans they conveyed twenty-one ships over the Isthmus B.C. 412  
O1 92

9 They were in a hurry to be off, but the Corinthians were unwilling to join them until the conclusion of the Isthmian games, which were then going on. Agis was prepared to respect their scruples and to take the responsibility of the expedition on himself. But the Corinthians would not agree to this proposal, and there was delay. In the meantime the Athenians began to discover the proceedings of the Chians, and despatched one of their generals, Aristocrates, to accuse them of treason. They denied the charge, whereupon he desired them to send back with him a few ships as a pledge of their fidelity to the alliance, and they sent seven. They could not refuse his request, for the Chian people were ignorant of the whole matter, while the oligarchs, who were in the secret, did not want to break with the multitude until they had secured their ground. And the Peloponnesian ships had delayed so long that they had ceased to expect them.

10. Meanwhile the Isthmian games were celebrated. The Athenians, to whom they had been formally notified, sent representatives to them, and now their eyes began to be opened to the designs of the Chians. On their return home they took immediate measures to prevent the enemy's ships getting away from Cenchreae unperceived. When the games were over, the Peloponnesians, under the command of Alcámenes, with their twenty-one ships set sail for Chios, the Athenians, with an equal number, first sailed up to them and tried to draw them into the open sea. The Peloponnesians did not follow them far, but soon turned back to Cenchreae, the Athenians likewise retired, for they could not depend on the fidelity of the seven Chian ships which formed a part of their fleet. So they manned some more ships, making the whole number thirty-seven, and when the Peloponnesians resumed their voyage along the coast they pursued them into Peiræum, a lonely harbour, the last

The Corinthians are delayed by their Isthmian games. Meanwhile the Athenians detect the treason of the Chians and exact pledges of them.

The first Peloponnesian squadron is driven by the Athenians into Peiræum and the commander, Alcámenes, slain.

B C 412 in the Corinthian territory before you reach Epidauria. VIII.  
Ol 92

One ship was lost by the Peloponnesians at sea, but they got the rest together and came to anchor in the harbour. Again the Athenians attacked them, not only on the water, but also after they had landed, there was a fierce struggle, but no regular engagement, most of the enemy's ships were damaged by the Athenians on the beach, and their commander, Alcamenes, was slain. Some Athenians also fell.

When the conflict was over, the conquerors left a sufficient number of ships to watch the enemy, and with the remainder they lay to under a little island not far off, where they encamped, and sent to Athens, requesting reinforcements. For on the day after the battle the Corinthians had come to assist the Peloponnesian ships, and the other inhabitants of the country quickly followed them. Foreseeing how great would be the labour of keeping guard on so desolate a spot, the Peloponnesians knew not what to do, they even entertained the idea of burning their ships, but on second thoughts they determined to draw them high up on shore, and with their land-forces stationed near to keep guard over them, until some good opportunity of escape should occur. Agis was informed of their condition, and sent Thermon, a Spartan, to them. The first tidings which had reached Sparta were to the effect that the ships had left the Isthmus (the Ephors having told Alcamenes to send a horseman announcing the fact), and immediately they determined to send out the five ships of their own which they had ready, under the command of Chalcideus, who was to be accompanied by Alcibiades. But when they were on the point of departure, a second messenger reported that the other squadron had been chased into Penaeum, and then, disheartened by finding that they had begun the Ionian war with a failure, they determined to give up sending the ships from Laconia, and even to recall some others which had already sailed.

Alcibiades, seeing the state of affairs, advised Endius 12.

II  
The ships  
are block-  
aded by the  
Athenians  
Discourage-  
ment of the  
Lacedae-  
monians,  
who seem  
doomed to  
failure

VIII. and the Ephoïs to persevere in the expedition They <sup>B C 412</sup> would arrive, he said, before the Chians had heard of <sup>Ol 92</sup> the misadventure of the ships He would himself, as soon as he reached Ionia, represent to the cities the weakness of the Athenians and the alacrity of the Lacedaemonians, and they would revolt at once, for they would believe him sooner than any one. To Endius he argued in private <sup>a</sup>that he would gain honour if he were the instrument of effecting a revolt in Ionia, and of gaining the alliance of the King<sup>a</sup>, he should not allow such a prize to fall into the hands of Agis Now Agis was a personal enemy of Alcibiades. Endius and the other Ephors were persuaded by him So he put to sea with the five ships, accompanied by Chalcideus the Lacedaemonian, and hastened on his way

13. About this time sixteen Peloponnesian ships which had remained with Gylippus to the end of the Sicilian war were returning home They were caught in the neighbourhood of Leucadia and roughly handled by twenty-seven Athenian vessels, under the command of Hippocles the son of Menippus, which were on the watch for ships coming from Sicily, but all except one of them escaped the Athenians and sailed into Corinth

14. Chalcideus and Alcibiades on their voyage seized every one whom they met in order that their coming might not be reported They touched first at the promontory of Corycus on the mainland, and there releasing their prisoners, they held a preliminary conference with certain of the Chians, who were in the plot, and who advised them to give no notice of their intention, but to sail at once to the city So they appeared suddenly at Chios, to the great wonder and alarm of the people. The oligarchs had contrived that the council should be sitting at the time Chalcideus and Alcibiades made speeches and announced that many more ships were on their way, but said nothing about the

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'that he would win honour by effecting a revolt in Ionia and gaining the alliance of the King Alcibiades would help him'

They are going to do nothing, but Alcibiades insists that the Lacedaemonian contingent shall at once put to sea

Return of some ships from Sicily

(1) Chios, then (2) Erythrae, (3) Clazomenae, are induced to revolt by Chalcideus and Alcibiades

B C 412, Ol 92 blockade of Peiraeum So Chios first, and afterwards VIII.

Erythrae, revolted from Athens They then sailed with three vessels to Clazomenae, which they induced to revolt The Clazomenians at once crossed over to the mainland and fortified Polichnè, intending in case of need to retreat thither from the little island on which Clazomenae stands All the revolted cities were occupied in raising fortifications and preparing for war.

The news of the revolt of Chios soon reached Athens, and the Athenians realised at once the magnitude of the danger which now surrounded them The greatest city of all had gone over to the enemy, and the rest of their allies were certain to rise In the extremity of their alarm they abrogated the penalties denounced against any one who should propose or put to the vote the employment of the thousand talents which throughout the war they had hitherto jealously reserved<sup>a</sup> They now passed a decree permitting their use, and resolved to man a large number of ships, also to send at once to Chios eight ships which had been keeping guard at Peiraeum, and had gone away under the command of Strombichides the son of Diotimus in pursuit of Chalcideus, but not overtaking him had returned Twelve other ships, under the command of Thrasycles, were to follow immediately, these too were to be taken from the blockading force They also withdrew the seven Chian ships which were assisting them in the blockade of Peiraeum, and setting free the slaves in them, put the freemen in chains Other ships were then quickly manned by them and sent to take the place of all those which had been subtracted from the blockading squadron, and they proposed to equip thirty more They were full of energy, and spared no effort for the recovery of Chios.

Meanwhile Strombichides with his eight ships arrived at Samos, and thence, taking with him an additional Samian vessel, sailed to Teos and warned the inhabitants against revolt But Chalcideus with twenty-three ships

15  
The Athenians, alive to their situation, pass a decree allowing the reserve of money and ships to be freely used They resolve to send a large fleet to Asia

16  
Strombichides at Teos He narrowly

<sup>a</sup> Cp II 24



VIII was on his way from Chios to Teos, intending to attack <sup>B C 412</sup>  
escapes Chalcideus and Alcibiades, by whom he is chased into Samos (4) Teos revolts it, he was assisted by the land-forces of Clazomenae and Erythrae, which followed his movements on the shore. Strombichides saw him in time, and put out to sea before he arrived. When fairly away from land he observed the superior numbers of the fleet coming from Chios, and fled towards Samos, pursued by the enemy. The land-forces were not at first received by the Teans, but after the flight of the Athenians they admitted them. The troops waited a little for the return of Chalcideus from the pursuit, but as he did not come they proceeded without him to demolish the fort which the Athenians had built for the protection of Teos on the land side. A few barbarians under the command of Stages, a lieutenant of Tissaphernes, came and joined in the work of demolition.

17 Chalcideus and Alcibiades, when they had chased Chalcideus and Alcibiades raise a revolt in (5) Miletus, in their turn narrowly escaping Strombichides and Thrasyacles, who anchored at Lade Strombichides to Samos, gave heavy arms to the crews of the ships which they had brought from Peloponnesus, and left them in Chios. Then, having manned their own vessels and twenty others with Chians, they sailed to Miletus, intending to raise a revolt. For Alcibiades, who was on friendly terms with the principal Milesians, wanted to gain over the place before any more ships from Peloponnesus arrived, and, using the Chian troops and those of Chalcideus only, to spread revolt far and wide among the cities of Ionia. Thus he would gain the chief credit of the expedition for the Chians, for himself, for Chalcideus, and, in fulfilment of his promise<sup>a</sup>, for Endius, who had sent him out. They were not observed during the greater part of their voyage, and, although narrowly escaping from Strombichides, and from Thrasyacles who had just arrived with twelve ships from Athens and had joined Strombichides in the pursuit, they succeeded in raising a revolt in Miletus. The Athenians followed close behind them with nineteen ships, but the Milesians would not receive them,

<sup>a</sup> Cp viii. 12.

BC 412 and they came to anchor at Ladè, the island opposite VIII.  
 Ol 92 the town. Immediately after the revolt of Miletus the  
 Lacedaemonians made their first alliance with the King  
 of Persia, which was negotiated by Tissaphernes and  
 Chalcideus. It ran as follows —

‘The Lacedaemonians and their allies make an alliance 18.  
 with the King and Tissaphernes on the following terms —

‘I All the territory and all the cities which are in  
 possession of the King, or were in possession of his fore-  
 fathers, shall be the King’s<sup>a</sup>, and whatever revenue or  
 other advantages the Athenians derived from these  
 cities, the King, and the Lacedaemonians and their  
 allies, shall combine to prevent them from receiving  
 such revenue or advantage

Treaty of  
 alliance  
 all that  
 ever was  
 subject to  
 the Kings  
 of Persia  
 shall be  
 theirs still

‘II The King, and the Lacedaemonians and their al-  
 lies, shall carry on the war against the Athenians in com-  
 mon, and they shall not make peace with the Athenians  
 unless both parties—the King on the one hand and the  
 Lacedaemonians and their allies on the other—agree

‘III Whosoever revolts from the King shall be the  
 enemy of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, and  
 whosoever revolts from the Lacedaemonians and their  
 allies shall be the enemy of the King in like manner.’

Such were the terms of the alliance.

Shortly afterwards the Chians manned ten more 19.  
 ships and sailed to Anaea, wanting to hear whether the  
 attempt on Miletus had succeeded, and to draw fresh  
 cities into the revolt. A message however was brought  
 from Chalcideus, bidding them return, and warning them  
 that Amorges was coming thither by land at the head  
 of an army. So they sailed to the Temple of Zeus<sup>b</sup>,  
 where they caught sight of sixteen Athenian ships  
 which Diomedon, following Thrasycles, was bringing  
 from Athens. They instantly fled, one ship to Ephesus,  
 the remainder towards Teos. Four of them the Athe-  
 nians took empty, the crews having got safe to land,

Zeal of the  
 Chians  
 The Athe-  
 nians take  
 four of  
 their ships  
 Revolts of  
 (6) Lebedus  
 and (7)  
 Erae

<sup>a</sup> Cp. viii 43 med

<sup>b</sup> A place so called between Lebedus and Colophon

VIII. the rest escaped to Teos The Athenians then sailed away to Samos The Chians with their remaining ships put to sea, and, assisted by the land-forces of their allies<sup>a</sup>, caused first Lebedus, and afterwards Erae, to revolt Both the army and the fleet then returned home

20 About the same time the twenty Peloponnesian ships which had been chased into Piraeum, and were now blockaded by a like number of Athenian ships, made a sally, defeated the Athenians, and took four ships, they then got away to Cenchreae, and once more prepared to sail to Chios and Ionia. At Cenchreae they were met by Astyochus, the admiral from Lacedaemon, to whom the whole of the Peloponnesian navy was about to be entrusted

Teos once more receives the Athenians By this time the land-forces of Clazomenae and Erythrae had retired from Teos, and Tissaphernes, who had led a second army thither in person and overthrown what was left of the Athenian fort, had retired also Not long after his departure, Diomedon arrived with ten ships, and made an agreement with the Teans, who promised to receive the Athenians as well as the Peloponnesians He then sailed to Erae, which he attacked without success, and departed

21. About the same time a great revolution occurred in Samos The people, aided by the crews of three Athenian vessels which happened to be on the spot, rose against the nobles, slew in all about two hundred of them, and banished four hundred more, they then distributed their land and houses among themselves The Athenian people, now assured of their fidelity, granted them independence, and henceforward the city was in the hands of the democracy. They denied to the former landed proprietors all the privileges of citizenship, not even allowing them to contract marriage with any family belonging to the people, nor any of the people with them

22 The zeal of the Chians did not abate They had already begun to go out with armies and raise revolts independently of the Peloponnesians<sup>b</sup>, and they wished

Escape of the ships blockaded at Piraeum They prepared to start for Chios

Teos once more receives the Athenians

The people of Samos rise against the nobles and set up a democracy The Athenians grant them independence

The Chians send a fleet to Lesbos

<sup>a</sup> Cp viii 16 init

<sup>b</sup> Cp viii 19

B C 412 to draw as many cities as they could into their own VIII  
Ol 92 danger During the same summer they sent out a A land  
Chian fleet numbering thirteen ships The expedition army co-  
was directed first against Lesbos, the Lacedaemonians operates  
having originally instructed their officers to proceed from with them  
Chios to Lesbos, and thence to the Hellespont<sup>a</sup> They in-  
It duce (8)  
was placed under the command of Deimadas, one of the Mitylenè  
and (9)  
the Chian Perioeci Meanwhile the infantry of the Pelopon- Methymna  
nesians and of the neighbouring allies, under Evalas, a to revolt  
Spartan, moved along the shore towards Clazomenae and  
Cymè The fleet sailed to Lesbos, and first induced  
Methymna to rebel, there leaving four of their ships,  
with the remainder they raised a revolt in Mitylenè

Meanwhile Astyochus the Lacedaemonian admiral, 23  
with four ships, set forth as he intended, from Cen- The Athe-  
chireae, and arrived at Chios On the third day after nians first,  
his arrival a division of the Athenian fleet, numbering and after-  
twenty-five ships, sailed to Lesbos under the command wards  
of Leon and Diomedon, Leon had arrived from Athens Astyochus,  
later than Diomedon with a reinforcement of ten ships who has  
On the same day, towards evening, Astyochus put to newly ar-  
sea, and taking with him one Chian ship, sailed to rived from  
Lesbos, that he might render any assistance which he Cenchreae,  
could to the Chian fleet. He came to Pyrrha, and on sail to  
the following day to Eresus, where he heard that Lesbos  
Mitylenè had been taken by the Athenians at the first Mitylenè is  
blow The Athenian ships had sailed right into the retaken  
harbour when they were least expected, and captured by the  
the Chian vessels, the men on board had then landed Athenians,  
and defeating in a battle a Mitylenean force which came and the  
out to meet them, had taken possession of the city Chian ships  
Astyochus heard the news from the Eresians, and from captured  
the Chian ships which had been left with Eubulus at Attempt to  
Methymna They had fled when Mitylenè was taken, support  
and had now fallen in with him, but only three out of Methymna,  
the four, for one of them had been captured by the Athe- which fails,  
nians Upon this, instead of going on to Mitylenè, he like all the  
plans of  
Astyochus  
in Lesbos  
The Athe-  
nians re-  
cover the  
whole of  
Lesbos,  
and after-  
wards Cla-  
zomenae

<sup>a</sup> Cp viii 8 med

VIII. raised a revolt in Eicus, and armed the inhabitants he <sup>B C 412</sup>  
 then disembarked the heavy-armed from his ships and <sup>Ol 92</sup>  
 sent them by land to Antissa and Methymna under the  
 command of Eteonicus, and with his own and the three  
 Chian ships coasted thither himself, hoping that the  
 Methymnacans would take courage at the sight of them  
 and persevere in their revolt. But everything went  
 against him in Lesbos, so he re-embarked his troops  
 and sailed back to Chios. The land-forces from the  
 ships which were intended to go to the Hellespont also  
 returned to their several homes. Not long afterwards  
 six ships came to Chios from the allied forces of the  
 Peloponnesians now collected at Cenchreae. The Athe-  
 nians, when they had re-established their influence in  
 Lesbos, sailed away, and having taken Polichnè on the  
 mainland, which the Clazomenians were fortifying<sup>a</sup>,  
 brought them all back to their city on the island, except  
 the authors of the revolt, who had escaped to Daphnus.  
 So Clazomenae returned to the Athenian alliance.

24 During the same summer the Athenians, who were  
 stationed with twenty of their ships at the island of  
 Lesbos, made a descent upon Panormus in the Milesian territory.  
 Chalcideus the Lacedaemonian general with a few fol-  
 lowers came out to meet them, but was killed. Three  
 days later they again sailed across and set up a trophy,  
 which the Milesians pulled down, because the Athenians  
 were not really masters of the ground at the time when  
 they erected it. Leon and Diomedon, who were at  
 Lesbos with the rest of the Athenian fleet, stationed  
 their ships at the islands called Oenussae which lie in  
 front of Chios, at Sidussa and Pteleum, which were forts  
 held by them in the Erythraean territory, and at Lesbos  
 itself, and carried on the war by sea against the Chians.  
 The marines whom they had on board were hoplites  
 taken from the roll and compelled to serve. They made  
 descents upon Cardamylè and Bolissus, and having

The Athe-  
 nians at  
 Lesbos  
 make a  
 descent  
 upon Mi-  
 letus  
 Chalcideus  
 is slain  
 The Athe-  
 nians at  
 Lesbos  
 carry on  
 the war  
 against  
 the Chians,  
 who are  
 defeated  
 in three  
 battles and  
 undergo  
 great suffer-  
 ings  
 Yet they  
 had been  
 very rich,  
 and their  
 government  
 was wise  
 and mo-  
 derate

<sup>a</sup> Cp viii 14 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp viii 17 fin.

B C 412  
Ol 92

defeated with heavy loss the Chians who came out to meet them, they devastated all that region. In another battle at Phanae they defeated them again, and in a third at Leuconium. Henceforward the Chians remained within their walls. The Athenians ravaged their country, which was well stocked, and from the Persian War until that time had never been touched by an invader. No people as far as I know, except the Chians and Lacedaemonians (but the Chians not equally with the Lacedaemonians), have preserved moderation in prosperity, and in proportion as their city has gained in power have gained also in the stability of their government. In this revolt they may seem to have shown a want of prudence, yet they did not venture upon it until many brave allies were ready to share the peril with them, and until the Athenians themselves seemed to confess that after their calamity in Sicily the state of their affairs was hopelessly bad. And, if they were deceived through the uncertainty of human things, this error of judgment was common to many who, like them, believed that the Athenian power would speedily be overthrown. But now that they were driven off the sea and saw their lands ravaged, some of their citizens undertook to bring back the city to the Athenians. The magistrates perceived their design, but instead of acting themselves, they sent to Erythrae for Astyochus the admiral. He came with four ships which he had on the spot, and they considered together by what means the conspiracy might be suppressed with the least violence, whether by taking hostages or in some other way.

VIII

Nor was there any imprudence in their revolt. But owing to their losses a reaction now sets in, which has to be suppressed.

The Lacedaemonians were thus engaged in Chios 25 when towards the end of the summer there came from Athens a thousand Athenian hoplites and fifteen hundred Argives, of whom five hundred were originally light-armed, but the Athenians gave them heavy arms, also a thousand of the allies. They were conveyed in forty-eight ships, of which some were transports, under the command of Phrynichus, Onomacles, and Scironides.

Athenian reinforcements arrive. A battle takes place before the walls of Miletus, in which the Athenians defeat the

## VIII

Peloponnesians and the Argives are defeated by the Milesians Alcibiades is fighting in the Milesian army Attempt to invest Miletus

Sailing first to Samos they crossed over to Miletus, and there took up a position. The Milesians with a force of eight hundred heavy-armed of their own, the Peloponnesians who came with Chalcideus, and certain foreign mercenaries of Tissaphernes, who was there in person with his cavalry, went out and engaged the Athenians and their allies. The Argives on their own wing dashed forward, and made a disorderly attack upon the troops opposed to them, whom they despised, they thought that, being Ionians, they would be sure to run away<sup>a</sup>. But they were defeated by the Milesians, and nearly three hundred of them perished. The Athenians first overcame the Peloponnesians, and then forced back the barbarians and the inferior troops. But they never engaged the Milesians, who, after routing the Argives, when they saw their other wing defeated, returned to the city. The Athenians, having won the day, took up a position close under the walls of Miletus. In this engagement the Ionians on both sides had the advantage of the Dorians, for the Athenians vanquished the Peloponnesians who were opposed to them, and the Milesians vanquished the Argives<sup>b</sup>. The Athenians now raised a trophy, and prepared to build a wall across the isthmus which separates the city from the mainland, thinking that, if they could reduce Miletus, the other cities would quickly return to their allegiance.

B.C. 412  
O1 92

## 26.

Approach of thirty-three Peloponnesian and twenty-two Sicilian vessels under Hermocrates Alcibiades advises them to go instantly to the relief of Miletus

But meanwhile, late in the afternoon, news was brought to them that a fleet of fifty-five ships from Peloponnesus and Sicily was close at hand. Hermocrates the Syracusan had urged the Sicilians to assist in completing the overthrow of Athens. Twenty ships came from Syracuse, two from Selinus, and with them the Peloponnesian ships which had been in preparation<sup>c</sup>. The two squadrons were entrusted to Theramenes, who was to conduct them to Astyochus the admiral. They sailed first to Eleus<sup>d</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 124 init, v 9 init, vi 77 med, vii. 5 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp iv. 12 fin

<sup>c</sup> Cp viii. 6 fin

<sup>d</sup> Or, according to the reading of the Vatican MS adopted by Bekker, 'Leros' cp infra, 27 init.

BC 412 an island lying off Miletus Thence, finding that the VIII.  
 Ol 92 Athenians were at Miletus, they sailed away to the  
 Iasian Gulf, wanting to ascertain the fate of the town  
 Alcibiades came on horseback to Teichiussa in the  
 Milesian territory, the point of the gulf at which the  
 fleet had passed the night, and from him they received  
 news of the battle For he had been present, and had  
 fought on the side of the Milesians and Tissaphernes  
 And he recommended them, if they did not mean to  
 ruin their cause in Ionia and everywhere else, to assist  
 Miletus at once, and break up the blockade

They determined to go at daybreak and relieve the 27  
 place But Phrynichus the Athenian general had cer- They agree,  
 tain information from Leios of their approach, and, al- and the  
 though his colleagues wanted to remain and risk a battle, Athenians  
 he refused and declared that he would neither himself hearing  
 fight, nor allow them or any one else to fight if he of their  
 could help it For when they might discover the exact approach  
 number of the enemy's ships and the proportion which on the  
 their own bore to them, and, before engaging, make evening of  
 adequate preparations at their leisure, he would not be their own  
 so foolish as to risk all through fear of disgrace victory,  
 There was no dishonour in Athenians retreating before an by the  
 enemy's fleet when circumstances required But there advice of  
 would be the deepest dishonour under any circumstances Phrynichus,  
 or in a defeat, and the city would then not only incur who over-  
 disgrace, but would be in the utmost danger rules his  
 Even if their preparations were complete and satisfactory, Athens colleagues,  
 after her recent disasters ought not to take the offensive, withdraw  
 or in any case not without absolute necessity, and now to Samos  
 when they were not compelled, why should they go out  
 of their way to court danger? He urged them to put  
 on board their wounded, and their infantry, and all the  
 stores which they had brought with them, but to leave  
 behind the plunder obtained from the enemy's country,  
 that their ships might be lighter, they should sail back  
 to Samos, and there uniting all their forces, they might  
 go on making attacks upon Miletus when opportunity



VIII. offered His advice was followed. And not on this <sup>BC 412</sup> occasion only, but quite as much afterwards, whenever <sup>Ol 92</sup> Phrynichus had to act, he showed himself to be a man of great sagacity<sup>a</sup>.—So the Athenians departed that very evening from Miletus without completing their victory, and the Aigives, hurrying away from Samos after their disaster, went home in a rage

28. At dawn the Peloponnesians sailed from Teichiussa, and on their arrival at Miletus found that the Athenians had left after remaining one day, on the morrow they took the Chian ships which under the command of Chalcideus had previously been chased into Miletus<sup>b</sup>, and resolved to go back to Teichiussa and fetch the naval stores of which they had lightened the ships There they found Tissaphernes, who had come with his infantry, he persuaded them to sail against Iasus, in which his enemy Amorges lay So they attacked Iasus, which they took by a sudden assault, for it never occurred to the inhabitants that their ships were not Athenian The Syracusans distinguished themselves greatly in the action The Peloponnesians took captive Amorges the natural son of Pissuthnes, who had rebelled, and gave him to Tissaphernes, that, if he liked, he might convey him to the King in obedience to the royal command<sup>c</sup> They then plundered Iasus, and the army obtained a great deal of treasure; for the city had been rich from early times. They did no harm to the mercenaries of Amorges, but received them into their own ranks, for most of them came from Peloponnesus The town, and all their prisoners, whether bond or free, were delivered by them into the hands of Tissaphernes, who engaged to give them a Daric stater<sup>d</sup> for each man, they then returned to Miletus Thence they despatched by land as far as Erythrae Pedaritus the son of Leon, whom the Lacedaemonians had sent out to be governor of Chios, he was escorted by the mercenaries who had been in the service

The Peloponnesians at the suggestion of Tissaphernes attack and take Iasus Amorges is made prisoner Pedaritus sets out for Chios, of which he had been appointed governor

<sup>a</sup> Cp viii 68 med.

<sup>b</sup> Cp viii 17 fin

<sup>c</sup> Cp. viii 5 fin

<sup>d</sup> Twenty Attic drachmae, about 16s

B C 412 of Amorges Philip, who was on the spot, was to remain VIII.  
Ol 92 and take charge of Miletus So the summer ended

During the following winter, Tissaphernes, after he 29  
had put a garrison in Iasus, came to Miletus There he Reduction  
distributed one month's pay among all the ships, at the of pay  
rate of an Attic drachma <sup>a</sup> a day per man, as his envoy Tissa-  
had promised at Lacedaemon, in future he proposed to phernes  
give half a drachma only until he had asked the King's agrees to  
leave, promising that if he obtained it he would pay the give three  
entire drachma On the remonstrance, however, of Her- talents to  
mocrates the Syracusan general (Theiarnenes not being every five  
himself admiral, but only taking charge of the ships ships, or  
which he was to hand over to Astyochus, took no rather more  
interest in the matter of the pay), he promised to each than three  
man a payment of somewhat more than three obols, obols a-day  
reckoning the total sum paid to every five ships to each  
For he sailor  
offered to every five ships, up to the number of fifty-five <sup>b</sup>,  
three talents a month, and to any ships in excess of this  
number he agreed to give at a like rate

During the same winter there arrived at Samos from 30  
Athens thirty-five ships, under the command of Char- Arrival of  
minus, Strombichides, and Euctemon Whereupon the reinforce-  
generals assembled their whole fleet, including the ships ments  
engaged at Chios <sup>c</sup>, their purpose being to make a distri- Muster at  
bution of their forces by lot The principal division was Samos, and  
to continue watching Miletus, while a second force of redistribu-  
ships and soldiers was to be sent to Chios tion of the  
Accordingly Athenian  
Strombichides, Onomacles, and Euctemon, with thirty fleet  
ships, besides transports in which they conveyed a Thirty-three  
portion of the thousand heavy-armed who joined the army ships sent  
at Miletus <sup>d</sup>, sailed away to Chios, the duty which the lot to Chios,  
assigned to them The other generals remaining at seventy-four  
Samos with seventy-four ships, and having the mastery remain at  
of the sea, prepared to make a descent upon Miletus Samos

Astyochus was at Chios selecting hostages as a pre- 31.  
caution against the betrayal of the island to Athens <sup>e</sup>, Astyochus  
falls in an

<sup>a</sup> 9  $\frac{3}{4}$  d

<sup>b</sup> Retaining, with the MSS, καὶ πενήκοντα ἀφεί ναῦς

<sup>c</sup> Cp. viii. 24 int.

<sup>d</sup> Cp viii. 25 int

<sup>e</sup> Cp viii 24 fin.

VIII.  
attack on  
Pteleum  
and Clazomenae  
The  
weather  
is much  
against  
him

but when he heard of the reinforcements which Themenes had brought, and of the improved prospects of the allies, he desisted, and taking with him his own Peloponnesian ships, ten in number<sup>a</sup>, and ten Chian, he put to sea. Failing in an attack upon Pteleum he sailed on to Clazomenae, and demanded that the Athenian party should settle at Daphnus<sup>b</sup> on the mainland, and come over to the Peloponnesians. Tamos, one of the Persian lieutenants of Ionia, joined in the demand. But the Clazomenians would not listen to him, whereupon he assaulted the city (which was unwallèd), but being unable to take it, sailed away with a strong wind. He was himself carried to Phocaea and Cymè, and the remainder of the fleet put into the islands, Marathussa, Pelè, and Drymussa, which lie off Clazomenae. There, being detained eight days by the weather, they spoiled and destroyed part of the property of the Clazomenians which had been deposited in the islands, and, taking part on board, they sailed away to Phocaea and Cymè, where they rejoined Astyochus. B C 412  
Ol 92

32.  
The Lesbians are again desirous to revolt. Astyochus is willing to assist, but Pedaritus, the new governor of Chios, and the Chians, refuse to join

While Astyochus was there, envoys came to him from Lesbos, the Lesbians were once more eager to revolt, and he was willing to assist them, but the Corinthians and the other allies were disheartened by the previous failure. So he put to sea and sailed back to Chios. His ships were scattered by a storm, and reached Chios from various places. Soon afterwards Pedaritus and his army<sup>c</sup> having come by land from Miletus to Erythrae, where he crossed the channel, arrived in Chios. On his arrival he found at his disposal the sailors whom Chalcideus had taken from his five ships<sup>d</sup> and left in Chios fully armed, to the number of five hundred. Some of the Lesbians renewing their proposal to revolt, Astyochus suggested to Pedaritus and the Chians that they should go with the fleet to Lesbos and raise the country, they would thus increase the number of their allies, and, even if the

<sup>a</sup> Cp. viii 23 init and fin.

<sup>c</sup> Cp viii 28 fin.

<sup>b</sup> Cp viii. 23 fin

<sup>d</sup> Cp viii 17 init.

B C 412 attempt did not wholly succeed, they would injure the VIII.  
Ol 92 Athenians But they would not listen, and Pedaritus refused to let him have the Chian ships

So Astyochus took five Corinthian ships <sup>a</sup> and a sixth 33  
from Megara, one from Heimionè, and the Lacedæ-  
monian ships which he had brought with him <sup>b</sup>, and set  
sail for Miletus in order to assume his command He  
threatened the Chians, again and again, that he would  
certainly not help them when their time of need came  
Touching at Corycus in Erythraea he passed the night  
there The Athenian ships from Samos were now on  
their way to Chios, they had put in at a place where  
they were only divided from the Peloponnesians by a hill,  
and neither fleet knew that the other was so near But  
that night there came a despatch from Pedaritus in-  
forming Astyochus that certain Erythraean prisoners had  
been released by the Athenians from Samos on con-  
dition of betraying Erythrae, and had gone thither with  
that intention Whereupon Astyochus sailed back to  
Erythrae. So narrowly did he escape falling into the  
hands of the Athenians Pedaritus sailed over to meet  
him They then enquired about the supposed traitors,  
and found that the whole matter was a trick which the  
men had devised in order to get away from Samos, so  
they acquitted them of the charge, and Pedaritus re-  
turned to Chios, while Astyochus resumed his voyage to  
Miletus

Astyochus  
sets sail for  
Miletus  
to assume  
the com-  
mand of  
the fleet  
He nar-  
rowly  
escapes the  
Athenian  
squadron  
sailing  
to Chios  
Trick of  
the Ery-  
thraean  
prisoners

In the meantime the Athenian fleet, sailing round the 34.  
promontory of Corycus towards Arginus, lighted upon  
three Chian ships of war, to which they gave chase. A  
great storm came on, and the Chian ships with difficulty  
escaped into their harbour, but of the Athenian ships the  
three which were most zealous in the pursuit were dis-  
abled and driven ashore near the city of Chios, the  
crews were either lost or taken captive The remainder  
of the fleet found shelter in the harbour called Phoenixus,  
lying under Mount Mimas, whence again setting sail

Three  
Athenian  
ships in  
pursuit of  
three Chian  
are wrecked  
in a storm

<sup>a</sup> Cp VIII 23 fin.

<sup>b</sup> Cp VIII 23 init

VIII they put in at Lesbos, and made preparations for building the fort which they meant to establish in Chios B.C. 412  
Ol. 92

35 During the same winter, Hippocrates the Lacedaemonian sailed from Lacedaemon with one Laconian, one Syriacusan, and ten Thurian ships, of these last Dorieus the son of Diagoras and two others were the commanders. They put in at Cnidus, which under the influence of Tissaphernes<sup>a</sup> had already revolted from Athens. The Peloponnesian authorities at Miletus, when they heard of their arrival, ordered one half of these ships to protect Cnidus, and the other half to cruise off Triopium and seize the merchant-vessels which put in there from Egypt. This Triopium is a promontory in the district of Cnidus on which there is a temple of Apollo. The Athenians, hearing of their intentions, sailed from Samos and captured the six ships which were keeping guard at Triopium, the crews escaped. They then sailed to Cnidus, and attacking the town, which was unwallled, all but took it. On the following day they made a second attack, but during the night the inhabitants had improved their hasty defences, and some of the men who had escaped from the ships captured at Triopium had come into the city. So the Athenian assault was less destructive than on the first day, and after devastating the territory of Cnidus they departed and sailed back to Samos.

36. When Astyochus came to Miletus and took the command of the fleet he found the Peloponnesians still abundantly provided with all requisites. They had sufficient pay, the great spoils taken at Iasus were in the hands of the army, and the Milesians carried on the war with a will. The Peloponnesians however considered the former treaty made between Tissaphernes and Chalcideus defective and disadvantageous to them, so before the departure of Themistocles they made new terms of alliance, which were as follows —

37. 'The Lacedaemonians and their allies make agreement with King Darius and the sons of the King, and with

<sup>a</sup> Cp VIII 109 init.

(10) Cnidus, which has revolted from Athens, is attacked by the Athenians. They take six newly-arrived ships of the allies, and are nearly but not quite successful in taking the town.

The Milesians are in earnest. The spoils of Iasus maintain the army. The Peloponnesians repent of their first treaty with Persia, and make another.

In this treaty the

BC 412<sup>2</sup> Tissaphernes, that there shall be alliance and friendship VIII.  
Ol 9<sup>2</sup> between them on the following conditions —

‘I Whatever territory and cities belong to King Darius, or formerly belonged to his father, or to his ancestors, against these neither the Lacedaemonians nor their allies shall make war, or do them any hurt, nor shall the Lacedaemonians or their allies exact tribute of them. Neither Darius the King nor the subjects of the King shall make war upon the Lacedaemonians or their allies, or do them any hurt

‘II If the Lacedaemonians or their allies have need of anything from the King, or the King have need of anything from the Lacedaemonians and their allies, whatever they do by mutual agreement shall hold good

‘III They shall carry on the war against the Athenians and their allies in common, and if they make peace, shall make peace in common

‘IV The King shall defray the expense of any number of troops for which the King has sent, so long as they remain in the King’s country

‘V If any of the cities who are parties to this treaty go against the King’s country, the rest shall interfere and aid the King to the utmost of their power. And if any of the inhabitants of the King’s country or any country under the dominion of the King shall go against the country of the Lacedaemonians or their allies, the King shall interfere and aid them to the utmost of his power’

After the conclusion of the treaty, Theramenes, having delivered over the fleet to Astyochus, sailed away in a small boat and was no more heard of. The Athenians, who had now crossed over with their troops from Lesbos to Chios, and had the upper hand both by land and sea, began to fortify Delphinium, a place not far distant from the town of Chios, which had the double advantage of being strong by land and of possessing harbours. The Chians meanwhile remained inactive, they had been already badly beaten in several battles, and their internal condition was far from satisfactory, for Tydeus

rights of the King are less directly stated than in the former

38

The Chians are reduced to inaction. The conspirators are executed, and the government becomes a close oligarchy. Pedaritus complains to Sparta of Astyochus

VIII the son of Ion and his accomplices had been executed <sup>B C 412</sup> by Pedaritus on a charge of complicity with Athens, and <sup>Ol 9a</sup> the city was reduced by the strong hand to a mere oligarchy. Hence they were in a state of mutual distrust, and could not be persuaded that either they or the mercenaries<sup>a</sup> brought by Pedaritus were a match for the enemy. They sent however to Miletus and requested the aid of Astyochus, but he refused. Whereupon Pedaritus sent a despatch to Lacedaemon, complaining of his misconduct. So favourable to the Athenians was the course of affairs in Chios. The main fleet, which they had left at Samos, from time to time made threatening movements against the enemy at Miletus, but as they would never come out, the Athenians at length retired to Samos and there remained.

39. During the same winter, about the solstice, twenty ships which Calligeitus of Megara and Timagoras of Cyzicus, the agents of Pharnabazus had persuaded the Lacedaemonians to fit out in his interest<sup>b</sup>, sailed for Ionia. they were placed under the command of Antisthenes, a Spartan. The Lacedaemonians sent at the same time eleven Spartans to act as advisers<sup>c</sup> to Astyochus, one of whom was Lichas the son of Arcesilaus<sup>d</sup>. Besides receiving a general commission to assist in the direction of affairs to the best of their judgment, they were empowered on their arrival at Miletus to send on, if they saw fit, these ships, or a larger or smaller number, to Pharnabazus at the Hellespont under the command of Clearchus<sup>e</sup> the son of Rhamphias, who sailed with them. The eleven might also, if they thought good, deprive Astyochus of his command and appoint Antisthenes in his place, for the despatch of Pedaritus had excited suspicion against him. So the ships sailed from Malea over the open sea until they came to Melos. There they lighted on ten Athenian ships, of these

The Lacedaemonians resolve to assist Pharnabazus at the Hellespont. They send eleven assessors to control Astyochus.

<sup>a</sup> Cp viii 28 fin.

<sup>b</sup> Cp viii 6 init

<sup>c</sup> Cp ii 85 init., iii 69 med ; v 63 fin

<sup>d</sup> Cp v 50 med

<sup>e</sup> Cp. viii 8 med

B C 412<sup>2</sup> Ol 9<sup>2</sup> they took three without their crews and burned them VIII.

But then, fearing that the remainder which had escaped would, as in fact they did, give information of their approach to the fleet at Samos, they took the precaution of going by a longer route. And sailing round by Ciete they put in at Caunus in Asia. They thought that they were now safe, and sent a messenger to the fleet at Miletus requesting a convoy.

Meanwhile the Chians and Pedaritus continued to send messengers to Astyochus, who continued to delay. They implored him to come to their help with his whole fleet, saying that they were blockaded, and that he should not allow the chief ally of Sparta in Ionia to be cut off from the sea and overrun and devastated by land. Now the Chians had more domestic slaves than any other state with the exception of Lacedaemon, and their offences were always more severely punished because of their number, so that, when the Athenian army appeared to be firmly settled in their fortifications, most of them at once deserted to the enemy<sup>a</sup>. And they did the greatest damage, because they knew the country. The Chians pressed upon the Lacedaemonians the necessity of coming to their assistance while there was still hope of interfering to some purpose; the fortification of Delphinium, though not yet completed, was in progress, and the Athenians were beginning to extend the lines of defence which protected their army and ships. Astyochus, seeing that the allies were zealous in the cause, although he had fully meant to carry out his threat, now determined to relieve the Chians.

But in the meantime he received a message from Caunus, informing him that the twenty-seven ships and his Lacedaemonian advisers had arrived. He thought that everything should give way to the importance of convoying so large a reinforcement which would secure to the Lacedaemonians greater command of the sea, and that he must first of all provide for the safe passage of

40  
The Chians  
are block-  
aded  
Their slaves  
desert  
Astyochus  
is at last  
induced to  
go to their  
aid

41.

But he  
hears of  
the twenty-  
seven ships  
bringing  
the com-  
missioners  
from Lace-  
daemon,  
and coasts

<sup>a</sup> Cp vii. 27 fin



VIII. the commissioners who were to report on his conduct B C 412  
Ol 92  
 southward to meet them  
 He is persuaded by the Cnicians to sail against twenty Athenian ships which are watching for them  
 So he at once gave up his intended expedition to Chios and sailed for Caunus. As he coasted along he made a descent on the island of Cos Mucropis. The city was unfortified and had been overthrown by an earthquake, the greatest which has ever happened within our memory. The citizens had fled into the mountains, so he sacked the town and overran and despoiled the country, but let go the free inhabitants. From Cos he came by night to Cnidus, and was prevailed upon by the importunity of the Cnicians, instead of disembarking his men, to sail at once, just as he was, against twenty Athenian ships with which Charminus (one of the generals at Samos) was watching for the twenty-seven ships expected from Peloponnesus, being those which Astyochus was going to escort. The Athenians at Samos had heard from Melos of their coming, and Charminus was cruising off the islands of Symè, Chalcè, and Rhodes, and on the coast of Lycia, he had by this time discovered that they were at Caunus.

42  
 His ships lose their way in the fog, and his left wing is attacked and defeated by the Athenians, who in their turn fly at the sudden appearance of the rest of the fleet  
 So Astyochus sailed at once to Symè before his arrival was reported, in the hope that he might come upon the Athenian squadron in the open sea. The rain and cloudy state of the atmosphere caused confusion among his ships, which lost their way in the fog. When dawn broke, the fleet was dispersed and the left wing alone was visible to the Athenians, while the other was still straggling off the shore of the island. Charminus and the Athenians put out to sea with less than their twenty ships, supposing that these were only the squadron from Caunus for which they were watching. They at once attacked them, sank three of them, disabled others, and were gaining the victory, when to their surprise there appeared the larger part of the Lacedaemonian fleet threatening to surround them. Whereupon they fled, and in their flight lost six ships, but with the rest gained the island of Teutlussa, and thence Halicarnassus. The Peloponnesians touched at Cnidus, and there uniting

B C 412  
Ol 92

with the twenty-seven ships from Caunus, they all sailed VIII.  
to Symè and raised a trophy, they then returned and  
put into port again at Cnidus

As soon as the Athenians heard the result of the sea- 43  
fight they sailed from Samos to Symè with their whole  
fleet. They did not attack the Peloponnesians at Cnidus,  
nor the Peloponnesians them, but they carried away the  
stores of their own ships which had been left at Symè, and  
touching at Loryma, a place on the mainland, returned  
to Samos. The Peloponnesians were now all together  
at Cnidus, and were making the repairs necessary after  
the battle, while the Lacedaemonian commissioners con-  
ferred with Tissaphernes (who was himself on the spot)  
as to any matters in his past dealings with them at  
which they were displeased, and as to the best manner  
of securing their common interests in the future conduct  
of the war. Lichas entered into the enquiry with great  
energy, he took exception to both the treaties, that of  
Chalcideus and that of Theramenes were equally objection-  
able. For the King at that time of day to claim power  
over all the countries which his ancestors had formerly  
held was monstrous. If either treaty were carried out,  
the inhabitants of all the islands, of Thessaly, of Locris,  
and of all Hellas, as far as Boeotia, would again be re-  
duced to slavery, instead of giving the Hellenes free-  
dom, the Lacedaemonians would be imposing upon them  
the yoke of Persia. So he desired them to conclude  
some more satisfactory treaty, for he would have nothing  
to say to these, he did not want to have the fleet main-  
tained upon any such terms. Tissaphernes was indig-  
nant, and without settling anything went away in a rage

The Pello-  
ponnesians,  
who are now  
at Cnidus,  
confer with  
Tissa-  
phernes  
Lichas  
points out  
the conse-  
quences  
involved in  
the two  
treaties  
Tissa-  
phernes  
goes away  
in a rage

Meanwhile the Peloponnesians had been receiving 44  
communications from the chief men of Rhodes, and  
resolved to sail thither. They hoped to gain over an  
island which was strong alike in sailors and in infantry,  
if successful, they might henceforward maintain their  
navy by the help of their own allies without asking  
Tissaphernes for money. So in the same winter they

The Pello-  
ponnesians  
persuade  
(11) Rhodes  
to revolt,  
there they  
draw up  
their ships  
and do  
nothing

## VIII.

for eleven weeks  
The Athenians, who arrive too late to hinder the revolt, make descents upon the island

sailed from Cnidus against Rhodes, and first attacked Cameius with ninety-four ships. The inhabitants, who were in ignorance of the plot and dwelt in an unfortified city, were alarmed and began to fly. The Lacedaemonians reassured them, and assembling the people not only of Cameius, but of Lindus and Iasus, the two other cities of Rhodes, persuaded all of them to revolt from the Athenians. Thus Rhodes went over to the Peloponnesians. Nearly at the same time the Athenians, who had heard of their intentions, brought up the fleet from Samos, hoping to forestall them, they appeared in the offing, but finding that they were just too late, sailed to Chalcè, and thence back to Samos. They now fought against Rhodes, making descents upon it from Chalcè, Cos, and Samos, while the Peloponnesians, having collected thirty-two talents<sup>a</sup> from the Rhodians, drew up their ships, and did nothing for eleven weeks.

## 45

Alcibiades, in fear of his life from the Spartans, retires to Tissaphernes, whom he supplics with arguments against the Peloponnesians and instructs in various ways. By his advice the pay is curtailed, and the revolted cities who beg for money are refused.

Before the Peloponnesians had removed to Rhodes affairs took a new turn. After the death of Chalcidicus and the engagement at Miletus<sup>b</sup>, Alcibiades fell under suspicion at Sparta, and orders came from home to Astyochus that he should be put to death. For he was hated by Agis, and generally distrusted. In fear he retired to Tissaphernes, and soon, by working upon him, did all he could to injure the Peloponnesian cause. He was his constant adviser, and induced him to cut down the pay of the sailors from an Attic diachma to half a drachma<sup>c</sup>, and this was only to be given at irregular intervals. Tissaphernes was instructed by him to tell the Peloponnesians that the Athenians, with their long experience of naval affairs, gave half a diachma only, not from poverty, but lest their sailors should be demoralised by high pay, and spend their money on pleasures which injured their health, and thereby impaired their efficiency, <sup>d</sup>the payment too was made irregularly, that the arrears, which they would forfeit by

<sup>a</sup> £7680<sup>b</sup> Cp. viii 24 init, 25<sup>c</sup> About 5*d*.<sup>d</sup> Others translate (omitting 'the payment too was made irregu-

3 C 412 desertion, might be a pledge of their continuance in the service<sup>d</sup> VIII  
 21 92 He also recommended him to bribe the trierarchs and the generals of the allied cities into consenting. They all yielded with the exception of the Syracusans. Hermocrates alone stood firm on behalf of the whole alliance. When the allies who had revolted came asking for money, Alcibiades drove them away himself, saying on behalf of Tissaphernes that the Chians must have lost all sense of shame, they were the richest people in Hellas, and now, when they were being saved by foreign aid, they wanted other men, not only to risk life, but to expend money in their cause. To the other cities he replied that, having paid such large sums to the Athenians before they revolted, they would be inexcusable if they were not willing to contribute as much and even more for their own benefit. He represented further that Tissaphernes was now carrying on the war at his own expense, and must be expected to be careful. But if supplies should come from the King he would restore the full pay, and do whatever was reasonable for the cities.

Alcibiades also advised Tissaphernes not to be in a hurry about putting an end to the war, and neither to bring up the Phœnician fleet which he was preparing, nor to give pay to more Hellenic sailors, he should not be so anxious to put the whole power both by sea and land into the same hands. Let the dominion only remain divided, and then, whichever of the two rivals was troublesome, the King might always use the other against him. But if one defeated the other and became supreme on both elements, who would help Tissaphernes to overthrow the conqueror? He would have to take the field in person and fight, which he might not like, at great risk and expense. The danger would be easily averted at a fraction of the cost, and at no risk to himself, if he wore out the Hellenes in mutual strife. Alcibiades

46.  
 Tissa-  
 phernes  
 should  
 balance the  
 contending  
 powers  
 against one  
 another and  
 finally get  
 rid of both.  
 The Athe-  
 nians are  
 the more  
 natural  
 allies of the  
 King be-  
 cause they  
 only desire  
 empire at  
 sea, and  
 do not  
 profess to  
 be the  
 liberators  
 of Hellas

larly'), 'also lest they should get away from their ships too freely, leaving the pay still owing them as a pledge.'

## VIII

Tissaphernes approves, and at once begins to pursue the policy indicated to him

also said that the Athenians would be more suitable B C 412  
Ol 92  
partners of empire, because they were less likely to encroach by land, and both their principles and their practice in carrying on the war accorded better with the King's interest. For if he helped them to subject the element of the sea to themselves, they would gladly help him in the subjugation of the Hellenes who were in his country, whereas the Lacedaemonians came to be their liberators. But a power which was at that very moment emancipating the Hellenes from the dominion of another Hellenic power like themselves would not be satisfied to leave them under the yoke of the Barbarian <sup>a</sup> if they once succeeded in crushing the Athenians <sup>a</sup>. So he advised him first to wear them both out, and when he had clipped the Athenians as close as he could, then to get the Peloponnesians out of his country. To this course Tissaphernes was strongly inclined, if we may judge from his acts. For he gave his full confidence to Alcibiades, whose advice he approved, and kept the Peloponnesians ill-provided, at the same time refusing to let them fight at sea, and insisting that they must wait until the Phoenician ships arrived, they would then fight at an advantage. In this manner he ruined their affairs and impaired the efficiency of their navy, which had once been in first-rate condition. There were many other ways in which he showed openly and unmistakably that he was not in earnest in the cause of his allies.

## 47.

Alcibiades intrigues with the leading men at Samos for his own restoration. He would make Tissaphernes the friend of Athens

In giving this advice to Tissaphernes and the King, now that he had passed over to them, Alcibiades said what he really thought to be most for their interests <sup>b</sup>. But he had another motive, he was preparing the way for his own return from exile. He knew that, if he did not destroy his country altogether, the time would come when he would persuade his countrymen to recall him, and he thought that his arguments would be most

<sup>a</sup> More literally 'unless they failed at some time or other to crush the Athenians'

<sup>b</sup> Cp v 43 init

BC 412  
Ol 92

effectual if he were seen to be on intimate terms with TISSAPHERNES. And the result proved that he was right. The Athenian soldiers at Samos soon perceived that he had great influence with him, and he sent messages to the chief persons among them, whom he begged to remember him to all good men and true, and to let them know that he would be glad to return to his country and cast in his lot with them. He would at the same time make TISSAPHERNES their friend, but they must establish an oligarchy, and abolish the villainous democracy which had driven him out. Partly moved by these messages, but still more of their own inclination, the *trieiarchs* and leading Athenians at Samos were now eager to overthrow the democracy.

VIII.  
But there  
was one con-  
dition —  
Abolish the  
democracy

The matter was stirred in the camp first of all, and introduced into the city afterwards. A few persons went over from Samos to Alcibiades, and conferred with him to them he held out the hope that he would make, first of all TISSAPHERNES, and secondly the King himself, their friend, if they would put down democracy, the King would then be better able to trust them. And so the nobles, on whom the heaviest burdens are apt to fall, conceived great hopes, not only that they would overcome their enemies, but that they would get the government into their own hands. Returning to Samos, the envoys drew all such as seemed desirable accomplices into a conspiracy, while the language held in public to the main body of the army was that the King would be their friend and would supply them with money if Alcibiades was restored and democracy given up. Now the multitude were at first dissatisfied with the scheme, but the prospect of the King's pay was so grateful to them that they offered no opposition, and the authors of the movement, after they had broached the idea to the people, once more considered the proposals of Alcibiades among themselves and the members of their clubs. Most of them thought the matter safe and straightforward enough. Phrynichus,

48  
A few of the  
oligarchs  
confer with  
Alcibiades  
They form a  
conspiracy  
in the camp  
The King's  
pay proves  
a telling  
argument  
Phrynichus  
alone sees  
the drift of  
their policy  
What does  
Alcibiades  
care about  
oligarchy?  
What do  
the allied  
cities care?  
And why  
should the  
King sud-  
denly make  
friends of  
his old ene-  
mies the  
Athenians?

VIII who was still general, was of another mind. He maintained, and rightly, that Alcibiades cared no more for oligarchy than he did for democracy, and in seeking to change the existing form of government was only considering how he might be recalled and restored to his country at the invitation of the clubs, whereas their one care should be to avoid disunion. Why should the King go out of his way to join the Athenians whom he did not trust, when he would only get into trouble with the Peloponnesians, who were now as great a naval power, and held some of the most important cities in his dominion?—it would be much easier for him to make friends with them, who had never done him any harm. As to the allies, to whom they had promised the blessings of oligarchy which they were now about to enjoy themselves, he would be bound that the revolted cities would not return to them, nor would their old allies be a whit more loyal in consequence. The form of government was indifferent to them if they could only be free, but they did not want to be in subjection either to an oligarchy or to a democracy. And as for the so-called nobility, the allies thought that they would be quite as troublesome as the people, they were the persons who suggested crimes to the popular mind, who provided the means for their execution, and who reaped the fruits themselves. As far as it rested with the oligarchy the punishment of death would be inflicted unscrupulously, and without trial, whereas the people brought the oligarchs to their senses, and were a refuge to which the oppressed might always have recourse. Experience had taught the cities this lesson, and he was well aware of their feelings. He was therefore himself utterly dissatisfied with the proposals of Alcibiades, and disapproved of the whole affair.

49. But the conspirators who were present were not at all shaken in their opinion. They accepted the plan and prepared to send Peisander and other envoys to Athens, that they might manage the recall of Alcibiades and the

The conspirators are unshaken. Peisander sent to Athens.

B C 412  
Ol 92

B C 412 overthrow of the democracy, and finally make Tissa- VIII  
Ol 92 pheines a friend of the Athenians

Phrynichus now knew that a proposal would be made 50  
for the restoration of Alcibiades, which the Athenians Phrynichus,  
would certainly accept, and having opposed his return thinking  
he feared that Alcibiades, if he were recalled, would do to betray  
him a mischief, because he had stood in his way Alcibiades  
So he to Astyo-  
had recourse to the following device chus, is  
He secretly sent a himself be-  
letter to Astyochus, the Lacedaemonian admiral, who trayed by  
was still at Miletus, informing him that Alcibiades was them both  
gaining over Tissaphernes to the Athenians and ruining He con-  
the Peloponnesian interests tinues to  
He gave full particulars, make  
adding that Astyochus must excuse him if he sought to reasonable  
harm an enemy even at some cost to his country<sup>a</sup> proposals  
Now to them,  
Astyochus had no idea of punishing Alcibiades, who  
moreover no longer came within his reach On the  
contrary, he went to him and to Tissaphernes at Mag-  
nesia, and, turning informer, told them of the letter  
which he had received from Samos (He was believed  
to have sold himself to Tissaphernes, to whom he now  
betrayed everything, and this was the reason why he  
was so unwilling to bestir himself about the reduction  
of the pay<sup>b</sup>) Alcibiades immediately sent a despatch  
denouncing to the leaders of the army at Samos the  
treason of Phrynichus, and demanding that he should  
be put to death Phrynichus was confounded<sup>c</sup>, and in  
fact the revelation placed him in the greatest danger  
However he sent again to Astyochus, blaming him for  
having violated his former confidence He then pro-  
ceeded to say that he was ready to give the Pello-  
ponnesians the opportunity of destroying the whole  
Athenian army, and he explained in detail how Samos,  
which was unfortified, might best be attacked, adding  
that he was in danger of his life for their sakes, and that  
he need no longer apologise if by this or any other means  
he could save himself from destruction at the hands of his

<sup>a</sup> Cp. 11. 92 for a similar excuse.

<sup>b</sup> Cp VIII 45 med

<sup>c</sup> Placing the comma after Φρύνιχος



VIII worst enemies Again the message was communicated B C 412  
Ol 9a  
by Astyochus to Alcibiades

51 Now Phrynichus was well aware of his treachery, and of which he also gives information to the Athenians Thus he is purged of his treason, and outwits Alcibiades, who is thought to have acted from spite he knew that another letter from Alcibiades giving further information was on the point of arriving Before its arrival he himself warned the army that, Samos being unwallcd and some of the ships not anchoring within the harbour, the enemy were going to attack the fleet, of this he had certain knowledge They ought therefore to fortify the place as quickly as they could, and to take every precaution As he was in command he could execute his proposals by his own authority. So they set to work, and in consequence Samos, which would have been fortified in any case, was fortified all the sooner Not long afterwards the expected letter came from Alcibiades warning the Athenians that the army was being betrayed by Phrynichus, and that the enemy were going to make an attack But Alcibiades was not trusted, he was thought to have attributed to Phrynichus out of personal animosity complicity in the enemy's designs, with which he was himself acquainted Thus he did him no harm, but rather strengthened his position by telling the same tale

52. Alcibiades still continued his practices with Tissaphernes, whom he now sought to draw over to the Athenian interest But Tissaphernes was afraid of the Peloponnesians, who had more ships on the spot than the Athenians And yet he would have liked, if he could, to have been persuaded; especially when he saw the opposition which the Peloponnesians raised at Cnidus to the treaty of Theramenes<sup>a</sup> For his quarrel with them had broken out before the Peloponnesians went to Rhodes, where they were at present stationed<sup>b</sup>, and the words of Alcibiades, who had previously warned Tissaphernes that the Lacedaemonians were the liberators of all the cities of Hellas, were verified by the protest of Lichas, who declared that 'for the King to hold all the cities

Tissaphernes under the influence of Alcibiades would have liked to join the Athenians For he had already quarrelled with the Peloponnesians at Cnidus, and the protest of Lichas confirmed the warning which he had received

<sup>a</sup> Cp viii 43.

<sup>b</sup> Cp viii 45 init

B C 412 which he or his ancestors had held was a stipulation VIII.  
Ol 92 not to be endured' Alcibiades, who was playing for from Alci-  
a great stake, was very assiduous in paying his court biades  
to Tissaphernes But he  
is afraid

Peisander and the other envoys who had been sent 53.  
from Samos arrived at Athens and made their proposals Peisander  
to the people They said much in few words, insisting and his  
above all that if the Athenians restored Alcibiades and colleagues  
modified their democracy they might secure the alliance arrive at  
of the King and gain the victory over the Pelopon- Athens and  
nesians They was great opposition to any change in insist on the  
the democracy, and the enemies of Alcibiades were loud recall of  
in protesting that it would be a dreadful thing if he were Alciades  
permitted to return in defiance of the law The Eumol- and the  
pidae and Ceryces called heaven and earth to witness modifica-  
that the city must never restore a man who had been tion of the  
banished for profaning the mysteries. Amid violent democracy  
expressions of indignation Peisander came forward, Violent  
and having up the objectors one by one he pointed out indignation  
to them that the Peloponnesians had a fleet ready for is aroused  
action as large as their own, that they numbered more  
cities among their allies, and that they were furnished  
with money by Tissaphernes and the King, whereas  
the Athenians had spent everything he then asked  
them whether there was the least hope of saving the  
country unless the King could be won over They all  
acknowledged that there was none He then said to  
them plainly—

'But this alliance is impossible unless we are governed  
in a wiser manner, and office is confined to a smaller  
number then the King will trust us Do not let us be  
dwelling on the form of the constitution<sup>a</sup>, which we may  
hereafter change as we please, when the very existence of  
Athens is at stake. And we must restore Alcibiades,  
who is the only man living capable of saving us'

The people were very angry at the first suggestion 54  
of an oligarchy, but when Peisander proved to them that But is  
there any

<sup>a</sup> Reading *βουλεύομεν* with most MSS

VIII they had no other resource, partly in fear, and partly in B C 412  
Ol 92  
alternative<sup>b</sup>  
It is at last  
agreed that  
Peisander  
shall go and  
negotiate  
with  
Alcibiades
 hope that it might be hereafter changed, they gave way  
 So a decree was passed that Peisander himself and ten  
 others should go out and negotiate to the best of their  
 judgment with Tissaphernes and Alcibiades Peisander  
 also denounced Phrynichus, and therefore the people  
 dismissed him and his colleague Scironides from their  
 commands, and appointed Diomedon and Leon to be  
 admirals in their room Peisander thought that Phry-  
 nichus would stand in the way of the negotiations with  
 Alcibiades, and for this reason he calumniated him, al-  
 leging that he had betrayed Iasus and Amorges Then  
 he went, one after another, to all the clubs which already  
 existed in Athens for the management of trials and  
 elections, and exhorted them to unite, and by concerted  
 action put down the democracy When he had com-  
 pleted all the necessary preparations and the plot was  
 ripe, he and his colleagues proceeded on their voyage to  
 Tissaphernes

55 During the same winter Leon and Diomedon, who  
The Athe-  
nians com-  
mand  
Rhodes  
from  
Chalcè  
The  
blockade  
of Chios  
The Chians  
make a  
sally, in  
which after  
a partial  
success they  
are defeated  
and Peda-  
ritus is slain.
 had now entered upon their command, made a descent  
 upon Rhodes They found the Peloponnesian fleet  
 drawn up out of their reach, but they landed, and  
 defeated the Rhodians who came out to meet them  
 From Rhodes they retired to Chalcè<sup>a</sup>, which henceforth  
 they made their base of operations rather than Cos,  
 because they could there better command any move-  
 ment which might be made by the Peloponnesian fleet  
 About this time Xenophantidas, a Lacedaemonian,  
 brought word to Rhodes from Pedaritus, the governor  
 of Chios, that the Athenian fortification was now com-  
 pleted<sup>b</sup>, and that if the Peloponnesians with their whole  
 fleet did not at once come to the rescue Chios would be  
 lost So they determined to send help Meanwhile  
 Pedaritus in person with his mercenaries<sup>c</sup> and the whole  
 Chian army attacked the lines which protected the

<sup>a</sup> Cp. viii. 44 fin, 60 fin<sup>b</sup> Cp viii. 40 fin.<sup>c</sup> Cp viii. 28 fin, 38 med

BC 412 Athenian fleet, he took a part of the wall and obtained VIII  
 Ol 92 possession of certain ships which were drawn up on shore. But the Athenians rushed out upon them, and first putting to flight the Chians, soon defeated the rest of his forces. Pedaritus himself was slain, together with many of the Chians, and a great quantity of arms was taken.

The Chians were now blockaded more closely than 56  
 ever both by sea and land, and there was a great famine in the place. Meanwhile Peisander and his colleagues came to Tissaphernes and proposed an agreement. But Alcibiades was not as yet quite sure of Tissaphernes, who was more afraid of the Peloponnesians than of the Athenians, and was still desirous, in accordance with the lesson which he had been taught by Alcibiades himself, to wear them both out. So he had recourse to the device of making Tissaphernes ask too much, that the negotiations might be broken off. And I imagine that Tissaphernes himself equally wanted them to fail, he was moved by his fears, while Alcibiades, seeing that his reluctance was insuperable, did not wish the Athenians to think that he was unable to persuade him—he wanted them to believe that Tissaphernes was already persuaded and anxious to make terms but could not, because they themselves would not grant enough. And so, speaking on behalf of Tissaphernes who was himself present, he made such exorbitant demands that, although for a time the Athenians were willing to grant anything which he asked, at length the responsibility of breaking off the conference was thrown upon them. He and Tissaphernes demanded, first the cession of all Ionia to the King, then that of the neighbouring islands; and there were some other conditions. Thus far the Athenians offered no opposition. But at last, fearing that his utter inability to fulfil his promise would be exposed, at the third interview he demanded permission for the King to build ships, and sail along his own coast wherever and with as many vessels as he pleased. This was too much,

Peisander goes to Tissaphernes, who does not want to be persuaded, and to Alcibiades, who does not want to be thought incapable of persuading him. So they demand too much, and the Athenian envoys leave in a rage at the tricks of Alcibiades.

VIII the Athenians now perceived that matters were hopeless, <sup>B C 412</sup> and that they had been duped by Alcibiades. So they <sup>Ol 92</sup> departed in anger to Samos

57 Immediately afterwards, and during the same winter, Tissaphernes came down to Caunus wishing to bring back the Peloponnesians to Miletus, and once more to make a treaty with them on such terms as he could get, he was willing to maintain them, for he did not want to become wholly their enemy, and was afraid that if their large fleet were at a loss for supplies they might be compelled to fight and be defeated, or their crews might desert, in either case the Athenians would gain their ends without his assistance. Above all he feared lest they should ravage the adjoining mainland in search of food. Taking into account all these possibilities, and true to his policy, which was to hold the balance evenly between the two contending powers, he sent for the Lacedaemonians, furnished them with supplies, and made a third treaty with them, which ran as follows —

58. 'In the thirteenth year of the reign of Darius the King, when Alexippidas was Ephor at Lacedaemon, a treaty was made in the plain of the Maeander between the Lacedaemonians and their allies on the one hand, and Tissaphernes, Hieramenes, and the sons of Pharnaces on the other, touching the interests of the King, and of the Lacedaemonians and their allies

'I. All the King's country which is in Asia shall continue to be the King's, and the King shall act as he pleases in respect of his own country.

'II The Lacedaemonians and their allies shall not go against the King's country to do hurt, and the King shall not go against the country of the Lacedaemonians and their allies to do hurt. If any of the Lacedaemonians or their allies go against the King's country and do hurt, the Lacedaemonians shall interfere and if any of the dwellers in the King's country shall go against the country of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, and do hurt, the King shall interfere.

Tissaphernes, holding the balance, now thinks that the time has come to make another treaty with the Lacedaemonians

This treaty, made in the name of Tissaphernes on the King's behalf, does not extend the recognition of the King's rights beyond Asia. The obnoxious clause is omitted

B C 412  
Ol 92

‘III Tissaphernes shall provide food for the number VIII.  
of ships which the Lacedaemonians have at present,  
according to the agreement, until the King’s ships arrive  
When they have arrived, the Lacedaemonians and their  
allies may either maintain their own ships, or they may  
receive the maintenance of their ships from Tissaphernes  
But in this latter case the Lacedaemonians and their  
allies shall at the end of the war repay to Tissaphernes  
the money which they have received

‘IV When the King’s ships have arrived, the ships of  
the Lacedaemonians and of their allies and of the King  
shall carry on the war in common, as may seem best to  
Tissaphernes and to the Lacedaemonians and their  
allies and if they wish to make peace with the Athe-  
nians both parties shall make peace on the same terms’

Such was the treaty Tissaphernes now prepared to 59  
bring up the Phoenician ships, as he had promised, and  
to fulfil his other pledges. He was anxious at all events  
to be seen making a beginning

Towards the end of the winter, Oropus, which was 60  
occupied by an Athenian garrison, was betrayed to the  
Boeotians Certain of the Eretrians and of the Oropians  
themselves, both having an eye to the revolt of Euboea,  
were concerned in the enterprise For Oropus, facing  
Eretria, while held by the Athenians could not be other  
than a serious annoyance, both to Eretria and to the  
whole of Euboea Having now possession of Oropus  
the Eretrians came to Rhodes, and invited the Pelopon-  
nesians to Euboea They were however more disposed  
to relieve the distress of Chios, and thither they sailed  
from Rhodes with their whole fleet. Near Triopium  
they descried the Athenian ships in the open sea sailing  
from Chalcè neither fleet attacked the other, but both  
arrived safely, the one at Samos, and the other at Miletus  
The Lacedaemonians now saw that they could no longer  
relieve Chios without a battle at sea So the winter  
ended, and with it the twentieth year in the Pelopon-  
nesian War of which Thucydides wrote the history

Oropus, by  
the help  
of certain  
Eretrians,  
is betrayed  
to the  
Boeotians  
Instead of  
going to  
Euboea,  
the Pello-  
ponnesians  
determine  
to relieve  
Chios, but  
are hindered  
by the ap-  
pearance of  
the Athe-  
nian fleet  
Both fleets  
return to  
their origi-  
nal stations  
at Samos  
and at Mile-  
tus

VIII. At the beginning of the following spring, Dercyllidas, <sup>B C 411</sup>  
<sup>Ol 92, 2</sup>

61 a Spartan, was sent at the head of a small army along the coast to the Hellespont. He was to effect the revolt of Abydos, a Milesian colony. The Chians, while Astyochus was doubting whether he could assist them, were compelled by the pressure of the blockade to fight at sea. While he was still at Rhodes they had obtained from Miletus, after the death of Pedaritus, a new governor, Leon, a Spartan, who had come out as a marine with Antisthenes<sup>a</sup>, he brought with him twelve ships, five Thurian, four Syracusan, one from Anaea, one Milesian, and one which was Leon's own, they had been employed in guarding Miletus. The Chians made a sally with their whole force, and seized a strong position, their ships at the same time, to the number of thirty-six, sailed out and fought with the thirty-two of the Athenians. The engagement was severe, the Chians and their allies had rather the advantage, but evening had come on, so they retired to the city.

62 Soon afterwards Dercyllidas arrived at the Hellespont from Miletus, Abydos, and two days later Lampsacus, revolted to him and Phainabazus. Strombichides, having intelligence, hastened thither from Chios with twenty-four Athenian ships, of which some were transports conveying hoplites. Defeating the Lampsacenes who came out against him, he took Lampsacus, which was unfortified, at the first onset. He made a seizure of the slaves and property which he found there, and, reinstating the free inhabitants, went on to Abydos. But the people of Abydos would not yield, and though he attempted to take the place by assault, he failed, so he crossed over to Sestos, a city of the Chersonese opposite Abydos, which the Persians had formerly held. There he placed a garrison to keep watch over the entire Hellespont.

63. Meanwhile the Chians regained the command of the sea, and Astyochus and the Peloponnesians at Miletus, hearing of the naval engagement and of the withdrawal

The Chians, assisted by their new governor, Leon the Spartan, with twelve ships, make a sally with thirty-six ships and gain an advantage over thirty-two Athenian ships

Dercyllidas arrives at the Hellespont and induces (12) Abydos and (13) Lampsacus to revolt. Strombichides pursues him and recovers Lampsacus, but not Abydos

In the absence of Strombi-

<sup>a</sup> Cp viii 39 init

B C 411 of Stombichides and his ships, took courage. Sailing VIII.  
 Ol 92, 2 to Chios with two ships, Astyochoi fetched away the chides, the  
 Chians  
 fleet which was there, and with his united forces made a regain con-  
 trol of the  
 sea, and  
 demonstration against Samos But the Athenian crews, Astyochoi  
 offer battle  
 to the  
 Athenians  
 who were in a state of mutual distrust, did not go out to  
 meet him, so he sailed back again to Miletus

For about this time, or rather sooner, the democracy  
 at Athens had been subverted Peisander and his fellow The cons-  
 pira-  
 tors  
 at Samos  
 give up  
 envoys, on their return to Samos after their visit to Tissa- Alcibiades,  
 but, with  
 the help of  
 some of the  
 Samians,  
 resolve to  
 persevere in  
 their plan  
 pheines, had strengthened their interest in the army, and  
 had even persuaded the chief men of Samos to join them  
 in setting up an oligarchy, <sup>a</sup>although they had lately risen  
 against their own countrymen<sup>a</sup> in order to put down oli-  
 garchy<sup>b</sup> At the same time conferring among themselves,  
 the Athenian leaders at Samos came to the conclusion  
 that since Alcibiades would not join they had better leave  
 him alone, for indeed he was not the sort of person who  
 was suited to an oligarchy. But they determined, as  
 they were already compromised, to proceed by them-  
 selves, and to take measures for carrying the movement  
 through, they meant also to persevere in the war,  
 and were willing enough to contribute money or any-  
 thing else which might be wanted out of their own  
 houses, since they would now be labouring, not for  
 others, but for themselves<sup>c</sup>.

Having thus encouraged one another in their purpose 64.  
 they sent Peisander and one half of the envoys back to They want  
 to put down  
 democracy  
 in the sub-  
 ject-cities  
 Athens They were to carry out the scheme at home, But the  
 allies, espe-  
 cially the  
 Thasians,  
 having  
 gained a  
 better go-  
 vernment,  
 do not care  
 to retain  
 their con-  
 nection with  
 Athens  
 and had directions to set up an oligarchy in the subject-  
 cities at which they touched on their voyage The other  
 half were despatched different ways to other subject-  
 cities Diotrephes, who was then at Chios, was sent to  
 assume the command in Chalcidice and on the coast of  
 Thrace, to which he had been previously appointed On  
 arriving at Thasos he put down the democracy. But  
 within about two months of his departure the Thasians

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'although there had just been an insurrection in Samos itself'

<sup>b</sup> Cp viii 21, 73 init

<sup>c</sup> Cp viii 48 init



VIII began to fortify their city, they did not want to have an aristocracy dependent on Athens when they were daily expecting to obtain their liberty from Lacedaemon. For there were Thasian exiles who had been driven out by the Athenians dwelling in Peloponnesus, and they, with the assistance of their friends at home, were exerting themselves vigorously to obtain ships and effect the revolt of Thasos. The recent change was exactly what they desired, for the government had been reformed without danger to themselves, and the democracy, who would have opposed them, had been overthrown. Thus the result in the case of Thasos, and also, as I imagine, of many other states, was the opposite of what the oligarchical conspirators had intended. For the subject-cities, having secured a moderate form of government, and having no fear of being called to account for their proceedings, aimed at absolute freedom, they scorned the sham independence proffered to them by the Athenians.

65 Peisander and his colleagues pursued their voyage and, as they had agreed, put down the democracies in the different states. From some places they obtained the assistance of heavy-armed troops, which they took with them to Athens<sup>a</sup>. There they found the revolution more than half accomplished by the oligarchical clubs. Some of the younger citizens had conspired and secretly assassinated one Androcles, a great man with the people, who had been foremost in procuring the banishment of Alcibiades<sup>b</sup>. Their motives were two-fold: they killed him because he was a demagogue, but more because they hoped to gratify Alcibiades, whom they were still expecting to return, and to make Tissaphernes their friend. A few others who were inconvenient to them they made away with in a like secret manner. Meanwhile they declared in their public programme that no one ought to receive pay who was not on military service, and that not more than five thousand should have a share in the

Peisander returns to Athens, where he finds the work already half done. Assassination of Androcles, the enemy of Alcibiades. Programme of the new party.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. viii. 69 med.

<sup>b</sup> Cp vi 89 fin.

B C 411 government, those, namely, who were best able to serve VIII.  
Ol 92, 2 the state in person and with their money

These were only pretences intended to look well in the 66  
eyes of the people, for the authors of the revolution fully  
meant to retain the new government in their own hands  
The popular assembly and the council of five hundred  
were still convoked, but nothing was brought before  
them of which the conspirators had not approved, the  
speakers were of their party and the things to be said  
had been all arranged by them beforehand No one any  
longer raised his voice against them, for the citizens  
were afraid when they saw the strength of the conspiracy,  
and if any one did utter a word, he was put out of the  
way in some convenient manner No search was made  
for the assassins, and though there might be suspicion,  
no one was brought to trial, the people were so de-  
pressed and afraid to move that he who escaped violence  
thought himself fortunate, even though he had never said  
a word Their minds were cowed by the supposed num-  
ber of the conspirators, which they greatly exaggerated,  
having no means of discovering the truth, since the size  
of the city prevented them from knowing one another  
For the same reason a man <sup>a</sup> could not conspire and re-  
taliate <sup>a</sup>, because he was unable to express his sorrow or  
indignation to another, for he could not make a con-  
fident of a stranger, and he would not trust his acquaint-  
ance. The members of the popular party all approached  
one another with suspicion, every one was supposed to  
have a hand in what was going on Some were con-  
cerned whom no one would ever have thought likely to  
turn oligarchs, their adhesion created the worst mistrust  
among the multitude, and by making it impossible for  
them to rely upon one another, greatly contributed to  
the security of the few.

Such was the state of affairs when Peisander and his 67.  
colleagues arrived at Athens They immediately set to

<sup>a</sup> Or, taking ἐπιβουλεύσαντα as the object 'could not defend  
himself against the wiles of another'

VIII. work and prepared to strike the final blow. First, they <sup>BC 411  
Ol 92, 2.</sup> called an assembly and proposed the election of ten commissioners, who should be empowered to frame for the city the best constitution which they could devise, this was to be laid before the people on a fixed day. When the day arrived they summoned an assembly to meet in the temple of Poseidon at Colonus without the walls, and distant rather more than a mile. But the commissioners only moved that any Athenian should be allowed to propose whatever resolution he pleased—nothing more, threatening at the same time with severe penalties anybody who indicted the proposer for unconstitutional action, or otherwise offered injury to him. The whole scheme now came to light. A motion was made to abolish all the existing magistracies and the payment of magistrates, and to choose a presiding board of five; these five were to choose a hundred, and each of the hundred was to co-opt three others. The Four Hundred thus selected were to meet in the council-chamber, they were to have absolute authority, and might govern as they deemed best, the Five Thousand were to be summoned by them whenever they chose.

68. The mover of this proposal, and to outward appearance the most active partizan of the revolution, was Peisander, but the real author and maturer of the whole scheme, who had been longest interested in it, was Antiphon, a man inferior in virtue to none of his contemporaries, and possessed of remarkable powers of thought and gifts of speech. He did not like to come forward in the assembly, or in any other public arena. To the multitude, who were suspicious of his great abilities, he was an object of dislike, but there was no man who could do more for any who consulted him, whether their business lay in the courts of justice or in the assembly. And when the government of the Four Hundred was overthrown and became exposed to the vengeance of the people, and he being accused of taking part in the plot had to speak in his own case, his defence was

First the 'graphe paranomon' is repealed, then, on the proposal of Peisander, all existing magistracies are abolished and replaced by a board of five, which creates another of four hundred

The leading intellect of the revolution was Antiphon, who had hitherto led a retired life, he was the best adviser of clients, and when his own turn came made the best defence of himself. Phrynichus and Theramenes were also men of great ability, and

undoubtedly the best ever made by any man tried on VIII.  
 a capital charge down to my time Phrynichus also fit instruments to accomplish the arduous task  
 showed extraordinary zeal in the interests of the oligarchy. He was afraid of Alcibiades, whom he knew to be cognizant of the intrigue which when at Samos he had carried on with Astyochus<sup>a</sup>, and he thought that no oligarchy would ever be likely to restore him. Having once set his hand to the work he was deemed by the others to be the man upon whom they could best depend in the hour of danger. Another chief leader of the revolutionary party was Theramenes the son of Hagnon, a good speaker and a sagacious man. No wonder then that, in the hands of all these able men, the attempt, however arduous, succeeded. For an easy thing it certainly was not, one hundred years after the fall of the tyrants, to destroy the liberties of the Athenians, who not only were a free, but during more than one half of this time had been an imperial people.

The assembly passed all these measures without a dissentient voice, and was then dissolved. And now the Four Hundred were introduced into the council-chamber. The manner was as follows —The whole population were always on service, either manning the walls or drawn up at their places of arms, for the enemy were at Decelea<sup>b</sup>. On the day of the assembly those who were not in the conspiracy were allowed to go home as usual, while the conspirators were quietly told to remain, not actually by their aims, but at a short distance, if anybody opposed what was doing they were to arm and interfere. There were also on the spot some Andians and Tenians, three hundred Carystians, and some of the Athenian colonists from Aegina<sup>c</sup>, who received similar instructions, they had all been told to bring with them from their homes their own arms for this especial purpose<sup>d</sup>. Having disposed their forces the Four Hundred arrived, every one with a dagger concealed about his person, and with them

<sup>a</sup> Cp. viii 50, 51.<sup>b</sup> Cp vii 28 int.<sup>c</sup> Cp ii. 27<sup>d</sup> Cp viii 65 int

VIII. a hundred and twenty Hellenic youth, whose services they used for any act of violence which they had in hand. They broke in upon the council of five hundred as they sat in the council-chamber, and told them to take their pay and begone. They had brought with them the pay of the senators for the remainder of their yearly term of office, which they handed to them as they went out.

70

They are replaced by the Four Hundred, who govern despotically and try to make peace with Lacedaemon

In this manner the council retired without offering any remonstrance, and the rest of the citizens kept perfectly quiet and made no counter movement. The Four Hundred then installed themselves in the council-chamber, for the present they elected by lot Prytanes of their own number, and did all that was customary in the way of prayers and sacrifices to the Gods at their entrance into office. Soon however they wholly changed the democratic system, and although they did not recall the exiles, because Alcibiades was one of them, they governed the city with a high hand. Some few whom they thought would be better out of the way were put to death by them, others imprisoned, others again exiled. They also sent heralds to Agis, the Lacedaemonian king, who was at Decelea, saying that they desired to conclude a peace with him, and that they expected him to be more ready to treat with them than with the perfidious democracy.

71.

Agis, thinking that the city is now at his mercy, refuses to treat with them. But approaching too near the wall, he is undeceived. The Four Hundred by his advice send an

But he, thinking that the city must be in an unsettled state and that the people would not so quickly yield up their ancient liberty, thinking too that the appearance of a great Lacedaemonian army would increase their excitement, and far from convinced that civil strife was not at that very moment raging among them, gave unfavourable answers to the envoys of the Four Hundred. He sent to Peloponnesus for large reinforcements, and then, with the garrison at Decelea and the newly arrived troops, came down in person to the very walls of Athens. He expected that the Athenians, distracted by civil strife, would be quite at his mercy, there would be such a

B.C. 411  
Oli. 92, 2

B C 411  
Ol 92, 2

panic created by the presence of enemies both within VIII.  
and without the walls, that he might even succeed in embassy to  
taking the city at the first onset, for the Long Walls Lace-  
would be deserted, and he could not fail of capturing daemon  
them But when he drew near there was no sign of the  
slightest disorder within, the Athenians, sending out  
their cavalry and a force of heavy and light-armed  
troops and archers, struck down a few of his soldiers  
who had ventured too far, and retained possession of  
some arms and dead bodies, whereupon, having found  
out his mistake, he withdrew to Decelea There he and  
the garrison remained at their posts, but he ordered the  
newly arrived troops, after they had continued a few  
days in Attica, to return home The Four Hundred  
resumed negotiations, and Agis was now more ready  
to listen to them By his advice they sent envoys to  
Lacedaemon in the hope of coming to terms

They also sent ten commissioners to Samos, who were 72  
to pacify the army, and to explain that the oligarchy They also  
was not established with any design of injuring Athens send an  
or her citizens, but for the preservation of the whole embassy to  
state The promoters of the change were five thousand, Samos, who  
not four hundred, but never hitherto, owing to are to  
the pressure of war and of business abroad, had so many make an  
as five thousand assembled to deliberate even on the apology  
most important questions They instructed them to say for them  
anything else which would have a good effect, and sent  
them on their mission as soon as they themselves were  
installed in the government For they were afraid, and  
not without reason as the event showed, that the Athe-  
nian sailors would be impatient of the oligarchical  
system, and that disaffection would begin at Samos and  
end in their own overthrow.

At the very time when the Four Hundred were estab- 73  
lishing themselves at Athens, a reaction had set in But a  
against the oligarchical movement at Samos. Some reaction has  
Samiens of the popular party, which had originally set in at  
risen up against the nobles, changed sides again when Samos  
The Samian  
oligarchs,  
who had

VIII Peisander came to the island<sup>a</sup>, and persuaded by him BC 411  
Ol 92, 2 and his Athenian accomplices at Samos, they formed themselves changed sides, began to use violence a body of three hundred conspirators and prepared to attack the rest of the popular party who had previously been their comrades. There was a certain Hyperbolus, a low demagogue, is assassinated by them and their Athenian accomplices. The sailors of the fleet rise and put them down. Hyperbolus, an Athenian of no character, who, not for any fear of his power and influence, but for his villany, and because the city was ashamed of him, had been ostracised. This man was assassinated by them, and they were abetted in the act by Charminus, one of the generals, and by certain of the Athenians at Samos, to whom they pledged their faith. They also joined these Athenians in other deeds of violence, and were eager to fall upon the popular party. But the people, discovering their intention, gave information to the generals Leon and Diomedon, who were impatient of the attempted oligarchy because they were respected by the multitude, to Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, one of whom was a trierarch and the other a private soldier, and to others who were thought to be the steadiest opponents of the oligarchical movement. They entreated them not to allow the Samian people to be destroyed, and the island of Samos, without which the Athenian empire would never have lasted until then, to be estranged. Thereupon the generals went to the soldiers one by one, and begged them to interfere, addressing themselves especially to the Parali, or crew of the ship *Paralus*, all freeborn Athenians, who were at any time ready to attack oligarchy, real or imaginary. Leon and Diomedon, whenever they sailed to any other place, left some ships for the protection of the Samians. And so, when the three hundred began the attack, all the crews, especially the Parali, hastened to the rescue, and the popular party gained the victory. Of the three hundred they slew about thirty, and the three most guilty were banished; the rest they forgave, and henceforward all lived together under a democracy.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. VIII, 21, 63 med.

BC 411  
Ol 92, 2

Chaereas the son of Archesthiatus, an Athenian, who VIII.  
had been active in the movement, was quickly de- 74  
spatched by the Samians and the army in the ship The Parali,  
Paralus to Athens, there to report the defeat of the who convey  
Samian oligarchy, for as yet they did not know that the the report  
government was in the hands of the Four Hundred of the re-  
No sooner had he arrived than the Four Hundred Athens, are very  
imprisoned two or three of the Parali, and taking away coldly  
their ship transferred the rest of the crew to a troop- received  
ship which was ordered to keep guard about Euboea Chaereas  
Chaereas, seeing in an instant how matters stood, had their leader  
contrived to steal away and get back to Samos, where escapes to  
he told the soldiers with much aggravation the news Samos, and  
from Athens, how they were punishing everybody with tells all  
stripes, and how no one might speak a word against the manner of  
government, he declared that their wives and children hes about  
were being outraged, and that the oligarchy were going the oli-  
to take the relations of all the men serving at Samos who garchs  
were not of their faction and shut them up, intending, if  
the fleet did not submit, to put them to death And he  
added a great many other falsehoods.

When the army heard his report they instantly 75  
rushed upon the chief authors of the oligarchy who were  
present, and their confederates, and tried to stone them  
But they were deterred by the warnings of the moderate  
party, who begged them not to ruin everything by  
violence while the enemy were lying close to them,  
prow threatening prow. Thrasybulus the son of Lycus,  
and Thrasyllus, who were the chief leaders of the  
reaction, now thought that the time had come for the  
open proclamation of democracy at Samos, and they  
bound the soldiers, more especially those of the oligar-  
chical party, by the most solemn oaths to maintain a  
democracy and be of one mind, to prosecute vigorously  
the war with Peloponnesus, to be enemies to the Four  
Hundred, and to hold no parley with them by heralds  
All the Samians who were of full age took the same  
oath, and the Athenian soldiers determined to make

The Parali,  
who convey  
the report  
of the re-  
volution to  
Athens,  
are very  
coldly  
received  
Chaereas  
their leader  
escapes to  
Samos, and  
tells all  
manner of  
hes about  
the oli-  
garchs

The army  
at Samos  
are beside  
themselves  
But instead  
of taking  
violent  
measures  
they are  
persuaded  
by Thra-  
syllus and  
Thrasyl-  
bulus to  
proclaim,  
and swear  
allegiance  
to, the de-  
mocracy  
The Sa-  
mians unite  
with them  
in the oath



VIII. common cause with the Samians in their troubles and dangers, and invited them to share their fortunes. They considered that neither the Samians nor themselves had any place of refuge to which they could turn, but that, whether the Four Hundred or their enemies at Miletus gained the day, they were doomed

76.

Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus are elected generals  
The sailors encourage one another  
They are few, we are many  
They have revolted from us, not we from them  
We receive the tribute, we hold Samos, we guard Piræus, we can drive them off the sea  
They are no loss, they have neither money nor sense nor virtue  
And Alcibiades will gain over the King

There was now an obstinate struggle, the one party determined to force democracy upon the city, the other to force oligarchy upon the fleet. The soldiers proceeded to summon an assembly, at which they deposed their former generals, and any trierarchs whom they suspected, and chose others. Among the new generals Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus naturally found a place. One after another the men rose and encouraged their comrades by various arguments. 'We ought not to despond,' they said, 'because the city has revolted from us, for they are few and we are many, they have lost us and not we them, and our resources are far greater. Having the whole navy with us we can compel the subject states to pay us tribute as well as if we sailed forth from the Piræus, Samos is our own—no weak city, but one which in the Samian war all but wrested from Athens the dominion of the sea, and the position which we hold against our Peloponnesian enemies is as strong as heretofore. And again, with the help of the fleet we are better able to obtain supplies than the Athenians at home. Indeed the only reason why the citizens have so long retained the command of the Piræus is that we who are stationed at Samos are the advanced guard of the Piræus itself. And now if they will not agree to give us back the constitution, it will come to this—that we shall be better able to drive them off the sea than they us. The help which the city gives us against our enemies is poor and worthless, and we have lost nothing in losing them. They have no longer any money to send' (the soldiers were supplying themselves) 'They cannot aid us by good counsel, and yet for what other reason do states exercise authority over armies?

B C 411  
Ol 92, 2

B C 411 Ol 92, 2 But in this respect too they are useless They have VIII  
gone altogether astray, and overthrown the constitution  
of their country, which we maintain and will endeavour  
to make the oligarchy maintain likewise Our advisers  
in the camp then are at least as good as theirs in the  
city Alcibiades, if we procure his recall and pardon,  
will be delighted to obtain for us the alliance of the King  
And above all, if these hopes fail entirely, yet, while we  
have our great navy, there are many places of refuge  
open to us in which we shall find city and lands

Having met and encouraged one another by these and 77  
similar appeals, they displayed a corresponding enei<sup>g</sup>y The oli-  
in their preparations for war. And the ten commissioners garchic en-  
whom the Four Hundred had sent out to Samos, hearing voys remain  
when they reached Delos how matters stood, went no at Delos  
further

Meanwhile the Peloponnesians in the fleet at Miletus 78  
had likewise troubles among themselves The sailors The Pelo-  
complained loudly to one another that their cause was ponnesian  
ruined by Astyochus and Tissaphernes 'Astyochus,' sailors  
they said, 'refused to fight before<sup>a</sup>, while we were strong,' complain  
and the Athenian navy weak, and will not fight now bitterly of  
when they are reported to be in a state of anarchy, and Astyochus  
their fleet is not as yet united We are kept waiting and Tissa-  
for Tissaphernes and the Phoenician ships, which are a phernes  
mere pretence and nothing more, and we shall soon be  
utterly exhausted Tissaphernes never brings up the  
promised reinforcement, and he destroys our navy by  
his scanty and irregular payments the time has come  
when we must fight' The Syracusans were especially  
vehement in the matter

Astyochus and the allies became aware of the outcry, 79  
and had resolved in council to fight a decisive battle  
This resolution was confirmed when they heard of the Astyochus  
confusion at Samos So they put to sea with all their with a  
ships, in number a hundred and twelve, and ordering the hundred  
Milesians to march along the coast towards Mycalè, and twelve  
ships offers  
battle to the  
Athenians  
They prefer  
to await the

<sup>a</sup> Cp VIII 38 fin, 44 fin, 55 init, 60 fin

VIII. sailed thither themselves But the Athenians with their fleet of eighty-two ships, which had come out of Samos and were just then moored at Glaucè on the promontory of Mycalè, a point of the mainland not far off, saw the Peloponnesians bearing down upon them, and returned, thinking that with their inferior numbers they were not justified in risking their all. Besides, having previous information from Miletus that the Peloponnesians were anxious to fight, they had sent a messenger to Strombichides at the Hellespont, and were waiting for him to come to their aid with the ships from Chios which had gone to Abydos<sup>a</sup>. So they retreated to Samos, and the Peloponnesians sailed for Mycalè and there established themselves, together with the land-forces of Miletus and of the neighbouring cities. On the following day they were on the point of attacking Samos, when news came that Strombichides had arrived with the fleet from the Hellespont, whereupon the Peloponnesians immediately retired towards Miletus, and the Athenians themselves, thus reinforced, sailed against Miletus with a hundred and eight ships. They had hoped to fight a decisive battle, but no one came out to meet them, and they returned to Samos.

80. The Peloponnesians had not gone out because they thought<sup>b</sup> that even with their united force they could not risk a battle<sup>b</sup>. But not knowing how to maintain so large a fleet, especially since Tissaphernes never paid them properly, they at once while the summer lasted sent Clearchus the son of Rhamphias with forty ships to Pharnabazus, this being the commission which he had originally received from Peloponnesus<sup>c</sup>. Pharnabazus had been inviting them to come, and promised to maintain them, the Byzantians likewise had been sending envoys to them proposing to revolt. The Peloponnesian squadron put out into the open sea that they

return of Strombichides, whose ships arriving raise their number to a hundred and eight. They then their turn offer battle to the Peloponnesians, who decline it.

B C 411  
Ol 92, 2

<sup>a</sup> Cp. viii 62

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'that they were not a match for the now united forces of the enemy.'

<sup>c</sup> Cp viii. 8 med

B C 411 might not be seen on their voyage by the Athenians. VIII.  
 Ol 92, 2 They were caught in a storm, Clearchus and most of  
 his ships found refuge at Delos, and thence returned to  
 Miletus. He himself proceeded later by land to the  
 Hellespont and assumed his command. But ten ships  
 under Helixus of Megara arrived safely, and effected the  
 revolt of Byzantium. The Athenians at Samos, re-  
 ceiving information of these movements, sent a naval  
 force to guard the Hellespont, and off Byzantium a  
 small engagement was fought by eight ships against  
 eight.

Ever since Thrasybulus restored the democracy at 81.  
 Samos he had strongly insisted that Alcibiades should  
 be recalled, the other Athenian leaders were of the same  
 mind, and at last the consent of the army was obtained  
 at an assembly which voted his return and full pardon.  
 Thrasybulus then sailed to Tissaphernes, and brought  
 Alcibiades to Samos, convinced that there was no help  
 for the Athenians unless by his means Tissaphernes  
 could be drawn away from the Peloponnesians. An as-  
 sembly was called, at which Alcibiades lamented the cruel  
 and unjust fate which had banished him, he then spoke  
 at length of their political prospects; and bright indeed  
 were the hopes of future victory with which he inspired  
 them, while he magnified to excess his present influence  
 over Tissaphernes. He meant thereby first to frighten  
 the oligarchy at home, and effect the dissolution of their  
 clubs, and secondly, to exalt himself in the eyes of the  
 army at Samos and fortify their resolution, thirdly, to  
 widen the breach between Tissaphernes and the enemy,  
 and blast the hopes of the Lacedaemonians. Having  
 these objects in view, Alcibiades carried his fulsome  
 assurances to the utmost. Tissaphernes, he said, had  
 promised him that if he could only trust the Athenians  
 they should not want for food while he had anything to  
 give, no not if he were driven at last to turn his own bed  
 into money, that he would bring up the Phoenician  
 ships (which were already at Aspendus) to assist the

Alcibiades  
 laments  
 to the Athe-  
 nians at  
 Samos  
 the sad  
 misunder-  
 standing  
 which has  
 arisen about  
 himself, and  
 inspires the  
 whole fleet  
 with hopes  
 of victory  
 Tissa-  
 phernes will  
 do anything  
 for them

VIII Athenians instead of the Peloponnesians ; but that he <sup>BC 411</sup> could not trust the Athenians unless Alcibiades were <sup>Ol 92, 2</sup> restored and became surety for them

82. Hearing all this, and a great deal more, the Athenians immediately appointed him a colleague of their other generals, and placed everything in his hands, no man among them would have given up for all the world the hope of deliverance and of vengeance on the Four Hundred which was now aroused in them, so excited were they that under the influence of his words they despised the Peloponnesians, and were ready to sail at once for the Piræus. But in spite of the eagerness of the multitude he absolutely forbade them to go thither and leave behind them enemies nearer at hand. Having been elected general, he said, he would make the conduct of the war his first care, and go at once to Tissaphernes. And he went straight from the assembly, in order that he might be thought to do nothing without Tissaphernes, at the same time he wished to be honoured in the eyes of Tissaphernes himself, and to show him that he had now been chosen general, and that a time had come when he could do him a good or a bad turn. Thus Alcibiades frightened the Athenians with Tissaphernes, and Tissaphernes with the Athenians.

83. The Peloponnesians at Miletus who had already conceived a mistrust of Tissaphernes, when they heard of the restoration of Alcibiades were still more exasperated against him. About the time of the threatened attack of the Athenians on Miletus, Tissaphernes, observing that the Peloponnesians would not put out to sea and fight with them, had become much more remiss in paying the fleet, and previously to this a dislike of him, arising out of his connection with Alcibiades, had gained ground. He was now more hated than ever. As before, the soldiers began to gather in knots and to express discontent, and not only the soldiers, but some men of position complained that they had never yet received their full pay, and that the sum given was too small,

They want to sail to the Piræus, but are restrained by Alcibiades

The dislike of the Peloponnesians to Tissaphernes increases more and more. The sailors are ready to mutiny

B C 411 while even this was irregularly paid, if they did not VIII  
 Ol 92, 2 fight, or go where they could obtain food, the men would  
 desert All these grievances they laid to the charge of  
 Astyochus, who humoured Tissaphernes for his own gain

While these thoughts were passing in their minds the 84.  
 behaviour of Astyochus gave occasion to an outbreak Their dis-  
 The Syracusan and Thurian sailors were for the most content  
 part free men, and therefore bolder than the rest in breaks out  
 assailing him with demands for pay Astyochus answered into open  
 them roughly and threatened them, he even raised his violence  
 stick against Dorieus of Thuri who was pleading the against  
 cause of his own sailors When the men saw the action Astyochus  
 they, sailor-like, lost all control of themselves, and rushed The Miles-  
 upon him, intending to stone him, but he, perceiving sians in a  
 what was coming, ran to an altar, where taking refuge like spirit  
 he escaped unhurt, and they were parted the garrison  
 The Milesians, of Tissa-  
 who were likewise discontented, captured by a sudden phernes  
 assault a fort which had been built in Miletus by Tissa- They are  
 phernes, and drove out the garrison which he had placed rebuked by  
 there Of this proceeding the allies approved, especially Lichas,  
 the Syracusans, Lichas, however, was displeased, whose re-  
 said that the Milesians and the inhabitants of the King's proof they  
 country should submit to the necessary humiliation, and deeply  
 manage to keep on good terms with Tissaphernes resent  
 until the war was well over His conduct on this and on  
 other occasions excited a strong feeling against him  
 among the Milesians, and afterwards, when he fell sick  
 and died, they would not let him be buried where his  
 Lacedaemonian comrades would have laid him

While the Lacedaemonians were quarrelling in this 85.  
 manner with Astyochus and Tissaphernes, Mindarus Mindarus  
 arrived from Lacedaemon, he had been appointed to succeeds  
 succeed Astyochus, who surrendered to him the com- Astyochus  
 mand of the fleet and sailed away Tissa- Tissa-  
 phernes sent phernes  
 with him an envoy, one of his own attendants, a Carian sends an  
 named Gaulites, who spoke both Greek and Persian<sup>a</sup> envoy to  
 He was instructed to complain of the destruction of the Sparta, who  
 is to defend  
 him against  
 Hermo-  
 crates and

<sup>a</sup> Cp. iv 109 med.

VIII. fort by the Milesians, and also to defend Tissaphernes <sup>B.C. 411</sup> against their charges. For he knew that Milesian envoys <sup>Ol. 92, 2</sup> were going to Sparta chiefly to accuse him, and Hermocrates with them, who would explain how he, aided by Alcibiades, was playing a double game and ruining the Peloponnesian cause. Now Tissaphernes owed Hermocrates a grudge ever since they quarrelled about the payment of the sailors<sup>a</sup>. And when afterwards he had <sup>B.C. 410</sup> been exiled from Syracuse, and other generals, Potamis, <sup>Ol. 92, 3</sup> Myscon, and Demarchus, came to take the command of the Syracusan ships at Miletus<sup>b</sup>, Tissaphernes attacked him with still greater violence in his exile, declaring among other things that Hermocrates had asked him for money and had been refused, and that this was the reason of the enmity which he conceived<sup>c</sup> against him. And so Astyochus, the Milesians, and Hermocrates sailed away to Lacedaemon. Alcibiades had by this time returned from Tissaphernes to Samos.

86. The envoys whom the Four Hundred had sent to pacify the army and give explanations left Delos<sup>d</sup> and came to Samos after the return of Alcibiades. They are roughly received by the multitude, who want to sail at once to the Piraeus. But they are prevented by Alcibiades, who dismisses the envoys with smooth words. A greater service never done to Athens.

<sup>a</sup> Cp. viii. 45 med.<sup>b</sup> Cp. Xen. Hell. i. 1. 27 foll.<sup>c</sup> Or, 'displayed'<sup>d</sup> Cp. viii. 77

B C 41x more they said, the more furious and unwilling to listen VIII.  
 Ol 92, 2 grew the multitude Various proposals were made,  
 above all they wanted to sail to the Piræus. Then  
 Alcibiades appears to have done as eminent<sup>a</sup> a service  
 to the state as any man ever did. For if the Athenians  
 at Samos in their excitement had been allowed to sail  
 against their fellow-citizens, the enemy would instantly  
 have obtained possession of Ionia and the Hellespont  
 This he prevented, and at that moment no one else  
 could have restrained the multitude but he did restrain  
 them, and with sharp words protected the envoys against  
 the fury of individuals in the crowd He then dismissed  
 them himself with the reply that he had nothing to say  
 against the rule of the Five Thousand, but that the Four  
 Hundred must be got rid of, and the old council of Five  
 Hundred restored. If they had reduced the expendi-  
 ture in order that the soldiers on service might be better  
 off for supplies, he highly approved For the rest he  
 entreated them to stand firm, and not give way to the  
 enemy, if the city was preserved, there was good hope  
 that they might be reconciled amongst themselves, but  
 if once anything happened either to the army at Samos  
 or to their fellow-citizens at home, there would be no  
 one left to be reconciled with

There were also present envoys from Argos, who prof- The Parali  
 fered their aid 'to the Athenian people at Samos' Alci- who have  
 biades complimented them, and requested them to come escaped  
 with their forces when they were summoned, he then from Athens  
 dismissed them. These Argives came with the Parali bring en-  
 who had been ordered by the Four Hundred to cruise off voys from  
 Euboea in a troop-ship<sup>b</sup>; they were afterwards employed Argos,  
 in conveying to Lacedaemon certain envoys sent by the offering  
 Four Hundred, Laespodias, Aristophon, and Melesias. aid  
 But when they were near Argos on their voyage the  
 crews seized the envoys, and, as they were among the  
 chief authors of the revolution, delivered them over to  
 the Argives, while they, instead of returning to Athens,

<sup>a</sup> Reading *πρώτος*

<sup>b</sup> Cp viii 74 med.



VIII. went from Aigos to Samos, and brought with them in their trireme the Argive ambassadors B C 411  
Ol. 92, 2

87

Tissaphernes goes to fetch the Phoenician ships. What was his real intention? There were various answers. Thucydides is convinced that he was only pursuing his neutralising policy.

During the same summer, and just at the time when the Peloponnesians were most offended with Tissaphernes on various grounds, and above all on account of the restoration of Alcibiades, which finally proved him to be a partizan of the Athenians, he, as if he were wanting to clear himself of these suspicions, prepared to go to Aspendus and fetch the Phoenician ships, and he desired Lichas to go with him. He also said that he would assign the charge of the army to his lieutenant Tamos, who would provide for them during his absence. Why he went to Aspendus, and having gone there never brought the ships, is a question not easy to answer, and which has been answered in various ways. For the Phoenician fleet of a hundred and forty-seven ships came as far as Aspendus—there is no doubt about this, but why they never came further is matter of conjecture. Some think that, in going to Aspendus, Tissaphernes was still pursuing his policy of wearing out the Peloponnesians, at any rate Tamos, who was in charge, supplied them no better, but rather worse. Others are of opinion that he brought up the Phoenician fleet to Aspendus in order to make money by selling the crews their discharge, for he certainly had no idea of using them in actual service. Others think that he was influenced by the outcry against him which had reached Lacedaemon, and that he wanted to create an impression of his honesty. 'Now at any rate he has gone to fetch the ships, and they are really manned.' I believe beyond all question that he wanted to wear out and to neutralise the Hellenic forces; his object was to damage them both while he was losing time in going to Aspendus, and to paralyse their action, and not strengthen either of them by his alliance. For if he had chosen to finish the war, finished it might have been once for all, as any one may see. he would have brought up the ships, and would in all probability have given the victory to the Lacedae-

B C 411 monians, who lay opposite to the Athenians and were VIII.  
Ol 92, 2 fully a match for them already The excuse which he

gave for not bringing them is the most conclusive evidence against him, he said that there was not as many collected as the King had commanded But if so, the King would have been all the better pleased, for his money would have been saved and Tissaphernes would have accomplished the same result at less expense Whatever may have been his intention, Tissaphernes came to Aspendus and conferred with the Phoenicians, and the Peloponnesians at his request sent Philip, a Lacedaemonian, with two triremes to fetch the ships

Alcibiades, when he learned that Tissaphernes was 88.  
going to Aspendus, sailed thither himself with thirteen ships, promising the army at Samos that he would not fail to do them a great service He would either bring the Phoenician ships to the Athenians, or, at any rate, make sure that they did not join the Peloponnesians He had probably known all along the real mind of Tissaphernes, and that he never meant to bring them at all He wanted further to injure him as much as possible in the opinion of the Peloponnesians when they observed how friendly Tissaphernes was towards himself and the Athenians, their distrust would compel him to change sides So he set sail and went on his voyage eastward, making directly for Phaselis and Caunus.

Alcibiades, knowing that Tissaphernes never intended to bring up the Phoenician fleet, promises to keep it back.

The commissioners sent by the Four Hundred re- 89  
turned from Samos to Athens and reported the words of Alcibiades—how he bade them stand firm and not give way to the enemy, and what great hopes he entertained of reconciling the army to the city, and of overcoming the Peloponnesians. The majority of the oligarchs, who were already dissatisfied, and would have gladly got out of the whole affair if they safely could, were now much encouraged. They began to come together and to criticise the conduct of affairs. Their leaders were some of the oligarchical generals and actually in

The conciliatory language of Alcibiades indicates to the more moderate of the oligarchs a path of escape Thera-menés and Aristocrates begin to talk about the Five Thousand

VIII. office at the time, for example, Theramenes the son BC 411  
Ol 92, 2  
They see another revolution coming, and each man wants to take the lead in it
of Hagnon and Aristocrates the son of Scellius They had been among the chief authors of the revolution, <sup>a</sup> but now, fearing, as they urged, the army at Samos, and being in good earnest afraid of Alcibiades, fearing also lest their colleagues, who were sending envoys to Lacedaemon <sup>b</sup>, might, unauthorised by the majority, betray the city, they did not indeed openly profess <sup>a</sup> that they meant to get rid of extreme oligarchy, but they maintained that the Five Thousand should be established in reality and not in name, and the constitution made more equal This was the political pretext of which they availed themselves, but the truth was that most of them were given up to private ambition of that sort which is more fatal than anything to an oligarchy succeeding a democracy For the instant an oligarchy is established the promoters of it disdain mere equality, and everybody thinks that he ought to be far above everybody else Whereas in a democracy, when an election is made, a man is less disappointed at a failure because he has not been competing with his equals The motives which most sensibly affected them were the great power of Alcibiades at Samos, and an impression that the oligarchy was not likely to be permanent Accordingly every one was struggling hard to be the first champion of the people himself

90 The leading men among the Four Hundred most  
Phrynichus, Aristarchus, Peisander, and Antiphon, the thorough-going oligarchs, are ready to betray
violently opposed to the restoration of democracy were Phrynichus, who had been general at Samos, and had there come into antagonism with Alcibiades <sup>c</sup>, Aristarchus, a man who had always been the most thorough-going enemy of the people, Peisander, and Antiphon. These and the other leaders, both at the

<sup>a</sup> Or, retaining *ἐπειμουν* 'and now fearing, as they urged, the army at Samos, and being in good earnest afraid of Alcibiades, they joined in sending envoys to Lacedaemon, but only lest, if left to themselves, the envoys should betray the city. They did not openly profess' etc

<sup>b</sup> Cp VIII 90 init

<sup>c</sup> Cp VIII 18

BC 411 first establishment of the oligarchy<sup>a</sup>, and again later VIII.  
 Ol 92, 2 when the army at Samos declared for the democracy<sup>b</sup>, Athens to  
 sent envoys of their own number to Lacedaemon, and if they can  
 were always anxious to make peace, meanwhile they save their  
 continued the fortification which they had begun to own power  
 build at Eetioneia They were confirmed in their pur- They send,  
 poses after the return of their own ambassadors from for the  
 Samos, for they saw that not only the people, but even third time,  
 those who had appeared steadfast adherents of their own an embassy  
 party, were now changing their minds So, fearing what to Sparta,  
 might happen both at Athens and Samos, they sent Anti- and carry  
 phon, Phrynichus, and ten others, in great haste, authoris- on with  
 ing them to make peace with Lacedaemon upon anything increased  
 like tolerable terms, at the same time they proceeded vigour the  
 more diligently than ever with the fortification of Eetio- fortification  
 neia The design was (so Theramenes and his party of Eetio-  
 averred) not to bar the Piraeus against the fleet at Samos neia  
 should they sail thither with hostile intentions, but rather  
 to admit the enemy with his sea and land-forces when-  
 ever they pleased. This Eetioneia is the mole of the  
 Piraeus and forms one side of the entrance; the new  
 fortification was to be so connected with the previously  
 existing wall which looked towards the land, that a  
 handful of men stationed between the two walls might  
 command the approach from the sea For the old wall  
 looking towards the land, and the new inner wall in  
 process of construction facing the water, ended at the  
 same point in one of the two forts which protected the  
 narrow mouth of the harbour. A cross-wall was added,  
 taking in the largest storehouse in the Piraeus and the  
 nearest to the new fortification, which it joined, thus  
 the authorities held themselves, and commanded every  
 one to deposit their corn there, not only what came in  
 by sea but what they had on the spot, and to take from  
 thence all that they wanted to sell

For some time Theramenes had been circulating whis- 91.  
 pers of their designs, and when the envoys returned from The envoys  
 are unsuc-

<sup>a</sup> Cp viii 71 fin

<sup>b</sup> Cp viii 86 fin

VIII Lacedaemon without having effected anything in the B C 411  
 cessful but a Lacedae- Ol 92, 2  
 monian  
 squadron  
 hovering  
 about the  
 coast seems  
 to be acting  
 in concert  
 with the  
 ruling  
 party

nature of a treaty for the Athenian people, he declared that this fort was likely to prove the ruin of Athens. Now the Euboeans had requested the Peloponnesians to send them a fleet, and just at this time two and forty ships, including Italian vessels from Tarentum and Locri and a few from Sicily, were stationed at Las in Laconia, and were making ready to sail to Euboea under the command of Agesandridas the son of Agesander, a Spartan. Theiameses insisted that these ships were intended, not for Euboea, but for the party who were fortifying Eetioneia, and that if the people were not on the alert, they would be undone before they knew where they were. The charge was not a mere calumny, but had some foundation in the disposition of the ruling party. For what would have best pleased them would have been, retaining the oligarchy in any case, to have preserved the Athenian empire over the allies, failing this, to keep merely their ships and walls, and to be independent, if this too proved impracticable, at any rate they would not see democracy restored, and themselves fall the first victims, but would rather bring in the enemy and come to terms with them, not caring if thereby the city lost walls and ships and everything else, provided that they could save their own lives.

92

Phrynichus  
 is assassinated.  
 The enemies of the  
 oligarchy, secretly  
 instigated  
 by Theiameses, now  
 grow  
 bolder.  
 The soldiers  
 who were  
 building  
 the fort  
 seize the  
 oligarch  
 Alexicles.  
 Theiameses

So they worked diligently at the fort, which had entrances and postern-gates and every facility for introducing the enemy, and did their best to finish the building in time. As yet the murmurs of discontent had been secret and confined to a few, when suddenly Phrynichus, after his return from the embassy to Lacedaemon, in a full market-place, having just quitted the council-chamber, was struck by an assassin, one of the force employed in guarding the frontier, and fell dead. The man who dealt the blow escaped, his accomplice, an Argive, was seized and put to the torture by order of the Four Hundred, but did not disclose any name or say who had instigated the deed. All he would confess

B C 411  
 Ol 92, 2
 
 was that a number of persons used to assemble at the VIII.  
 house of the commander of the frontier guard, and in promises the Four Hundred to go and release him  
 other houses No further measures were taken, and so He pre- tends to rate the soldiers, but in reality con- vives at their con- duct  
 Theramenes and Aristociates, and the other citizens, After a scene of tumult, in which the two parties nearly come to blows, the fort is demolished to the cry of 'Let the Five Thou- sand rule'  
 whether members of the Four Hundred or not, who were  
 of the same mind, were emboldened to take decided  
 steps For the Peloponnesians had already sailed round  
 from Las, and having overrun Aegina had cast anchor  
 at Epidaurus, and Theramenes insisted that if they had  
 been on their way to Euboea they would never have gone  
 up the Saronic gulf to Aegina and then returned and  
 anchored at Epidaurus, but that some one had invited  
 them for the purposes which he had always alleged,  
 it was impossible therefore to be any longer indifferent  
 After many insinuations and inflammatory harangues,  
 the people began to take active measures The hop-  
 lites who were at work on the fortification of Eetioneia  
 in the Piraeus, among whom was Aristocrates with his  
 own tribe, which, as taxiarch, he commanded, seized  
 Alexicles, an oligarchical general who had been most  
 concerned with the clubs, and shut him up in a house  
 Others joined in the act, including one Hermon, who  
 commanded the Peripoli stationed at Munychia, above  
 all, the rank and file of the hoplites heartily approved  
 The Four Hundred, who were assembled in the council-  
 house when the news was brought to them, were ready  
 in a moment to take up arms, except Theramenes and  
 his associates, who disapproved of their proceedings, to  
 these they began to use threats Theramenes protested,  
 and offered to go with them at once and rescue Alexicles.  
 So, taking one of the generals who was of his own  
 faction, he went down to the Piraeus. Aristarchus and  
 certain young knights came also to the scene of conflict  
 Great and bewildering was the tumult, for in the city the  
 people fancied that the Piraeus was in the hands of the  
 insurgents, and that their prisoner had been killed, and  
 the inhabitants of the Piraeus that they were on the point  
 of being attacked from the city. The elder men with

VIII. difficulty restrained the citizens, who were running up <sup>BC 411</sup> and down and flying to arms Thucydides of Pharsalus, <sup>Ol 92, 2</sup> the proxenus of Athens in that city, happening to be on the spot, kept throwing himself in every man's way and loudly entreating the people, when the enemy was lying in wait so near, not to destroy their country At length they were pacified, and refrained from laying hands on one another Theramenes, who was himself a general, came to the Piraeus, and in an angry voice pretended to hate the soldiers, while Aristarchus and the party opposed to the people were furious No effect was produced on the mass of the hoplites, who were for going to work at once They began asking Theramenes if he thought that the fort was being built to any good end, and whether it would not be better demolished He answered that, if they thought so, he thought so too And immediately the hoplites and a crowd of men from the Piraeus got on the walls and began to pull them down The cry addressed to the people was, 'Whoever wishes the Five Thousand to rule and not the Four Hundred, let him come and help us' For they still veiled their real minds under the name of the Five Thousand, and did not venture to say outright 'Whoever wishes the people to rule,' they feared that the Five Thousand might actually exist, and that a man speaking in ignorance to his neighbour might get into trouble The Four Hundred therefore did not wish the Five Thousand either to exist or to be known not to exist, thinking that to give so many a share in the government would be downright democracy, while at the same time the mystery tended to make the people afraid of one another

93. The next day the Four Hundred, although much disturbed, met in the council-chamber Meanwhile the hoplites in the Piraeus let go Alexicles whom they had seized, and having demolished the fort, went to the theatre of Dionysus near Munychia, there piling arms they held an assembly, and resolved to march at once to

The soldiers  
march from  
the Piraeus  
to the city  
The Four  
Hundred  
send deputies  
to

B C 411 the city, which they accordingly did, and again piled VIII  
Ol 92, 2 arms in the temple of the Dioscuri Presently deputies them and  
appeared sent by the Four Hundred These con- ty nego-  
versed with them singly, and tried to persuade tiation  
the more reasonable part of them to keep quiet and They pro-  
restrain their comrades, promising that they would publish mise to  
the names of the Five Thousand, and that out of these publish the  
the Four Hundred should be in turn elected in such a names of  
manner as the Five Thousand might think fit the Five  
In the meantime they begged them not to ruin everything, Thousand,  
or to drive the city upon the enemy out of whom  
The discussion the Four  
became general on both sides, and at length the Hundred  
body of soldiers grew calmer, and turned their thoughts are to be  
to the danger which threatened the commonwealth elected  
They finally agreed that an assembly should be held  
on a fixed day in the theatre of Dionysus to deliberate  
on the restoration of harmony

When the day arrived and the assembly was on the 94.  
point of meeting in the theatre of Dionysus, news came  
that Agesandridas and his forty-two ships had crossed  
over from Megara, and were sailing along the coast  
of Salamis Every man of the popular party thought  
that this was what they had been so often told by  
Themamenes and his friends, and that the ships were  
sailing to the fort, happily now demolished. Nor is  
it impossible that Agesandridas may have been hovering  
about Epidaurus and the neighbourhood by agreement;  
but it is equally likely that he lingered there of his own  
accord, with an eye to the agitation which prevailed at  
Athens, hoping to be on the spot at the critical moment  
Instantly upon the arrival of the news the whole city  
rushed down to the Piraeus, <sup>a</sup> thinking that a conflict  
with their enemies more serious than their domestic  
strife <sup>a</sup> was now awaiting them, not at a distance, but  
at the very mouth of the harbour Some embarked in

But mean-  
while the  
Lacedae-  
monian  
squadron  
approaches  
nearer, and  
there is  
general con-  
sternation

<sup>a</sup> Omitting  $\eta$  with one MS Otherwise, retaining  $\eta$  with a great  
majority of MSS 'thinking that a conflict among themselves more  
serious than the attack of their enemies' etc



VIII. the ships which were lying ready, others launched fresh ships, others manned the walls and prepared to defend the entrance of the Piræus B C 411  
Ol 92, 2

95  
The ships pass on-ward to Euboea and put in at Oropus. A small Athenian fleet follows them, but being constrained to fight hurriedly, are utterly defeated, and the Peloponnesians obtain possession of the whole island, which revolts (15)

The Peloponnesian squadron, however, sailed onward, doubled the promontory of Sunium, and then, after putting in between Thoricus and Piasiae, finally proceeded to Oropus. The Athenians in their haste were compelled to employ crews not yet trained to work together, for the city was in a state of revolution, and the matter was vital and urgent, Euboea was all in all to them now that they were shut out from Attica<sup>a</sup>. They despatched a fleet under the command of Thymochares to Eretria, these ships, added to those which were at Euboea before, made up thirty-six. No sooner had they arrived than they were constrained to fight, for Agesandridas, after his men had taken their midday meal, brought out his own ships from Oropus, which is distant by sea about seven miles from the city of Eretria, and bore down upon them. The Athenians at once began to man their ships, fancying that their crews were close at hand, but it had been so contrived that they were getting their provisions from houses at the end of the town, and not in the market, for the Eretrians intentionally sold nothing there that the men might lose time in embarking, the enemy would then come upon them before they were ready, and they would be compelled to put out as best they could. A signal was also raised at Eretria telling the fleet at Oropus when to attack. The Athenians putting out in this hurried manner, and fighting off the harbour of Eretria, nevertheless resisted for a little while, but before long they fled and were pursued to the shore. Those of them who took refuge in the city of Eretria, relying on the friendship of the inhabitants, fared worst, for they were butchered by them; but such as gained the fortified position which the Athenians held in the Eretrian territory escaped, and also the crews of the vessels which reached Chalcis.

<sup>a</sup> Cp vii 27 fin., 28 init.

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The Peloponnesians, who had taken twenty-two Athenian ships and had killed or made prisoners of the men, erected a trophy. Not long afterwards they induced all Euboea to revolt, except Oreus of which the Athenians still maintained possession. They then set in order the affairs of the island.

When the news of the battle and of the defection of Euboea was brought to Athens, the Athenians were panic-stricken. Nothing which had happened before, not even the ruin of the Sicilian expedition, however overwhelming at the time, had so terrified them. The army at Samos was in insurrection, they had no ships in reserve or crews to man them, there was revolution at home—civil war might break out at any moment and by this new and terrible misfortune they had lost, not only their ships, but what was worse, Euboea, on which they were more dependent for supplies than on Attica itself. Had they not reason to despair? But what touched them nearest, and most agitated their minds, was the fear lest their enemies, emboldened by victory, should at once attack the Piræus, in which no ships were left, indeed they fancied that they were all but there. And had the Peloponnesians been a little more enterprising they could easily have executed such a plan. Either they might have cruised near, and would then have aggravated the divisions in the city, or by remaining and carrying on a blockade they might have compelled the fleet in Ionia, although hostile to the oligarchy, to come and assist their kindred and their native city, and then the Hellespont, Ionia, all the islands between Ionia and Euboea, in a word, the whole Athenian empire, would have fallen into their hands. But on this as on so many other occasions the Lacedæmonians proved themselves to be the most convenient enemies whom the Athenians could possibly have had. For the two peoples were of very different tempers, the one quick, the other slow, the one adventurous, the other timorous<sup>a</sup>, and the

96.  
The Athenians have reason to despair, for they see the army revolting, Euboea lost, no more ships, the enemy all but in the Piræus. But they are saved by the supineness of the Lacedæmonians.

<sup>a</sup> Cp 1 70

VIII. Lacedaemonian character was of great service to the Athenians, the more so because the empire for which they were fighting was maritime. And this view is confirmed by the defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse, for the Syracusans, who were most like them<sup>a</sup>, fought best against them BC 411  
Ol 92, 2

97 When the news came the Athenians in their extremity still continued to man twenty ships, and immediately summoned an assembly (the first of many) in the place called the Pnyx, where they had always been in the habit of meeting, at which assembly they deposed the Four Hundred, and voted that the government should be in the hands of the Five Thousand, this number was to include all who could furnish themselves with arms. No one was to receive pay for holding any office, on pain of falling under a curse. In the numerous other assemblies which were afterwards held they re-appointed Nomothetæ, and by a series of decrees established a constitution. This government during its early days was the best which the Athenians ever enjoyed within my memory. Oligarchy and Democracy were duly attempted. And thus after the miserable state into which she had fallen, the city was again able to raise her head. The people also passed a vote recalling Alcibiades and others from exile, and sending to him and to the army in Samos exhorted them to act vigorously.

98 When this new revolution began, Peisander, Alexicles, and the other leaders of the oligarchy stole away to Decelea, all except Aristarchus, who, being one of the generals at the time, gathered round him hastily a few archers of the most barbarous sort and made his way to Oenoe. This was an Athenian fort on the borders of Boeotia which the Corinthians<sup>b</sup>, having called the Bociotians to their aid, were now besieging on their own account, in order to revenge an overthrow inflicted by the

They immediately deposed the Four Hundred, and establish a new government (the best which Thucydides had known) of Five Thousand, being the citizens who supplied themselves with arms. Pay for offices abolished. Alcibiades recalled.

Betrayal of Oenoe to the Peloponnesians by Aristarchus

<sup>a</sup> Cp. 1. 141 med, vii 55

<sup>b</sup> Or, 'which Corinthian volunteers,' omitting 'on their own account'

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garrison of Oenoë upon a party of them who were going home from Decelea Aristarchus entered into communication with the besiegers, and deceived the garrison by telling them that the Athenian government had come to terms with the Lacedaemonians, and that by one of the conditions of the peace they were required to give up the place to the Bocotians They, trusting him, whom they knew to be a general, and being in entire ignorance of what had happened because they were closely invested, capitulated and came out Thus Oenoë was taken and occupied by the Bocotians, and the oligarchical revolution at Athens came to an end

VIII.

During this summer and about the same time Mindarus transferred the fleet of the Peloponnesians to the Hellespont They had been waiting at Miletus But

none of the commissioners whom Tissaphernes on going to Aspendus appointed to supply the fleet gave them anything, and neither the Phoenician ships nor Tissaphernes himself had as yet made their appearance, Philip, who had been sent with Tissaphernes, and Hippocrates a Spartan, then in Phasclis, had informed the admiral Mindarus that the ships would never come, and that Tissaphernes was thoroughly dishonest in his dealings with them All this time Pharnabazus was inviting them and was eager to secure the assistance of the fleet, he wanted, like Tissaphernes, to raise a revolt, whereby he hoped to profit, among the cities in his own dominion which still remained faithful to Athens So at length Mindarus, in good order and giving the signal suddenly, lest he should be discovered by the Athenians at Samos, put to sea from Miletus with seventy-three ships, and set sail for the Hellespont, whither in this same summer a Peloponnesian force had already gone in sixteen ships, and had overrun a portion of the Chersonese But meeting with a storm Mindarus was driven into Icaius, and being detained there five or six days by stress of weather, he put in at Chios

No sign of the Phoenician ships The Peloponnesians now become aware that Tissaphernes is thoroughly dishonest, and transfer their fleet to Pharnabazus at the Hellespont They are detained at Chios

When Thiasyllus at Samos heard that he had started 100.

VIII  
The Athenians pursue them  
Observing that they are at Chios, they stop at Lesbos to watch them, and during their stay besiege Eresus (16), which has revolted

from Miletus he sailed away in all haste with fifty-five ships, fearing that the enemy might get into the Hellespont before him. Observing that Mindarus was at Chios, and thinking that he could keep him there, he placed scouts at Lesbos and on the mainland opposite, that he might be informed if the ships made any attempt to sail away. He himself coasted along the island to Methymna and ordered a supply of barley-meal and other provisions, intending, if he were long detained, to make Lesbos his head-quarters while attacking Chios. He wanted also to sail against the Lesbian town of Eresus, which had revolted, and, if possible, to destroy the place. Now certain of the chief citizens of Methymna who had been driven into exile had conveyed to the island about fifty hoplites, partizans of theirs, from Cymè, besides others whom they hired on the mainland, to the number of three hundred in all. They were commanded by Anaxander, a Theban, who was chosen leader because the Lesbians were of Theban descent. They first of all attacked Methymna. In this attempt they were foiled by the timely arrival of the Athenian garrison from Mitylenè, and being a second time repulsed outside the walls, had marched over the mountains and induced Eresus to revolt. Thither Thrasyllus sailed, having determined to attack them with all his ships. He found that Thrasybulus had already reached the place, having started from Samos with five ships as soon as he heard that the exiles had landed. But he had come too late to prevent the revolt, and was lying off Eresus. There Thrasyllus was also joined by two ships which were on their way home from the Hellespont, and by a squadron from Methymna. The whole fleet now consisted of sixty-seven ships, from the crews of which the generals formed an army, and prepared by the help of engines and by every possible means to take Eresus.

101. Meanwhile Mindarus and the Peloponnesian fleet at

Cp iii. 2 fin., 5 med., 13 init, viii 5 init

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Chios, having spent two days in provisioning, and having VIII  
received from the Chians three Chian tesseracosts<sup>a</sup> for The Peloponnesian  
each man, on the third day sailed hastily from Chios, fleet stealing  
not going through the open sea, lest they should fall in ing away  
with the ships blockading Eresus, but making directly before dawn  
for the mainland and keeping Lesbos on the left from Chios,  
They on the  
touched at the harbour of the island Carteria, which evening of  
belongs to Phocaea, and there taking their midday the second  
meal, sailed past the Cumaean territory, and supped at day arrives  
Argennusae on the mainland over against Mitylenè. at the  
They sailed away some time before dawn, and at Hellespont  
Harmatus, which is opposite Methymna on the main-  
land, they again took their midday meal, they quickly  
passed by the promontory of Lectum, Larissa, Hamaxi-  
tus, and the neighbouring towns, and finally arrived at  
Rhoeteium in the Hellespont before midnight Some  
of the ships also put into Sigeium and other places  
in the neighbourhood

The Athenians, who lay with eighteen ships at Sestos<sup>b</sup>, IO2.  
knew from the beacons which their scouts kindled, and The Athe-  
from the sudden blaze of many watch-fires which ap- nian  
peared in the enemy's country, that the Peloponnesians squadron  
were on the point of sailing into the strait at Sestos  
That very escapes  
night, getting close under the Cheisonese, they moved from them  
towards Elaeus, in the hope of reaching the open sea with some  
before the enemy's ships arrived loss,  
They passed unseen  
the sixteen Peloponnesian ships<sup>c</sup> which were at Abydos,  
and had been told by their now approaching friends to  
keep a sharp look-out if the Athenians tried to get  
away. At dawn of day they sighted the fleet of Min-  
darus, which immediately gave chase; most of them  
escaped in the direction of Imbros and Lemnos, but  
the four which were hindermost were caught off Elaeus  
One which ran ashore near the temple of Protesilaus

<sup>a</sup> A small Chian coin of which the exact value is unknown: if it amounted to  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the gold stater (20 drachmae) it would be worth 3 obols, nearly 5d.

<sup>b</sup> Cp VIII 80 fin

<sup>c</sup> Cp. VIII. 99 fin

VIII. the Peloponnesians took, together with the crew, two <sup>BC 411</sup> others without the crews, a fourth they burnt on the <sup>Ol 92, 2</sup> shore of Imbros, the crew escaped

103 For the rest of that day they blockaded Elaeus with the ships from Abydos which had now joined them, the united fleet numbering eighty-six, but as the town would not yield they sailed away to Abydos

and rejoins the rest of the Athenian fleet, which on finding that the Peloponnesians had gone northward, had immediately pursued them

The Athenians, whose scouts had failed them, and who had never imagined that the enemy's fleet could pass them undetected, were quietly besieging Eresus, but on finding out their mistake they instantly set sail and followed the enemy to the Hellespont. They fell in with and took two Peloponnesian ships, which during the pursuit had ventured too far into the open sea. On the following day they came to Elaeus, where they remained at anchor, and the ships which had taken refuge at Imbros joined them, the next five days were spent in making preparations for the impending engagement.

104. After this they fought, and the manner of the battle was as follows. The Athenians began to sail in column close along the shore towards Sestos, when the Peloponnesians, observing them, likewise put to sea from Abydos. Perceiving that a battle was imminent, the Athenians, numbering seventy-six ships, extended their line along the Chersonese from Idacus to Arrhiani, and the Peloponnesians, numbering eighty-eight ships, from Abydos to Daidanus. The Syracusans held the right wing of the Peloponnesians, the other wing, on which were the swiftest ships, was led by Mindarus himself. Thrasyllus commanded the left wing of the Athenians, and Thrasybulus the right, the other generals had their several posts. The Peloponnesians were eager to begin the engagement, intending, as their left wing extended beyond the right of the Athenians, to prevent them, if possible, from sailing again out of the straits, and also to thrust their centre back on the land which was near. The Athenians, seeing their intention, advanced from the land the wing on which the enemy wanted to

Battle of Cynossema between eighty-eight Peloponnesian and seventy-six Athenian ships. The Peloponnesians try to shut up their enemies in the strait. A counter movement of Thrasybulus, which weakens the centre of the Athenians, nearly proves fatal to them

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cut them off, and succeeded in getting beyond them VIII.  
But their left wing by this time had passed the promontory of Cynossema, and the result was that the centre of their line was thinned and weakened—all the more since their numbers were inferior and the sharp projection of the shore about Cynossema hindered those who were on one side from seeing what was taking place on the other

So the Peloponnesians, falling upon the centre of the Athenian fleet, forced their enemies' ships back on the beach, and having gained a decisive advantage, disembarked to follow up their victory. Neither Thrasylbulus on the right wing, who was pressed hard by superior numbers, nor Thiasyllus on the left, was able to assist them. The promontory of Cynossema hindered the left wing from seeing the action, and the ships of the Syracusans and others, equal in number to their own, kept them fully engaged. But at last, while the victorious Peloponnesians were incautiously pursuing, some one ship, some another, a part of their line began to fall into disorder. Thiasylbulus remarked their confusion, and at once left off extending his wing, then turning upon the ships which were opposed to him, he repulsed and put them to flight, he next faced<sup>a</sup> the conquering and now scattered ships of the Peloponnesian centre, struck at them, and threw them into such a panic that hardly any of them resisted. The Syracusans too had by this time given way to Thiasyllus, and were still more inclined to fly when they saw the others flying.

After the rout the Peloponnesians effected their escape, most of them to the river Meidius first, and then to Abydos. Not many ships were taken by the Athenians, for the Hellespont, being narrow, afforded a retreat to the enemy within a short distance. Nevertheless nothing could have been more opportune for them than this victory at sea, for some time past they

105.  
But in the moment of victory the Peloponnesians fall into confusion and are defeated by a sudden turn of Thrasylbulus

106.  
Effect of the battle on the mind of the Athenians. They can hardly believe their good-fortune

<sup>a</sup> Or, 'intercepted'



VIII. had feared the Peloponnesian navy on account of their disaster in Sicily, as well as of the various smaller defeats which they had sustained<sup>a</sup>. But now they ceased to depreciate themselves or to think much of their enemies' seamanship. They had taken eight Chian vessels, five Corinthian, two Ambracian, two Boeotian, and of the Leucadians, Lacedaemonians, Syracusans, and Pellennians one each. Their own loss amounted to fifteen ships. They raised a trophy on the promontory of Cynossema, and then collecting the wrecks, and giving up to the enemy his dead under a flag of truce, sent a truce carrying the news of the victory to Athens. On the arrival of the ship the Athenians could hardly believe their good-fortune, and after the calamities which had befallen them in Euboea and during the revolution, they were greatly encouraged. They thought that their affairs were no longer hopeless, and that if they were energetic they might still win.

107. The Athenians at Sestos promptly repaired their ships, and were proceeding against Cyzicus, which had revolted, when, seeing the eight Peloponnesian ships<sup>b</sup> from Byzantium anchored at Harpagium and Piræus, they bore down upon them, and defeating the land-forces which were acting with them, took the ships. They then went and recovered Cyzicus, which was unwalled, and exacted a contribution from the inhabitants. Meanwhile the Peloponnesians sailed from Abydos to Elaeus, and recovered as many of their own captured vessels as were still sea-worthy, the rest had been burnt by the Elaeusians. They then sent Hippocrates and Epicles to Euboea to bring up the ships which were there.

108. About the same time Alcibiades sailed back with his thirteen ships<sup>c</sup> from Caunus and Phaselis to Samos, announcing that he had prevented the Phœnician fleet from coming to the assistance of the enemy, and that he

Twenty-one ships of the enemy were taken and fifteen of their own lost

Eight more Peloponnesian ships captured by the Athenians. They recover Cyzicus (17) which has revolted

Alcibiades returns from Tisaphernes, whom he

<sup>a</sup> Cp. viii. 95, 102

<sup>b</sup> Cp. viii. 80 fin.

<sup>c</sup> Cp. viii. 88 init

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B C 411  
Ol 92, 2

had made Tissaphernes a greater friend of the Athenians than ever. He then manned nine additional ships, and exacted large sums of money from the Halicarnassians. He also fortified Cos<sup>a</sup>, where he left a governor, and towards the autumn returned to Samos.

When Tissaphernes heard that the Peloponnesian fleet had sailed from Miletus to the Hellespont, he broke up his camp at Aspendus and marched away towards Ionia. Now after the arrival of the Peloponnesians at the Hellespont, the Antandrians, who are Aeolians, had procured from them at Abydos a force of infantry, which they led through Mount Ida and introduced into their city. They were oppressed by Arsaces the Persian, a lieutenant of Tissaphernes. This Arsaces, when the Athenians, wishing to purify Delos, expelled the inhabitants and they settled in Adramyttium<sup>b</sup>, professing to have a quarrel which he did not wish to declare openly, asked their best soldiers to form an army for him. He then led them out of the town as friends and allies, and, taking advantage of their midday meal, surrounded them with his own troops, and shot them down. This deed alarmed the Antandrians, who thought that they might meet with some similar violence at his hands, and as he was imposing upon them burdens which were too heavy for them, they expelled his garrison from their citadel.

Tissaphernes, who was already offended at the expulsion of his garrison from Miletus<sup>c</sup>, and from Cnidus<sup>d</sup>, where the same thing had happened, perceived that this new injury was the work of the Peloponnesians. He felt that they were now his determined enemies, and was apprehensive of some further injury. He was also disgusted at discovering that Pharnabazus had induced the Peloponnesians to join him, and was likely in less time and at less expense to be more successful in the war with the Athenians than himself. He therefore

<sup>a</sup> Cp. viii 41 med

<sup>c</sup> Cp. viii 84 med

<sup>b</sup> Cp. v 1.

<sup>d</sup> Cp. viii 33 init

VIII.  
professes to  
have made  
a fast friend  
of the  
Athenians.

Tissaphernes  
marches  
away to  
Ionia. The  
cruelty and  
treachery  
of his  
lieutenant  
Arsaces  
induce the  
Antandrians  
to obtain a  
garrison  
from the  
Peloponnesians

109.  
Tissaphernes  
determines to  
follow the  
Peloponnesians  
and accuse  
them, while  
excusing  
himself

VIII determined to go to the Hellespont, and complain of B C 411  
Ol 92, 2  
He stops on  
his way at  
Ephesus,  
and sacri-  
fices to  
Artemis
 their conduct in the affair of Antandrus, offering at the  
 same time the most plausible defence which he could  
 concerning the non-arrival of the Phoenician fleet and  
 their other grievances. He first went to Ephesus, and  
 there offered sacrifice to Artemis

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[With the end of the winter which follows this sum-  
 mer the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian War is  
 completed ]

# INDEX.

The compilation of this Index has been greatly assisted by the Geographical and Historical Index prepared by Mr Tiddeman for the later editions of Arnold's Thucydides

The subdivision of the chapters not agreeing in different editions, each chapter is referred to in three parts, marked, init, med, fin

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- Aristeus, son of Pellichus, a Corinthian commander, 1 29 init
- Aristeus, a Lacedaemonian envoy, 1v 132 fin
- Aristides, son of Archippus, an Athenian general, captures Artaphernes at Eion, 1v 50 init , recovers Antandrus, 1b 75 init
- Aristides, son of Lysimachus, goes on an embassy to Sparta, 1 91 init , settlement of Athenian tribute in his time, v 18, vi
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- Aristocles, brother of Pleistoanax, accused of bribing the Delphian priestess, v 16 med
- Aristocles, a Spartan polemarch, v 71 fin , banished for cowardice at Mantinea, 1b 72 init
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- Aristogiton, slays Hipparchus, 1 20 med , vi 54 init , 1b 56-58
- Ariston, a Corinthian, the ablest pilot in the Syracusan fleet, vii 39 med
- Aristonous, joint founder with Pystilus of Agigentum, vi 4 med
- Aristonous, of Larissa, a Thessalian commander, 11 22 fin
- Aristonymus, an Athenian, one of the ambassadors sent to proclaim the one year's truce, 1v 122 , refuses to admit Scionê, 1b
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- Artas, an Iapygian prince, furnishes javelin men to the Athenians, vii 33 med
- Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, king of Persia, 1 104 init , succeeds to the throne, 1b 137 med , his reception of Themistocles, 1b 138 , his death, 1v 50 fin , the father of Darius Nothus, viii 5 init
- Artemis, Temple of, at Rhegium, vi 44 fin , at Ephesus, viii 109 fin
- Artemisium, a month at Sparta, v 19 init
- Artemisium, battle of, 11 54 med
- Arts in the arts, as in politics, the new must prevail over the old, 1 71 init
- Artynae, the magistrates at Argos, v 47 fin
- Asia the Barbarians of Asia wear girdles in wrestling and boxing matches, 1 6 fin , Pelops brought his wealth from Asia, 1b 9 init , no single nation, even in Asia, could compare with the Scythians if united, 11 97 fin , Magnesia in

- Asia, i 138 fin, the Thracians of Asia, iv 75 fin, "the King's country in Asia," viii 58
- Asinè, a city in Laconia, iv 13 init, 54 fin, vi 93 med
- Asopius, father of Phormio, an Athenian, i 64 med
- Asopius, son of Phormio, ravages the Laconian coast, iii 7 init, attacks Oeniadae, *ib* med, falls in a descent upon Leucas, *ib* fin
- Asopolaus, father of Astymachus, a Plataean, iii 52 fin
- Asopus, river in Boeotia, ii 5 init
- Aspendus, viii 81 fin, 87 med, 88 init, 99 init, 108 med
- Assembly, the Athenian, summoned by a general, ii 59 fin, forms of, iv 118 fin, usually held in the Pnyx, viii 97 init, Pelsander summons an assembly at Colonus, *ib* 67 med, the assembly summoned to the temple of Dionysus in Munychia for 'the restoration of harmony,' *ib* 93 fin, 94 init, the oligarchs pretend that so many as 5000 citizens never met in one assembly, *ib* 72 med
- Assembly, the Lacedaemonian, mode of voting at, i 87 init
- Assinarus, river in Sicily, capture of Nicias' division at, vii 84
- Assyrian character, used by the Persians, iv 50 med
- Astacus, in Acarnania, captured by the Athenians, who expel the tyrant Evaichus, ii 30 med, the town is retaken and Evaichus restored by the Corinthians, *ib* 33 init, landing of Phormio near Astacus, *ib* 102 init
- Astymachus, a Plataean, one of those chosen to plead before the Lacedaemonians, iii 52 fin
- Astyochus, a Lacedaemonian admiral, viii 20 med, entrusted with the command of the whole navy in Asia, *ib*, arrives at Lesbos, *ib* 23 init, fails to save Lesbos from the Athenians, *ib* med, fin, summoned to Chios to avert a revolution, *ib* 24 fin, *ib* 31 init, fails to recover Clazomenae and Pteleum, *ib* 31 med, enraged with the Chians for refusing to assist in the revolt of Lesbos, *ib* 32 fin, 33 init, 38 fin, 39 med, narrowly escapes the Athenians, 33 med, he is complained of to Sparta by Pedaritus, *ib* 38, the Spartans send out commissioners to him, *ib* 39 fin, at last determines to aid the Chians, *ib* 40 fin, hearing that reinforcements were coming, goes to meet them, *ib* 41, defeats an Athenian squadron, *ib* 42, receives orders from Sparta to put Alcibiades to death, *ib* 45 init, betrays Phrynichus to Alcibiades, *ib* 50, believed to have sold himself to Tissaphernes, *ib* 50 med, *ib* 83 fin, sails to Miletus with a view to relieve Chios, *ib* 60 fin, offers battle to the Athenians, *ib* 63 init, excites by his conduct great dissatisfaction in the fleet, *ib* 78, offers battle to the Athenians, but declines when they offer afterwards, *ib* 79, stoned by the sailors for offering to strike Doriaeus, *ib* 84 init, superseded by Mindarus, *ib* 85 init
- Atalanti, island off Locris, fortified by the Athenians, ii 32, inundation of the sea there, iii 89 med, ordered to be surrendered by the treaty, v 18, viii
- Atalanti, in Macedonia, ii 100 med
- Athenaeus, a Lacedaemonian, iv 119 init, *ib* 122
- Athenagoras, a popular leader at Syracuse, vi 35 fin, speech of, *ib* 36-40
- Athenagoras, father of Timagoras of Cyzicus, viii 6 init
- Athenè of the Brazen House, curse of, i 128, temple of, at Lecythus, iv 116, at Amphipolis, v 10 init, at Athens, v 23 fin, image of, in the Acropolis at Athens, ii 13 med
- Athenian Empire, foundation of, i 14 fin, *ib* 18 med, *ib* 74 med, *ib* 93, rise of, *ib* 19, 89-118, *ib* 118, character of, *ib* 19, justification of, *ib* 75, vi 82, 83
- Athens, once inhabited by Gyrrhemians, iv 109 fin [cp ii 17 med]; formed by Theseus from the

- ancient communes, *ii* 15 init, small extent of ancient Athens, *ib* 15 med, largeness of the population, *i* 80 med, appearance of, compared to Sparta, *i* 10 init, destruction of, in the Persian war, *i* 89 fin, building of the City Walls, *i* 90, 91, 93, of the Long Walls, *ib* 107 init, 108 med, plague of Athens, *ii* 47-54, 58, *iii* 87, resources of Athens, *ii* 13, the revolution at Athens, *viii* 47-72 restoration of the democracy, *ib* 73-77, 86, 89-93, 97, the government immediately after the restoration the best within Thucydides' recollection, *viii* 97 fin, 'the school of Hellas,' *ii* 41 init, freedom of life in, *ii* 37, *vii* 69 med [*See also* Attica]
- Athenians, of Ionia race, *vi* 82 init, *vii* 57 init, have always inhabited the same land, *i* 2 fin, their colonies to Ionia and the islands, *i* 2 fin, 12 fin, the first Hellenes to adopt luxurious habits, *i* 6 med, their ignorance of their own history, *ib* 20 init, *vi* 53 fin, 54, 55, their activity and restlessness, especially in contrast with the Lacedaemonian character, *i* 69, 70, 102 med, *iv* 55 med, *vi* 87 med, *viii* 96 fin, treatment of their allies, *i* 19, 76, 99, *iii* 10, *vi* 76, 84, 85, general detestation of them in Hellas, *i* 119 med, *ii* 8 fin, *ii* 11 init, 63 init, their wealth and military resources, *ii* 13 med, their fondness for a country life, *ib* 15 init, become sailors, *i* 18 med [*cp* *iv* 12 fin, *vii* 21 med], assured of empire by their naval superiority, *ii* 62, willing to face any odds at sea, *ib* 88 fin, perfection of their navy, *iii* 17, mode of burying the dead in the war, *ii* 34, their greatness and glory, *ii* 37-41, 63, 64, for half a century an imperial people, *viii* 68 fin, maintain the children of the fallen at the public expense, *ii* 46, their mistakes in the war, *ib* 65, their love of rhetoric, *iii* 38 med, 40 init, their over cleverness and suspiciousness, *ib* 43, their fickle temperament, *vii* 48 med, their elation at success, *iv* 65 fin, their impatience of discipline, *vii* 14 init fin, 'never retined from a siege through fear of another foe,' *v* 111 init, the most experienced soldiers in Hellas, *vi* 72 med, *vii* 61 fin [*B C* 510], the Athenians governed by tyrants, *i* 18 init, *vi* 53 fin-59, the tyrants put down by the Lacedaemonians, *i* 18 init, *vi* 53 fin, the Athenians make war on the Aeginetans [*B C* 491], *i* 14 fin, their services in the Persian war, *ib* 73, 74, *ii* 36 med, the Athenians build their walls and the Pnaeus, *i* 91, 93 [*B C* 480-B C 439], the Athenians join in the capture of Byzantium and Cyprus, *ib* 94, obtain the leadership of the allies, *ib* 95, 96, 99 [*cp* *ib* 18, 19], subject Eion, Scyios, Carystus, Naxos, *ib* 98, conquer the Persians at the Eurymedon, *ib* 100 init, subdue the revolted Thasians, *ib* 100, 101, fail in an attempt to colonize Amphipolis, *ib* 100 fin, called in by the Lacedaemonians during the siege of Ithome, *ib* 101, 102, dismissed by the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 102 med, offended at the Lacedaemonians and form alliance with Argos, *ib* fin, settle the Helots at Naupactus, *ib* 103 med, make alliance with the Megarians, *ib* 103 fin, occupy Nisaea, *ib*, and the revolted Egyptians, *ib* 104, defeated by the Corinthians and Epidaurians at Halais, *ib* 105 init, defeat the Peloponnesians off Cecryphaleia, *ib*, go to war again with the Aeginetans [*B C* 459], *ib* 105, defeat the Aeginetans at sea, *ib* init, gain a slight advantage over the Corinthians, *ib* fin, inflict a severe defeat on them, *ib* 106, build their Long Walls, *ib* 107 init, 108 med, are defeated by the Lacedaemonians at Tanagra, *ib* 107 fin, 108 init, defeat the Boeotians at Oenophyta, *ib* 108 med, compel Aegina to

surrender, *ib* 108 fin, take Chalcis  
 and defeat the Sicyonians, *ib* fin,  
 driven out of Memphis, *ib* 109,  
 then reinforcements destroyed, *ib*  
 110, unsuccessfully attack Phai-  
 salus, *ib* 111 init, defeat the Si-  
 cyonians and make an attempt on  
 Oeniadae, *ib* fin, send ships to  
 Egypt, *ib* 112 init, fight in Cy-  
 prus, *ib* med, take Chalcionca  
 but are defeated at Coronca, *ib*  
 113, then garrison in Megara  
 is slaughtered, *ib* 114 init, first  
 invasion of Attica, *ib* med, Eu-  
 boea revolts, *ib* init, is reduced,  
*ib* fin, the Athenians make a  
 truce with the Lacedaemonians,  
*ib* 115 init, establish a demo-  
 cracy at Samos, *ib* med, the Sa-  
 mians and Byzantines revolt, *ib*  
 the Athenians defeat the Samians,  
*ib* 116 med, blockade Samos *ib*  
 fin, send reinforcements to Sa-  
 mos, *ib* 117, capture Samos, *ib*  
 fin [cp 1 40 fin, 41 init] [The  
 Peloponnesian War], the Athe-  
 nians enter into alliance with  
 Corcyra, *ib* 44, send assistance  
 to Corcyra, *ib* 45, fight with the  
 Corcyraeans at sea against the  
 Corinthians, *ib* 49 fin, send re-  
 inforcements, *ib* 50 fin, 51, order  
 the Potidaeans to raze their walls,  
*ib* 56 med, quarrel with Perdic-  
 cas, *ib* 57 init, despatch troops  
 to Potidaea, *ib* 57 fin, 61 init, 64  
 med, come to terms with Perdic-  
 cas, *ib* 61 med, defeat the Chalci-  
 dians, *ib* 62, 63, invest Potidaea,  
*ib* 64, ill-feeling of, against the Co-  
 rinthians, *ib* 66, 103 fin, exclude  
 the Megarians from their har-  
 bours, *ib* 67 fin, 139 init [cp iv  
 66 init], speech of at Sparta, *ib*  
 72-78, desire the Lacedaemoni-  
 ans to take away the curse  
 of Taenarus and of Athenè,  
*ib* 128, 135 init, discuss the  
 demands of the Lacedaemoni-  
 ans, *ib* 139, make a final offer  
 of arbitration to the Lacedae-  
 monians, *ib* 145, seize the Boeo-  
 tians in Attica and garrison Pla-  
 taea, ii 6, meditate sending an  
 embassy to the king, *ib* 7 init,

send ambassadors to places ad-  
 jacent to Peloponnesus, *ib* fin,  
 then allies, *ib* 9 med, refuse to  
 hear a messenger from Archi-  
 damus, *ib* 12 init, collect into the  
 city by Pericles advice, *ib* 14-16,  
 send an expedition round the  
 Peloponnese, *ib* 17 fin, 23, 25,  
 30, are angry with Pericles for  
 not leading them out, *ib* 21, de-  
 feated at Phrygia, *ib* med, re-  
 ceive aid from the Thessalians, *ib*  
 22 fin, set apart a reserve for the  
 war, *ib* 24 [cp viii 15 med], send  
 a fleet to Locris, *ib* 26, expel the  
 Aeginetans, *ib* 27 init, make  
 Nymphodorus their Provenus,  
 and become allies of Sitalces,  
*ib* 29, invade Megara, *ib* 31,  
 fortify Atalantè, *ib* 32, celebrate  
 the funeral of the fallen, *ib* 34, suf-  
 fer from the plague, *ib* 47-54, 58,  
 again restrained by Pericles from  
 sallying out against the Lacedae-  
 monians, *ib* 55 fin, send an expedi-  
 tion round Peloponnese, *ib* 56,  
 unsuccessfully attack Potidaea,  
*ib* 58, send envoys to Sparta, *ib*  
 59 med, turn upon and fine  
 Pericles, *ib* 59-65 init, elect him  
 general, *ib* 65 init, capture Anis-  
 teus of Corinth and other envoys  
 to Persia, and put them to death,  
*ib* 67, send Phormio to aid the  
 Amphilocheians, *ib* 68, send Phor-  
 mio with a fleet round Pelopon-  
 nese, *ib* 69 init, despatch ships to  
 collect money in Asia, *ib* fin, cap-  
 ture Potidaea, *ib* 70 init, blame  
 their generals, *ib* med, send  
 colonists to Potidaea, *ib* fin, en-  
 courage the Plataeans to resist,  
*ib* 73, send an expedition to  
 Chalcidicè, *ib* 79, are defeated,  
*ib*, defeat the Peloponnesians at  
 sea, *ib* 83, 84, gain a second  
 victory, *ib* 86, 92, thrown into a  
 panic by the news of Brasidas'   
 landing in Salamis, *ib* 93, 94,  
 make an expedition into Acai-  
 nania, *ib* 102, receive warning of  
 the Lesbian revolt, ii 2, attempt  
 to surprise Mitylenè, *ib* 3, suc-  
 cessfully engage the Lesbians,  
*ib* 4, blockade Mitylenè by sea,

*ib* 6, send an expedition round Peloponnese, *ib* 7, 16 med, send another expedition, *ib* 16, their great expenditure on the war, *ib* 17, the perfection of their navy, *ib*, despatch reinforcements to Mitylenè, *ib* 18 fin, complete the blockade, *ib*, raise a property tax, *ib* 19 init, attempt to collect money from the allies, *ib* fin, gain possession of Mitylenè, *ib* 27, 28, take Notium, *ib* 34, reduce Pyrrha and Eresus, *ib* 35, put Salaethus to death and order the slaughter of all the grown-up citizens of Mitylenè, *ib* 36 init, repent, *ib* med, summon a second assembly, *ib* fin, send a ship in time to save Mitylenè, *ib* 49, put to death the Lesbians judged most guilty, *ib* 50 init, divide the island among Athenian colonists, *ib* med, occupy Minoa, *ib* 51, arrest envoys from Corcyra, *ib* 72 init, send a fleet to Corcyra, *ib* 75, engage at sea with the Peloponnesians, *ib* 77, 78, send twenty ships to Sicily, *ib* 86 init, the plague reappears, *ib* 87, the Athenians ravage the Acolian islands, *ib* 88, proceedings in Sicily, *ib* 90, 99, 103, 115, iv 24, 25, send a fleet round the Peloponnese, iii 91 init, land at Oropus, and win a battle at Tanagra, *ib* med, fin, terrified by the founding of Heracleia, *ib* 93 init, attack Leucas, *ib* 94 init, med, disastrous expedition of, into Aetolia, *ib* 95-98, purify Delos and restore the festival, *ib* 104, send reinforcements to Sicily, *ib* 115, fortify Pylos, iv 4, take and lose again Eion, *ib* 7, repulse the Spartans, *ib* 11, 12, defeat the Spartans in the harbour, *ib* 14, cut off the troops in Sphacteria, *ib* 15, grant a truce to the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 16, demand impossible terms, *ib* 21, 22, renew the blockade, *ib* 23, find the blockade difficult, *ib* 26, despatch Cleon with reinforcements, *ib* 27, 28, attack Sphacteria and compel the surrender

of the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 31-38, again reject the peace proposals of the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 41 fin, invade the Corinthian territory, etc, *ib* 42-45, aid the Corcyraeans to capture Istonè, *ib* 46, deliver the prisoners to the Corcyraeans, *ib* 47, proceed to Sicily, *ib* 48 fin, aid the Acarnanians to capture Anactorium, *ib* 49, capture a Persian ambassador to Sparta, *ib* 50 init, send him back with an embassy of their own, *ib* fin, order the Chians to dismantle their walls, *ib* 51, capture Cythera, *ib* 53, 54, ravage the Lacedaemonian coast, *ib* 54 fin, 55, capture Thyrea, *ib* 57, quit Sicily, *ib* 65 med, punish their generals, *ib*, unsuccessfully attempt Megara, *ib* 66-68, capture Nisaea, *ib* 69, engage the Bocotian cavalry, *ib* 72, unwilling to fight with Brasidas, *ib* 73, recapture Antandrus, *ib* 75 med, plan an invasion of Boeotia, *ib* 76, 77, declare Perdiccas an enemy, *ib* 82, defeated at Delium, *ib* 90-96, the Boeotians refuse to give up the dead, *ib* 97-99, the Athenian garrison in Delium is captured by the Bocotians, and the dead are then given up, *ib* 100, 101 init, repulsed by the Sicyonians, *ib* 101 med, lose Amphipolis, *ib* 102-106, Thucydides saves Eion, *ib* 105, driven from the long walls of Megara, *ib* 109 init, lose Actè, *ib* med, fin, Toronè, *ib* 110-113, Lecythus, *ib* 114-116, make a truce for a year with the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 117-119, Scionè revolts, and the Athenians exclude it from the treaty, *ib* 120, 122 init, they decree its total destruction, *ib* fin, defeated by the Mendaeans, who also revolt, *ib* 129, capture Mendè, *ib* 130 fin, invest Scionè, *ib* 131, come to an understanding with Perdiccas, *ib* 132 init, again purify Delos, v 1, send Cleon to Chalcidicè, *ib* 2, capture Toronè, *ib* 3, send an embassy under Phaeax to Sicily, *ib* 4, 5, defeated at Amphipolis,



*ib* 6-12; become eager for peace, *ib* 14 init, make a treaty with the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 17-19, conclude an alliance with the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 22 fin-24, release the prisoners from the island, *ib* 24 fin, take and destroy Scionè, *ib* 32 init, replace the Delians in Delos, *ib*, refuse a ten days' armistice to the Corinthians, *ib* med, begin to mistrust the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 35, withdraw the Helots from Pylos, *ib* 35 fin, send ambassadors to Sparta, *ib* 36 init, negotiate uselessly with the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 39 init, indignant at the destruction of Panactum, *ib* 42 fin, the war party at Athens intrigue for the abrogation of the treaty, *ib* 43, the Athenians make alliance with the Argives, *ib* 46 fin, 47, replace the Helots at Pylos, *ib* 56 med, solemnly record that the Lacedaemonians had broken their oaths, *ib*, send a force to Argos, *ib* 61 init, share in the battle of Mantinea, *ib* 69, 72-74, invest Epidaurus, *ib* 75 fin, their alliance is renounced by the Argives, *ib* 78, withdraw their troops from Epidaurus, *ib* 80 fin, the Dians revolt, *ib* 82 init, the Argives renew their alliance, and, with Athenian help, build their Long Walls, *ib* fin, the Athenians blockade Perdiccas, *ib* 83 fin, carry off 300 Argives whom they suspect, *ib* 84 init, attack Melos, *ib* med, hold a conference with the Melian authorities, *ib* 85-113, blockade Melos, *ib* 114, 115 fin, 116 med, capture Melos, destroy or enslave the inhabitants, and colonize the island, *ib*, spoil, from Pylos, the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 115 init, the Corinthians declare war upon them, *ib*, the Athenians determine to send an expedition to Sicily, vi 1, 6 init, send envoys to Eggesta, *ib* 6 fin; decide on war, *ib* 8, assist the Argives in the capture of Orneae, *ib* 7 med, ravage Macedonia, *ib* fin, the

envoys return from Sicily, *ib* 8 init, debate in the Assembly, *ib* 9-23, seized with enthusiasm for the expedition, *ib* 24, greatly disturbed by the mutilation of the Hermæ, *ib* 27 fin, Alcibiades is accused, and the Athenians are persuaded by his enemies to decree his immediate departure for Sicily, *ib* 28, 29, the expedition starts for Sicily, *ib* 30-32, review of the troops at Corcyra, *ib* 42; the Athenians arrive at Rhegium, *ib* 43, 44, deceived by the Egesteans, *ib* 46, the generals hold a council of war, *ib* 47-49, Alcibiades' opinion prevails, *ib* 50, the Athenians sail to Syracuse, *ib* 50, obtain possession of Catana, *ib* 51, not received at Camarina, *ib* 52, the excitement about the mutilation of the Hermæ continues, *ib* 53, 60, the Athenians send to arrest Alcibiades, *ib* 53, 61 init, condemn him to death, *ib* 61 fin, proceedings of, in Sicily, *ib* 62, 63, capture Hyccara, *ib* 62 init, sail to Syracuse, *ib* 64, 65, defeat the Syracusans, *ib* 66-71, fail in an attempt on Messenè, which Alcibiades betrays, *ib* 74, send home for money and cavalry, *ib* fin [cp 93 fin, 94 fin], send an embassy to Camarina, *ib* fin, 75, Euphemus' speech, *ib* 81-87, fail to win over the Camarinaeans, *ib* 88 init, negotiate with the Sicels, *ib* med, winter at Catana and prepare for a spring campaign, *ib* fin, receive aid from home, *ib* 93 fin, 94 fin, prosecute the campaign, *ib* 94, capture Epipolæ and fortify Labdulum, *ib* 96, 97, receive Sicilian reinforcements, *ib* 98 init, begin to build a wall of circumvallation, and defeat the Syracusans in various engagements, *ib* 98-101, repulse the Syracusans from Epipolæ, *ib* 102, begin a double wall from Epipolæ to the sea, *ib* 103 init, vii 2 fin, openly violate the peace with the Lacedaemonians, vi 105, Athenian ships arrive at Rhegium too late

to stop Gylippus, vii 1 init, return no answer to Gylippus' demand that they shall quit Sicily, *ib* 3 init, are driven out of Lacedaemon, *ib* fin, repulse an attack on their lines, *ib* 4 init, fortify Plemmyrium, *ib*, defeat the Syracusans, *ib* 5 med, defeated by the Syracusans, *ib* 6, the Athenians, aided by Perdiccas, make an attempt upon Amphipolis, *ib* 9, the Athenians at home receive the despatch of Nicias, *ib* 10-15, send a second expedition to Sicily under Demosthenes, *ib* 16, send a fleet round Peloponnese, *ib* 20, conquer the Syracusans at sea, but lose Plemmyrium, *ib* 22, 23, skirmish with the Syracusans in the harbour, *ib* 25 med, ravage the Laconian coast, and fortify an isthmus there, *ib* 26, resolve to send back some Thracians who have come too late to join the reinforcements to Sicily, *ib* 27 init [who sack Mycalessus on their way, 29, 30], suffer terribly from the occupation of Decelca by the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 27, 28, Demosthenes meets Euymedon with news from Sicily, *ib*. 31 init, Demosthenes and Euymedon collect troops in Acarnania and Corcyra, *ib* fin, the Athenians in Sicily induce the Sicels to destroy reinforcements on their way to Syracuse, *ib* 32, Demosthenes arrives at Thurium, *ib* 33, the Athenians at Naupactus fight an indecisive engagement at sea with the Corinthians, *ib* 34, consider themselves defeated because not signally the victors, *ib* fin, defeated at sea by the Syracusans, *ib* 37-41, repulsed in a night attack on Epipolae, *ib* 43-45, the Athenian generals hold a council, *ib* 47-49 init, Nicias wishes to delay and Demosthenes yields, *ib* 49 fin, Nicias at last consents to move, but terrified by an eclipse remains another 27 days, *ib* 50, the Athenians are again defeated at sea by the Syracusans, *ib* 52, gain a slight advantage by

land, *ib* 53, give themselves up to despair, *ib* 55, the list of their allies before Syracuse, *ib* 57, determine to fight their way out, *ib* 60, Nicias addresses the troops, *ib* 61-64, and the trierarchs, *ib* 69, the Athenians are completely defeated at sea, *ib* 70, 71, overwhelmed by misery refuse to renew the struggle, *ib* 72, are misled by false information and delay their retreat three days, *ib* 73, 74, their misery and terror when commencing the retreat, *ib* 75, encouraged and consoled by Nicias, *ib* 76, 77, during four days are harassed and at length confronted by the enemy, *ib* 78, 79, fall back, *ib* 79 fin, recommence retreat, changing their route, *ib* 80 init, seized with a panic, *ib* med, the second division is overtaken and compelled to surrender, *ib* 81, 82, the first meets the same fate on the Assinarus, *ib* 83-85, three hundred escape, *ib* 83 fin; but are captured, *ib* 85 med, Nicias and Demosthenes are put to death, *ib* 86, the prisoners are cruelly treated by the Syracusans, *ib* 87, the Athenians at home in fury and terror, but determined not to yield, viii 1, suspect the Chians of treason, *ib* 9, 10 init, defeat a Peloponnesian squadron and blockade them in Peiraeum, *ib* 10, 11 init, intercept, but do not succeed in capturing, a Peloponnesian fleet, *ib* 13, on the news of the revolt of Chios pass a decree allowing the use of their reserve fund and ships, *ib* 15 init, prepare a great fleet for Asia under Strombichides and Thersycles, *ib* fin, Strombichides is chased from Teos, *ib* 16, arrives at Miletus too late to stop a revolt, *ib* 17, captures four Chian ships, *ib* 19, the Athenians at Peiraeum lose four ships in a sally of the Peloponnesian fleet, *ib* 20 init, Diomedon recovers Teos, but fails to take Iliac, *ib* fin, the Athenians grant the Samians independence after a demo-

cratic revolution, *ib* 21, reconquer Lesbos which had revolted, and Clazomenae, *ib* 23, win a slight advantage at Miletus, *ib* 24 init, fight three successful battles against the Chians, *ib* med, win a victory before Miletus, *ib* 25, withdraw to Samos on the approach of a Peloponnesian fleet, *ib* 27 fin, receive reinforcements from home, *ib* 25 init, 30 init, prepare to attack Miletus, *ib* 30 fin, lose three ships in a storm, *ib* 34 init, fail to take Cnidus which had revolted, *ib* 35, blockade Chios, *ib* 38 init, 40, cannot induce the Peloponnesians at Miletus to fight, *ib* 38 fin, defeated at sea, *ib* 41, 42, 43 init, Rhodes revolts, the Athenians attack it from Chalcê, Cos, and Samos, *ib* 44, the oligarchical party at Samos, by Alcibiades' instigation, prepare the way for a revolution, *ib* 47, 48 init, Phrynichus resists, *ib* 48 med, Peisander is sent to Tissaphernes, *ib* 49, Phrynichus out-manœuvres Alcibiades, who seeks to ruin him, *ib* 50, 51, those at home agree to change the government, *ib* 53, 54, send Peisander to negotiate with Alcibiades, *ib* 54 init, remove Phrynichus and appoint Leon and Diomedon generals, *ib* med, Leon and Diomedon make a descent upon Rhodes, *ib* 55 init, the Athenians at Chios defeat the Chians and press on the blockade, *ib* 55 fin, 56 init, Peisander's embassy fails through Alcibiades' unreasonable demands, *ib* 56 med, Oïopus is betrayed to the Boeotians, *ib* 60 init, the Athenian fleet return to Samos for the winter, passing in sight of the Peloponnesians, *ib* fin, they are worsted at sea by the Chians, *ib* 61 fin, Lampsacus and Abydos revolt, *ib* 62 init, Strombichides retakes Lampsacus but fails at Abydos, *ib* med, the Athenians at Samos decline Astyochus' offer of battle, *ib* 63 init, the conspi-

rators at Samos give up Alcibiades, but prosecute their plan, *ib* 63 fin, order Peisander to put down democracy in the cities, *ib* 64, the conspirators at home declare for a pretended government of 5000, *ib* 65, crush opposition by terrorism, *ib* 66, repeal the *graphê paranomon*, *ib* 67 init, propose a government of 400, *ib* 67 fin, description of the leaders of the conspiracy, *ib* 68, they instal the 400 in the place of the senate, *ib* 69, 70, send heralds to Ags at Decelca, *ib* 70 fin, despatch envoys to Sparta, *ib* 71 fin, and to Samos, *ib* 72, the Athenians at Samos defeat an oligarchical conspiracy, *ib* 73, send Chaereas in the Paralus to Athens, *ib* 74, on his return with an unfavourable report the army and the Samians swear allegiance to the democracy, *ib* 75, the army appoints Thiasyllus and Thrasylbulus generals, *ib* 76 init, the men encourage each other, *ib* med, the commissioners sent by the 400 do not venture beyond Delos, *ib* 77, the Athenians at Samos refuse battle with Astyochus, but afterwards offer it, *ib* 79, recall Alcibiades, *ib* 81 init, the army eager to sail to the Piræus, Alcibiades restrains them, *ib* 82 init, the envoys of the Four Hundred now come to Samos, *ib* 86 [cp 72 init, 77], they are roughly received by the army, *ib* 86 init, Alcibiades again dissuades the army from sailing to Athens, *ib* med, the Argives offer assistance, *ib* fin, the Four Hundred in alarm send envoys to Lacedaemon for peace on any terms, *ib* 90 med, fortify Eetioneia, *ib* fin, the envoys return unsuccessful, *ib* 91 init, Phicamenes begins to withdraw from the oligarchs, *ib* passim, the hoplites under his instigation destroy Eetioneia, *ib* 92, panic in the city, *ib* med, the Four Hundred induce the people to fix a day for an assembly 'to restore harmony,' *ib* 93, a Lacedaemonian squad-

- ron approaches and the Athenians hurriedly equip a fleet, *ib* 94, utterly defeated at sea and lose Euboea, *ib* 95, panic-stricken by their defeat, *ib* 96 init, depose the 400, *ib* 97, recall Alcibiades, *ib* fin, the leaders of the oligarchs retire to Decelea, *ib* 98, the Athenian fleet sails to the Hellespont, *ib* 100, attacks Ereus on the way, *ib* fin, the Athenian squadron at Sestos is chased by the Lacedaemonian fleet, *ib* 102, the fleet at Lesbos at once sails from Ereus to Elaeus, *ib* 103, they defeat the Lacedaemonians at sea off Cynossema, *ib* 104, 105, almost incredulous of their good fortune, *ib* 106, capture eight Peloponnesian ships, *ib* 107, recover Cyzicus, which had revolted, *ib* 107 med, Alcibiades returns to Samos, professing to have secured Tissaphernes' friendship for them, *ib* 108 init
- Athletes, used to wear girdles in gymnastic contests, *i* 6 fin, honours paid to, *iv* 121 med
- Athos, Mount, *iv* 109 med, *v* 3 fin, 35 init, 82 init
- Atintians, a people in Epirus, *ii* 80 fin
- Aticus, son of Pelops, *i* 9 passim
- Attica, early history of, *i* 2 fin, Ionia colonized from, *ib*, *ib* 12 fin, *ii* 15 fin, anciently divided into communes, *ii* 15 init, invaded by the Lacedaemonians, *i* 114 med, *ii* 21 init, invasion in first year of the War, *ii* 18-23, in the second year, *ib* 47, 55, 56, in the fourth year, *iii* 1, in the fifth year, *ib* 26, in the sixth year averted by an earthquake, *ib* 89 init, in the seventh year, *iv* 2 init, 6, in the nineteenth year, *vii* 19 init
- Aulon, in Chalcidicè, *iv* 103 init
- Autochontas, a Lacedaemonian general, *v* 12
- Autocles, son of Tolmaceus, an Athenian general, *iv* 53 init, 119 fin
- Axius, river in Macedonia, *ii* 99 med
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- Barbarians, term not used in Homer, *i* 3 med, carry arms in daily life, *ib* 6 init, various barbarous races the Aetolians, *iii* 94 fin, the Amphilocheians, *ii* 68 init, in Athos, *iv* 109, the Epirots, *ii* 80-82, the Illyrians, *iv* 126 med, in Sicily, *vi* 2, *ib* 11 fin, the Taulantians, *i* 24 init, the Thracians, *ii* 96-98, 101, *v* 75 fin, *vii* 27, Xerxes called 'the Barbarian,' *i* 14 fin, 18
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- Bells, use of by sentinels, *iv* 135 med
- Beroea, in Macedonia, *i* 61 med
- Bisaltia, in Macedonia, *ii* 99 fin
- Bisaltians [in Athos], *iv* 109 fin
- Bithynian Thracians, *iv* 75 fin
- Boeotarchs, Pythagoras, *ii* 2 med, Diemporus, *ib*, Pagondas, *iv* 91 med, Anantheas, *ib*, Scaphondas, *vii* 30 fin, their powers, *v* 37, 38
- Boeotia, early history, *i* 2 med, *iii* 61 med, formerly called Cadmeis, *i* 12 med, fertility of, *ib* 2 med, bordered on one side by Phocis, *iii* 95 init, the Four Councils of Boeotia, *v* 38, earthquakes in Boeotia, *iii* 87 fin
- Boeotians, the, expelled from Aene by the Thessalians, *i* 12 med, all but the Plataeans joined the Persians, *iii* 62 init [cp *viii* 43 fin], subdued by the Athenians after Oenophyta, *i* 108 med, become allies of the Athenians, *ib* 111 init, regain their freedom at Coronea, *ib* 113 fin, *iii* 62 fin, 67 med, *iv* 92 fin, the Boeotians in Attica seized after the attempt on Plataea, *ii* 6 med, furnish cavalry to the Lacedaemonians at the opening of the War, *ib* 9 med, 12 fin, ravage Plataea, *ib* 12 fin, worst the Athenians in a cavalry skirmish at Phrygia in Attica, *ib* 22 med, supply half the besieging force at Plataea, *ib* 78 med, invaded by the Athenians, *iii* 91, assist Bra-

sidas to save Megara from the Athenians, iv 70, 72, the democratic party in Boeotia concert an Athenian invasion, *ib* 76, 77, the plot is betrayed, *ib* 89, the Athenians under Hippocrates arrive and fortify Delium, *ib* 90, the Boeotians defeat the Athenians at Delium, *ib* 91-96, quibble with the Athenians about giving up the dead, *ib* 97-99, capture Delium, *ib* 100, the Lacedaemonians promise to invite the Boeotians to join the Truce, *ib* 118 init, Panactum is betrayed to the Boeotians, v 3 fin, refuse to join in the fifty years' Peace, *ib* 17 fin, had only a ten days armistice with the Athenians, *ib* 26 med, 32 med, refuse to join the Argive alliance, *ib* 31 fin, 32 med, fail to gain from the Athenians a ten days' armistice for the Corinthians, *ib* fin, the Lacedaemonians promise to try to bring the Boeotians into the Treaty, *ib* 35 fin, the new Lacedaemonian epheis propose to the Boeotians that they should enter the Argive alliance, *ib* 36, the Boeotians at first agree, *ib* 37, the Boeotian Councils reject the offer, *ib* 38, the Boeotians form a separate alliance with Lacedaemon, surrendering Panactum and their Athenian prisoners to them, *ib* 39, take possession of Heiraclea, *ib* 52 init, take part in the Lacedaemonian invasion of Argos, *ib* 57 fin-60, summoned by the Lacedaemonians to Mantinea, *ib* 64 med, invite a small body of Lacedaemonian troops to the Isthmus, and thus raise suspicion at Athens against Alcibiades, vi 61 init, send aid to Sicily, vii 19 med, 58 med, these engaged against then Platæan countrymen, *ib* 57 init, make the first stand against the Athenians on Epipolæ, *ib* 43 fin, sack of Mycalessus by the Thracians, *ib* 29, 30, the Boeotians furnish the Lacedaemonians with ships, viii.

3 fin, and the revolt of Lesbos, *ib* 4 fin, Oropus is betrayed to the Boeotians, *ib* 60 init, Oenoe is betrayed to the Boeotians, *ib* 98 the Boeotians lose two ships at Cynossema, *ib* 106 med  
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- Chios, its moderate and stable government, viii 24 med , its naval power, *ib* 6 fin [cp i 19 init , ii 9 fin , 56 med ], its riches, viii 24 med , great number of slaves there, *ib* 40 med , Chios and Lesbos the only free allies of Athens, iii 10 med , vi 85 med , vii 57 init , Homer at Chios, iii 104 fin , the Chians assist the Athenians against the Samians, i 116, 117 , furnish ships in the siege of Potidaea, ii 56 med , vi 31 init , Alcidas puts some Chian prisoners to death, iii 32 init , releases the remainder on a demonstration from the Samian exiles, *ib* fin , Chians aid the Athenians at Pylos, iv 13 med , ordered by the Athenians to dismantle their walls, *ib* 51 , furnish ships against Mendè and Scionè, *ib* 129 init , against Melos, v 84 init , aid the Athenians at Syracuse, vi 43 init , 85 med , vii 20 med , 57 init , negotiate with the Lacedaemonians about revolting, viii 5 init , received into alliance, *ib* 6 , send the Athenians ships as a pledge of fidelity, *ib* 9 med , revolt, *ib* 14 med , employed by Alcibiades to raise revolt in Ionia, beginning with Miletus, *ib* 17 , four of their ships are taken by the Athenians, *ib* 19 init , induce Lebedus and Eiae to revolt, *ib* fin , then Methymna and Mitylenè, *ib* 22 , lose a few ships off Lesbos, *ib* 23 med , defeated in three battles by the Athenians, *ib* 24 med , their sufferings lead some to negotiate with the Athenians, *ib* 24 fin , 31 init , 38 med , aid in the capture of Iasus, *ib* 28 init , the Athenians prepare to attack them, *ib*

- 30, the Chians refuse to assist Astyochus in procuring the revolt of Lesbos, *ib* 32 fin, three Chian ships are chased by the Athenians into Chios, *ib* 34 init, have their government changed by the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 38 med, completely blockaded, *ib* 40, implore the aid of Astyochus, *ib* 38 fin, 40 init, defeated by the Athenians and more closely blockaded, *ib* 55 fin, 56 init, gain an advantage at sea over the Athenians, viii 61 fin, regain the command of the sea, on the withdrawal of a part of the Athenian fleet, *ib* 62 init, 63 init, the Athenians plan a fresh attack on Chios, on the arrival of a Lacedaemonian fleet under Mindarus, *ib* 100, the Lacedaemonians slip away, *ib* 101, the Chians lose eight ships at Cynossema, *ib* 106 med, Chian tesseracosts, viii 101 init
- Chocnra, an Athenian measure, iv 16 med [See note]
- Chociades, Iapygian islands, vii 33 med
- Choruses, once sent by the Athenians to the festival at Delos, iii 104 fin
- Chiron, Demosthenes' Messenian guide in Aetolia, iii 98 med
- Chrysippus, murdered by Atreus, i 9 med
- Chrysis, priestess of Herè at Argos, ii 2 init, iv 133 med, causes the conflagration of the temple, iv 133 med, flees to Phlius, *ib*
- Chrysis, father of Eumachus, a Corinthian, ii 33 med
- Cilicians the Cilicians and Phoenicians defeated at Salamis [in Cyprus] by the Athenians, i 112 med
- Cimon, son of Miltiades, captures Eion, i 98 init, conquers the Persians at the Eurymedon, *ib* 100 init, commands the Athenian reinforcements at the siege of Ithomè, *ib* 102 init, dies in Cyprus, *ib* 112 med
- Cimon, father of Lacedaemonius, an Athenian, i 45
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- Citium, in Cyprus, i 112 med
- Citizen, the citizen must be sacrificed to the state, ii 60 init, 61 fin
- Citizenship, the Lacedaemonians deprive those who had been prisoners at Sphacteria of citizenship, v 34 fin
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- Cleandridas, father of Gylippus, a Spartan, vi 93 med
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- Cleinias, the father of Alcibiades, an Athenian, v 43 init, another, father of Theopompus [?], ii 26, another, father of Cleopompus, *ib* 58
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- Cleopompus, an Athenian commander, ii 58 init
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- Cnemus, a Lacedaemonian commander, ravages Zacynthus, ii 66, invades Acarnania, *ib* 80-82, defeated by Phoebus, *ib* 83, 84, receives Brasidas and two other commissioners from Lacedaemon, *ib* 85 init, second defeat of, *ib* 86-92, conceals with Brasidas an attack upon the Piraeus, *ib* 93, 94
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- and sends reinforcements to Naupactus, *ib* 31, holds a review at Thurii, *ib* 33 fin, arrives at Syracuse, *ib* 42 init, resolves to strike a blow at once, *ib* 42 med, fails in a night attack on Epipolae, *ib* 43-45, votes in a council of war for immediate departure, *ib* 47, when Nicias resists, proposes moving the camp, *ib* 49, commands in the last sea fight, *ib* 69-71 fin, anxious to renew the engagement, *ib* 72, commands one division in the retreat, *ib* 78 foll, overtaken and compelled to surrender, *ib* 81, 82, put to death by the Syracusans, *ib* 86
- Demoteles, a Locrian commander, *iv* 25 fin
- Dercyllidas, a Spartan, sent to the Hellespont, *viii* 61 init, effects the revolt of Abydos and Lampascus, *ib* 62
- Derdas, a Macedonian, *i* 57 init, 59 fin
- Dersacans, a Thracian tribe, *ii* 101 med
- Desertion of slaves, injury caused by, *vii* 27 fin, *viii* 40 med
- Deucalion, father of Hellen, *i* 3 init
- Diacritus, father of Melesippus, a Spartan, *ii* 12 init
- Diagoras, father of Demetrius, a Thuriian, *viii* 35 init
- Diasia, the festival of Zeus the Gracious, at Athens, *i* 126 med
- Diathus, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the Treaty of Peace and the Alliance, *v* 19 med, *ib* 24 init
- Dictidians, in Mt Athos, *v* 35 init
- Didymè, one of the Aeolian islands, *iii* 88 med
- Diemporus, a Theban Boeotarch, *ii* 2 med
- Dii, a Thracian tribe, *ii* 96 med, 98 fin, come too late to Athens to join Demosthenes' expedition to Sicily, *vii* 27 init, on their way back sack Mycalessus, *ib* 29, 30
- Ditaeophes, father of Nicostratus, an Athenian, *iii* 75 init, *iv* 53 init, 119, another leads a number of Thracian mercenaries home, *vii* 29, 30
- Diodotus, an Athenian, opposes the slaughter of the Mitylenaeans, *iii* 41, his speech, *ib* 42-48
- Diomedon, an Athenian commander, *viii* 19 med, popular with the people, *ib* 73 med, makes agreement with the Ieans, *ib* 20 fin, fails to capture Liae, *ib* 1, regains Lesbos which had revolted, *ib* 23, carries on war successfully against Chios, *ib* 24 med, appointed with Leon to the chief command at Samos, *ib* 54 med, makes a descent upon Rhodes, *ib* 55 init, aids the democratic reaction at Samos, *ib* 73 fin
- Diomilus, an Andrian exile, *vi* 96 fin, made commander of a chosen body of Syracusan troops, *ib* ; slain in battle, *ib* 97 fin
- Dionysia, the ancient, *ii* 15 med, the City Dionysia, *v* 20 init, 23, 11
- Dionysus, temple of, 'in the Muses,' *ii* 15 med, temple of, at Corcyra, *iii* 81 fin, the cave of, near Munychia, *viii* 93 init, fin, 94 init
- Dioscuri, temple of the, at Athens, *viii* 93 init, at Corcyra, *iii* 75 med, at Toronè *iv* 110 init
- Diotimus, son of Stombichus, an Athenian commander, *i* 45, father of Stombichides, *viii* 15 med
- Diotrephes, an Athenian commander, sent to take command in Chalcidicè, *viii* 64 init, puts down the democracy in Thasos, *ib* [? Diotrephes, *supi* ]
- Diphilus, an Athenian commander, *vii* 34 med
- Dium, in Macedonia, *iv* 78 fin
- Dium, in Mount Athos, *iv* 109, revolts from the Athenians, *v* 82 init
- Divers, employed at Sphacteria, *iv* 26 fin, and at Syracuse, *vii* 25 med
- Dobeius, in Paconia, *ii* 98 med, 99 init, 100 init
- Dockyard, the Lacedaemonian [Gythium], burnt by the Athenians, *i* 108 fin
- Dolopes, in Thessaly, *v* 51 init

- Dolopes, the old inhabitants of Scyros, i 98 init
- Dolopians, in Epirus, ii 102 init
- Dolphins, leaden, i e heavy weights used to sink an enemy's ship, vii 41 init
- Dorcis, a Lacedaemonian, sent out to succeed Pausanias in his command, i 95 fin
- Dorians, attack Corinth, iv 42 med, conquer the Peloponnesus, i 12 med, colonize Lacedaemon, *ib* 18 init, 107 init, iii 92 init, attacked by the Phocians, i 107 init, contrasted with Ionians, *ib* 124 init, v 9 init, vi 77 med, 80 fin, 82 init, vii 5 fin, 57 init and med, viii 25 med, hold the month Carneus sacred, v 54 med, opposed to Dorians in the siege of Syracuse, vii 57 med, Dorians in Asia, Athenian subjects, ii 9 fin, Dorians in Sicily, vi 4, 5, 77 med, allies of the Syracusans, iii 86 init, iv 61 med, 64 med, vi 6 med, 80 fin, vii 58 init, Dorian dialect spoken by the Messenians, iii 112 med, iv 41 med, mixed with Chalcidian at Himera, vi 5 init, Dorian Paean, alarm caused by the Paean of their Dorian allies to the Athenians at the attack on Epipolae, vii 44 fin
- Doricus, of Rhodes, twice conqueror at Olympia, iii 8
- Dorieus, sent out in command of ten Thurian ships, viii 35 init, threatened with violence by Astyocheus, *ib* 84 init
- Dorus, a Thessalian, iv 78 init
- Drabescus, in Thrace, Athenian colonists slaughtered there by the Thracians, i 100 fin, iv 102 med
- Drachmae, Aeginetan, v 47, iv, Attic, one Attic drachma paid each day per man by Eissaphernes, viii 29 init, the Athenians paid but half a drachma, *ib* 45 init, Corinthian, i 27 init
- Droans, a Thracian tribe, ii 101 med
- Droughts during the Peloponnesian War, i 23 med
- Dymussa, an island off Clazomenae, viii 31 fin
- Dryopes, Carystus in Euboea inhabited by, vii 57 init
- Diyoscephalae, in Boeotia, iii 24 init
- Dymê, in Achaia, ii 84 med and fin

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- Earth, 'the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men,' ii 43 med
- Earth, Temple of, at Athens, ii 15 med
- Earthquakes, frequency of, during the Peloponnesian War, i 23 med, great earthquake before the siege of Ithomê, i 101 init, 128 init, iii 54 fin, at Delos, ii 8 med, in the fifth year of the war, iii 87 fin, 89 init, the probable cause of an extraordinary ebb and flow of the sea, *ib* 89, Lacedaemonian expeditions stopped by, *ib* 89 init, vi 95 init, at the beginning of the eighth year of the War, iv 52 init, assemblies interrupted by, v 45 fin, 50 fin, earthquakes at Athens, *ib* 45 fin, at Corinth, *ib* 50 fin, at Cleonae, vi 95 init, at Sparta, viii 6 fin, at Cos, *ib* 41 med, the Lacedaemonians supersede an admiral because of an earthquake, *ib* 6 fin
- Eccritus, a Spartan commander, vii 19 med
- Echeiatus, king of Thessaly, i 111 init
- Echetimidas, father of Taurus, a Lacedaemonian, iv 119 init
- Echinades, islands at the mouth of the Achelous, ii 102 med
- Eclipses of the sun, ii 28, iv 52 init, great number of, during the Peloponnesian War, i 23 med, only occur at the new moon, ii 28 [cp iv 52], eclipse of the moon, vii 50 fin
- Edoni, iv 109 fin, old inhabitants of Amphipolis, i 100 fin, iv 102 med, drive out Austagoras of Miletus, iv 102 init, destroy the Athenian settlers, *ib*, expelled

- by the Macedonians from Mygdonia, *ii* 99 med, Myricinus, an Edonian town, *iv* 107 fin, Pit-tacus, king of the Edonians, *ib*, Brasidas summons their whole forces, *v* 6 med
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- Egesta, Trojan origin of, *vi* 2 init, *vii* 57 fin, Egesteans at war with Selinus, *vi* 6 med, send envoys to Athens, *ib*, deceive the Athenians about their wealth, *ib* 8 init, 46, then cavalry aid the Athenians to capture Hyccara, *ib* 62 med, they supply the Athenians with thirty talents, *ib*, the Athenians send to them for horses, *ib* 88 med [cp 98 init], the Egestaeans furnish the Athenians with cavalry *ib* 98 init
- Egypt revolts from the King, *i* 104 init, subdued by the Persians, *ib* 109, 110, destruction of the Athenian reinforcements *in*, *ib* 110 fin, third Athenian fleet sent to Egypt without results, *ib* 112 med, visited by the plague, *ii* 48 init, Egyptians in the fens most warlike, *i* 110 med, Egyptian body-guard of Pausanias, *ib* 130 init, Egyptian vessels at Cythera, *iv* 53 fin, at Troopium, *viii* 35 med
- Edimontè, in Macedonia, *ii* 100 med
- Eighty, Council of, at Argos, *v* 47 fin
- Eion, in Chalcidicè, a colony of Mendè, *iv* 7
- Eion, upon the Strymon, *iv* 50 init, 108 init, *v* 6-12, taken by the Athenians, *i* 98 init, *iv* 102 fin, saved by Thucydides, *iv* 106 fin, 107 init, Artaphernes, a Persian envoy to Sparta, captured by the Athenians there, *ib* 50 init
- Elaeus, in the Thracian Chersonese, *viii* 102, 103, 107 fin
- Elaphebolion, a month at Athens, *iv* 118 fin, *v* 19 init
- Eleatis, part of Thesprotia, *i* 46 med
- Eleus [*al* Leios], *viii* 27 init
- Eleusinium, a temple at Athens, *ii* 17 init
- Eleusis, in Attica, *i* 114 fin, *ii* 19 med, 20 init, 21 init, *iv* 68 med, war of the Eleusinians with Erechtheus, *ii* 15 init
- Elmiots, a Macedonian tribe, *ii* 99 init
- Elys, *ii* 25 med, 66 init, Eleans furnish the Corinthians with ships, *i* 27 fin, 46 init, the Coi-cyracans burn their dockyard at Cyllene, *ib* 30 med, supply a naval contingent to the Lacedaemonian confederacy, *ii* 9 med, defeated by the Athenians, *ib* 25 med, dissatisfied with the treaty between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, *v* 17 fin, join the Aigive alliance, *ib* 31 init, quarrel with the Lacedaemonians about Lepreum, *ib* med, make an alliance with Athens, *ib* 43 fin, 44 med, 46 fin, 47, exclude the Lacedaemonians from the Olympic games, *v* 49, 50, aid the Aigives, *ib* 58 init, go home, on the other allies refusing to attack Lepreum, *ib* 62, aid the Mantineans against Epidaurus, *ib* 75 fin, the Aigives desert them, *ib* 78, Teutiaplus, an Elecan in Alcidas' army, *iii* 29 fin
- Ellomenus, in Leucadia, *iii* 94 init
- Elymi, a partly Trojan race in Sicily, *vi* 2 med
- Embatum, near Elythiae, *iii* 29 fin, 32 init
- Empedius, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the Treaty of Peace and the Alliance, *v* 19 med, 24 init
- Empire, the three things most fatal to, *iii* 40 init, an empire cannot be cut down like a household, *vi* 18 med, an empire once gained cannot be abandoned, *i* 75, *ii* 63, those who seek empire always arouse hatred, *i* 76, *ii* 64 fin, *iii* 37 init
- Endius, envoy to Athens, *v* 44 fin, Ephoi at Sparta, *viii* 6 med, an hereditary friend of Alcibiades, *ib*, persuaded by Alcibiades not to

- give up the expedition to Chios, *ib* 12
- Enemies, great enemies more readily forgiven than small ones, *iv* 19 fin [cp *v* 91 init], complaisance to an enemy a mistake, *i* 34 fin, men neglect their own interests when attacking an enemy, *ib* 41 fin
- Engines, battering, used at the siege of Plataea, *ii* 76 med, engine to set fire to a wooden wall used at Delium, *iv* 100, at Leucthus, *ib* 115 med
- Enipeus, a river of Thessaly, *iv* 78 med
- Enmity, best reconciled by generous treatment, *iv* 19 med
- Ennea Hodoi, *see* Amphipolis and Nine Ways
- Enneacrounos, a fountain at Athens, *ii* 15 fin
- Enomoties, the smallest division in the Lacedaemonian army, *v* 68
- Entimus, joint founder with Antiphemus of Gela, *vi* 4 med
- Envy, does not follow the dead, *ii* 45 med
- Eordia, a region of Macedonia, *ii* 59 fin
- Ephesus, Themistocles reaches Ephesus in his flight, *i* 137 med, Alcidas at Ephesus, *iii* 32 init, 33 init, Athenian ambassadors to the King return thence, *iv* 50 fin, a Chian ship chased by the Athenians escapes to Ephesus, *viii* 19 med, Tissaphernes sacrifices to Artemis at Ephesus, *ib* 109 fin, Ionian festival at Ephesus, *iii* 104 med
- Ephors, at Sparta, their powers, *i* 87 init, 131 fin, Sthenclaidas, *ib* 85 fin, Aenesias, *ii* 2 init, Pleistolas, *v* 19 init, Cleobulus, *ib* 36 init, 37 init, Xenares, *ib*, Endius, *viii* 6 med, Aleuippidas, *ib* 58 init
- Ephyiæ, in Thesprotia, *i* 46 med
- Epicles, father of Proteas, an Athenian, *i* 45 med, *ii* 23 med
- Epicles, a Lacedaemonian general, *viii* 107 fin
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- Epicydidas, a Lacedaemonian general, *v* 12
- Epidamnus, a colony of the Corcyraeans, *i* 24 init, situation of, *ib* 26 fin, the Epidamnians seek aid from Corcyra, *ib* 24 fin, are refused, *ib*, ordered by the Oracle to apply to Corinth, *ib* 25 init, receive colonists from Corinth, *ib* 26 init, are besieged by the Corcyraeans, *ib* fin, surrender their city, *ib* 29 fin, the affair of Epidamnus one of the avowed causes of the Peloponnesian War, *ib*, 23 fin, 146, the Corcyraean prisoners taken in it won over by the Corinthians, *iii* 70
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- Epidauros Limera, in Laconia, *iv*, 56 med, *vi* 105 fin, *vii* 18 med, 26 init
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- Eiac, in the territory of Teos, revolts from Athens, *viii* 19 fin, unsuccessfully attacked by the Athenians, *ib* 20 fin
- Eiasnides, a Corinthian commander, *vii* 7 init
- Eiasistratus, father of Phaeax, an Athenian, *v* 4 init
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- Erechtheus, king of Athens, *ii* 15 init
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- Eretria, war of the Eretrians with the Chalcidians, *i* 15 fin, subject to Athens, *vii* 57 init, betray Oropus to the Boeotians, *viii* 60 init, the Eretrians go to Rhodes and ask assistance from the Lacedaemonians, *ib* med, aid the Peloponnesians to defeat the Athenians at sea, *ib* 95, Mendē, an Eretrian colony, *iv* 123 init
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- Eryvidas, father of Philochaidas, a Lacedaemonian, *iv* 119 med
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the Athenians at Phrygia, *ib* 22 med, retire, *ib* 23 fin, settle the Aeginetans at Thyica, *ib* 27, again invade Attica, *ib* 47 init, reach Laurium, *ib* 55, quit Attica, *ib* 57, reject offers of peace, *ib* 59 med, attack Zacynthus, *ib* 66, send ambassadors to the King, *ib* 67, attack and finally blockade Plataea, *ib* 71-78, invade Acarnania, *ib* 80, defeated at sea by the Athenians, *ib* 83, 84, send commissioners to assist their admiral, *ib* 85 init, again defeated, *ib* 86-92, meditate an attack on Phaeus, *ib* 93 init, ravage Salamis, *ib* fin, invade Attica, *ib* 1, send the Mitylenacan envoys to Olympia, *ib* 8, receive the Mitylenaeans into alliance, *ib* 15 init, summon the allies to the Isthmus, *ib* med, send a fleet to Lesbos, *ib* 16 fin, send Salaethus to Mitylene, *ib* 25 init, invade Attica, *ib* 26, arrive too late to save Lesbos, *ib* 29, compel Plataea to surrender, *ib* 52 init, put the Plataeans to death, *ib* 68, leave Plataea, *ib*, prepare an expedition to Coercia, *ib* 69, engage the Athenians and Coerciacans, *ib* 76-78, retire, *ib* 79-81 init, deterred by earthquakes from the invasion of Attica, *ib* 89 init, colonize Heraclea, *ib* 92, 93, 100, send an army against Naupactus, *ib* 100-102, invade Amphilochia, *ib* 105, 106, defeated, *ib* 107, 108, desert the Ambraciots, *ib* 109, 111, invade Attica, *ib* 2 init, return on the news of the capture of Pylos, *ib* 6, occupy Sphacteria, *ib* 8 fin, unsuccessfully assault Pylos, *ib* 11, 12, defeated in the harbour, *ib* 14, make a truce with the Athenians, and send ambassadors to Athens, *ib* 15, 16, their speech, *ib* 17-20, the Lacedaemonians break off negotiations, *ib* 21, 22, their troops in Sphacteria attacked and forced to surrender, *ib* 31-38, they sue for peace, *ib* 41, negotiate with the King, *ib* 50 med, the Athenians take Cythera, *ib* 53, 54, the Lacedaemonians are panic-stricken at their ill success in the war, *ib* 55, their garrison in Nisaea surrenders to the Athenians, *ib* 69 fin, they encourage the expedition of Brasidas into Chalcidice, *ib* 80 init, capture Amphipolis, *ib* 103-106, make a truce for a year with the Athenians, *ib* 117-119, Brasidas attempts Potidaea, *ib* 135, defeats the Athenians at Amphipolis, *ib* 6-11, the Lacedaemonians become eager for peace, *ib* 14, bring back Pleistoanax from exile, *ib* 16 fin, make a treaty with the Athenians, *ib* 17-19, conclude an alliance with the Athenians, *ib* 22 fin-24, fall into contempt with and displease the Peloponnesians, *ib* 28 fin, 29 fin, send envoys to Corinth, *ib* 30, support the Lepreans against Elis, *ib* 31 med, make war upon the Parrhasians, *ib* 33, emancipate the Helot soldiers of Brasidas, and discharge the prisoners from Pylos, *ib* 54, conclude an alliance with the Boeotians in order to gain Panactum, *ib* 39, receive Argive envoys and prepare to conclude a treaty with them, *ib* 40, 41, announce the destruction of Panactum at Athens, *ib* 42, their envoys at Athens are tricked by Alcibiades, *ib* 43-45, refuse to give up the Boeotian alliance at the demand of the Athenians, *ib* 46 med, excluded by the Eleans from the Olympic games, *ib* 49, expelled from Heraclea by the Boeotians, *ib* 51, 52, start on an expedition against Aigos but turn back, *ib* 54 init, again start and return, *ib* 55 med, garrison Epidaurus, *ib* 56 init, march against Aigos, *ib* 57, surround the Argives, *ib* 58, 59, furious with Agis for making a truce with the Argives, *ib* 60 med, 63, march to the support of Tegea, *ib* 64 init, surprised by the Argives before Mantinea, *ib* 66 init, gain a great victory, *ib* 70-74, make alliance with Aigos, *ib* 76-79, send

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prised and lose six ships off Tiiopium, *ib* 35 med, make a new treaty with the King, *ib* 36, 37, alter the government of Chios, *ib* 38 med, send aid to Phainabazus, *ib* 39 init, 80, send advisers to Astyochus, *ib* 39 init, defeat an Athenian squadron, *ib*. 42, distrust Alcibiades and order his death, *ib* 45 init, Astyochus is believed to have sold himself to Tissapheines, *ib* 50 med, Pedaitus, then governor at Chios, is killed in battle, *ib* 55 fin, they make a third treaty with the Persians, *ib* 57, 58, are invited by the Eretrians to Euboea, *ib* 60 med, send Deicylidas to the Hellespont, *ib* 61 init, 62 init, offer the Athenians battle off Samos, *ib* 63 init, Agis at Decelea receives heralds from the Four Hundred, *ib* 70 fin, he sends them to Sparta, *ib* 71 fin, the sailors at Miletus complain of Astyochus and Tissapheines, *ib* 78, Astyochus again offers battle to the Athenians, *ib* 79 init, but declines to engage the Athenians when they offer, *ib* fin, the Lacedaemonians send aid to Phainabazus, and cause the revolt of Byzantium, *ib* 80, the sailors at Miletus break out into open violence against Astyochus, *ib* 84 init, the Lacedaemonians send Mindarus to succeed Astyochus, *ib* 85 init, receive twelve ambassadors from the oligarchs at Athens, *ib* 90 med, do not come to terms with them, *ib* 91 init, despatch a fleet to Euboea, *ib* 91 init, defeat the Athenians at sea, *ib* 95, do not follow up their success, *ib* 96, leave Tissapheines in disgust and sail to the Hellespont, *ib* 99, arrive at Rhoeium, *ib* 101 fin, chase the Athenian squadron at Sestos, and capture a few vessels, *ib* 102, defeated at sea by the Athenians off Cynossema, *ib* 104, 105, lose eight more ships, *ib* 107 init, aid in expelling the Persian garrison from Antandros,



- ib* 108 med, and from Cnidus, 109 init [See also for the latter part, Astyoehus, Alcibiades, Lichas, Pedaritus, Tissaphernes, &c.]
- Lacedaemonius, son of Cimon, an Athenian commander, 1 45
- Laches, an Athenian, commands an expedition to Sicily, iii 86 init, vi 1 init, 6 med, 75 med, his proceedings in Sicily, *ib* 90, 99, 103, 115 init, supervised by Pythodorus, *ib* 115 init, moves the conclusion of the one year's truce, iv 118 fin, swears to the Treaty of Peace and the Alliance, v 19 fin, 24 med [cp 43 med], brings an Athenian force to Argos, *ib* 61, reduces Oichomenus, *ib* fin, slain at Mantinea, *ib* 74 fin
- Lacon, a Plataean, iii 52 fin
- Ladè, an island opposite Miletus, viii 17 fin, 24 init
- Lacacans, a Paeonian tribe, ii 96 med
- Laespodias, an Athenian general, vi 105 fin, goes as an envoy from the Four Hundred to Sparta, viii 86 fin
- Laestrygonæ, oldest inhabitants of Sicily, vi 2 init
- Lamachus, an Athenian commander, leads an expedition into the Pontus, iv 75, swears to the Treaty of Peace and the Alliance, v 19 fin, 24 med, made one of the generals in Sicily, vi 8 med, advocates in a council of war an immediate attack on Syracuse, *ib* 49, votes with Alcibiades, *ib* 50 init, falls in battle, *ib* 101 fin, 103 init med
- Lamis, founder of Trotilus and Thapsus, vi 4 init
- Lampon, an Athenian, swears to the Treaty of Peace and the Alliance, v 19 fin, 24 med
- Lampsacus, given to Themistocles by the King, i 138 fin, famous for wine, *ib*, becomes the refuge of Hippas, vi 59, its tyrants, *ib*, revolts from Athens, viii 62 init, retaken, *ib* med
- Laodiceum, in Aicadia, battle of, iv 134
- Laophon, father of Calligetus, a Megarian, viii 6 init.
- Laphilus, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the Treaty of Peace and the Alliance, v 19 med, 24 init
- Larissa, on the Hellespont, viii 101 fin
- Larissa, in Thessaly, iv 78 init, the Larissaeans assist the Athenians in the first invasion of Attica, ii 22 fin, their two factions, *ib*
- Las, in Laconia, viii 91 med, 92 init
- Laurium, silver mines of, ii 55 init, vi 91 fin
- Laws, not lightly to be altered, iii 37 med, the unwritten law of society, ii 37 fin
- Lawsuits, between the Athenians and their allies decided by Athenian law, i 77 init
- Leagrus, father of Glaucon, an Athenian, i 51 med
- Learchus, an Athenian ambassador to Sitalces, ii 67 med
- Lebedus, in Ionia, revolts from Athens, viii 19 fin
- Lectum, promontory of, viii 101 fin
- Lecythus, a high point of Toront, ii 113 fin, captured by Brasidas, *ib* 114-116, dedicated by Brasidas to Athena, *ib* 116
- Lemnos, viii 102 fin, once inhabited by Thracians, iv 109 init, colonized from Athens, iv 28 fin, vii 57 init, visited by the plague, ii 47 med, the Athenians deposit Samian hostages there, i 115 med, the Lemnians support the Athenians in the Lesbian revolt, iii 5 init, fight under Cleon at Sphacteria, iv 28 fin, at Amphipolis, v 8 init, present before Syracuse, viii 57 init
- Leocorium, a temple at Athens, i 20 med, vi 57 fin
- Leocrates, an Athenian commander, i 105 init
- Leogoras, father of Andocides, an Athenian, i 51 med
- Leon, a Lacedaemonian, one of the founders of Hecaleia, iii 92 fin, another, goes as envoy to Athens, v 44 fin, another, father of Pedaritus, viii 28 fin, another, succeeds Pedaritus at Chios, *ib* 61 med, gains an advantage over the Athenians at sea, *ib* fin

- Leon, an Athenian, swears to the Treaty of Peace and the Alliance, v 19 fin, 24 med, an Athenian general [? the same], viii 23 init, popular with the multitude, *ib* 73 med, comes with reinforcements to Diomedon, *ib* 23 init, regains Lesbos which had revolted, *ib* 23 med, carries on war successfully against Chios, *ib* 24 med, appointed with Diomedon to the chief command at Samos, *ib* 54 med, makes a descent upon Rhodes, *ib* 55 init, aids the democratic reaction at Samos, *ib* 73 fin
- Leon, near Syracuse, vi 97 init
- Leonidas, father of Pleistarchus king of Sparta, i 132 init
- Leontiades, father of Eurymachus a Theban, ii 2 med
- Leontini, founded from Chalcis in Euboea by Thucles, vi 3 fin, the Leontines of Ionian descent, iii 86 med, vi 44 fin, 46 init, 50 fin, 76 med, 77 init, 79 med, at war with Syracuse, *ib* 86 init, obtain assistance from Athens, *ib* fin, unsuccessfully attack Messenè, iv 25 fin, revolution in, v 4 init, the Athenians espouse their cause as an excuse for the conquest of Sicily, *ib* fin, vi 8 med, 19 init, 33 init, 47 fin, 48 fin, 63 fin, 76 init, 77 init, 84 med
- Leotychides, king of Sparta, i 89 init
- Lepreum, gives rise to a quarrel between the Eleans and Lacedaemonians, v 31, the Lacedaemonians settle the Helots and Neodamodes there, *ib* 34 med, they break the Olympic Truce by bringing a garrison into Lepreum, *ib* 49 init, the Lepraeans do not attend the Olympic festival, *ib* 50 init, the Eleans are angry with their allies for not attacking Lepreum, *ib* 62
- Leios [*al* Eleus], viii 26 init, 27 init
- Lesbos the Lesbians kindred of the Bocotians, iii 2 fin, vii 57 med, viii 4 med, 100 med [cp iii 5 med, 13 init], with the Chians, the only independent allies of Athens, i 19, vi 85 med, vii 57 init, furnish ships to the Athenians, ii 9 fin, 56 med, vi 31 init, the Lesbians aid the Athenians against the Samians, i 116, 117, revolt from Athens, iii 2 [*see* Mitylenè], are received into the Lacedaemonian confederacy, *ib* 15 init, the affairs of Lesbos set in order by Paches, *ib* 35, the land divided among Athenian citizens, *ib* 50, the Lesbian refugees capture Antandrus, iv 52 med [which the Athenians recover, *ib* 75 med], the Lesbians negotiate with Agis about a fresh revolt, viii 4 med, revolt and are again subdued, *ib* 22, 23, renew negotiations with Astyochus, *ib* 32 init, Pedaritus refuses them aid from Chios, *ib* fin, the Athenian fleet on the way to the Hellespont puts in at Lesbos, and prepares to attack Eresus, *ib* 100
- Leucas, a Corinthian colony, i 30 init; devastated by the Corcyraeans, *ib*, attacked by the Athenians, iii 94 init, 95 med, 102 med
- Leucadian Isthmus, iii 81 init, 94 med, iv 8 init, garrisoned by the Corinthians, iv 42 fin, naval engagement between the Peloponnesians returning from Sicily, and the Athenians, off Leucadia, viii 13, the Leucadians send troops to Epidamnus, i 26 init, furnish ships to Corinth, *ib* 27 fin, 46 init, Corinthian fleet sails from Leucas, *ib* 46 med, the Leucadians supply the Lacedaemonians with ships, ii 9 med, assist in the invasion of Acarnania, *ib* 80 fin, 81 med, a Leucadian vessel is sunk by an Athenian off Naupactus, *ib* 91 med, 92 med, the Leucadians repulse an Athenian descent, iii 7, send a squadron to Cyllene to reinforce Alcidas, *ib* 69 med, and Gylippus with a fleet, vi 104 init, vii 4 fin, 7 init, present before Syracuse, vii 58

- med, lose one ship in the battle of Cynossema, viii 106 med
- Leucimmi, Corcyraeans raise a trophy on, i 30 init, Corcyraean station at, *ib* fin, 47 med, 51 fin, the Peloponnesians land there, iii 79 fin
- Leuconium, in Chios, viii 21 med
- Leuctra, in Laconia, v 54 init
- Libya, visited by the plague, ii 48 init, trade between Libya and Laconia, iv 53 fin, Phocians returning from Troy are driven to Libya, vi 2 med, a Peloponnesian fleet on the way to Syracuse is driven to Libya, vii 50 init, the Libyans besiege the Evesperitae, *ib*, Inaios, king of the Libyans, i 104 init, 110 med
- Lichas, a Lacedaemonian, victor at Olympia, v 50 med, struck by the officers, *ib*, envoy to Argos, *ib* 22 med, again, *ib* 76 med, goes with ten others as adviser to Astyochus, viii 39 init, objects to the treaties made with the king, *ib* 47, 52 fin, goes with Tissaphernes to Aspendus, *ib* 87 init, rebukes the Milesians for driving out a Persian garrison, *ib* 84 med, his unpopularity at Miletus, *ib* fin, dies there, *ib*
- Ligurians, the, drove the Sicanians out of Iberia, vi 2 init
- Limnaea, in Acarnania, ii 80 fin, iii 106 med
- Lindus, the Acropolis of Gela, vi 4 med
- Lindus, in Rhodes, viii 44
- Liparaean [or Aeolian] islands the Liparaeans colonists of the Cnidians, iii 88, invaded by the Athenians, *ib*, again, *ib* 115 init
- Locrians [Opuntian], subjected by the Persians, viii 43 fin, allies of the Lacedaemonians, v 64 med, give hostages to the Athenians, i 108 med, present at the battle of Coronea, *ib* 113, furnish the Lacedaemonians with cavalry, ii 9 med, Atalanti, in Locris, seized by the Athenians to prevent privateering, *ib* 32 init [cp v 18, viii], the Locrians defeated by the Athenians, ii 26, inundation of the sea on the Locrian coast, iii 89 med, the Locrian coast ravaged by the Athenians, *ib* 91 fin, Locrian cavalry pursue the Athenians after Delium, iv 96 fin, the Locrians supply the Lacedaemonians with ships, viii 3 fin
- Locrians, [Ozolian], always carry arms, i 5 fin, old inhabitants of Naupactus, *ib* 103 med, allied to the Athenians, iii 95 fin, 97 med, subdued by the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 101, go to war with the Phocians, v 32 init
- Locus, in Italy the Locrians in alliance with the Syracusans, iii 86 med, defeated by the Athenians, *ib* 99, again, *ib* 103 fin, cause Messenè to revolt, iv 1 init, join the Syracusans in attacking the Rhegians, *ib* 24, 25, invited to Messenè during a revolution, v 5 init, expelled, *ib*, make a treaty with Athens, *ib* fin, hostile to the Athenian expedition to Sicily, vi 44 med [cp vii 35 fin], send ships to the Lacedaemonians, viii 91 init
- Loiyma, in Caria, viii 43 init
- Lot, use of the lot to determine which side should first execute a treaty, v 21 init, in the distribution of an army between a number of generals, viii 30 init
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- Lycia, ii 69 med, viii 41 fin
- Lycomedes, father of Archestratus, an Athenian, i 57 fin, another, father of Cleomedes, v 84 fin
- Lycophion, a Lacedaemonian, sent out as adviser to Cnemus, ii 85 init
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- Lycus, father of Thiasybulus, an Athenian, viii 75 init
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- the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 81 init, induced by Alcibiades, join the Athenian expedition against Syracuse, vi 29 mcd, 43 fin, 61 mcd, 67 init, 68 init, the Mantinean troops before Syracuse mercenaries, vii 57 fin
- Marathon, battle of, i 18 med, the Athenians boast that they fought alone there, *ib* 73 fin, the dead buried on the field, ii 34 med, Hippias at Marathon, vi 59 fin
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- Modes, part of the garrison of the White Castle in Memphis, i 104 fin, in Pausanias' body guard, *ib* 130 med [*See* Persia, and War, The Persian]
- Megabates, Persian satrap of Dascylium, i 129 init
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- zō*, *zō* 94 init, Lamachus wishes to make Megara the Athenian naval station, *zō* 49 fin, fortified by the Syracusans, *zō* 75 init, its lands ravaged by the Athenians, *zō* 94 init, the Athenians capture a Syracusan ship off Megara, vii 25 init, —Megarian colonies in Sicily, vi 4 init, Chalcedon, a Megarian colony, iv 75 fin
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- Melesias, an envoy from the Four Hundred to Sparta, viii 86 fin
- Melesippus, a Lacedaemonian, sent to Athens with the final demands of the Lacedaemonians, i 139 med, sent by Archidamus to Athens, ii 12, words of, on quitting Attica, *zō* fin
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- Menander, an Athenian commander in Sicily, vii 16 init, commands under Demosthenes in the attack on Epipolae, *zō* 43 med, and in the last sea fight, *zō* 69 fin
- Menas, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the Treaty of Peace and the Alliance, v 19 med, 24 init, goes as envoy to Chalcidicē, *zō* 21
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- Messapians, an Ozolian Locrian tribe, iii 101 fin, an Iapygian tribe, vii 33 med
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- Metagenes, a Lacedaemonian, swears to the Fifty Years' Peace and the Alliance, v 19 med, *ib* 24 init
- Metapontum, in Italy, allied to the Athenians, vii 33 med, lends aid against Syracuse, *ib*, *ib* 57 fin
- Methonè, between Epidaurus and Troezen, iv 45, ordered to be restored under treaty, v 18, viii
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- Methonè, in Laconia, ii 25 init
- Methydrium, in Arcadia, v 58 init
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- Miltiades, the great, father of Cimon, *i* 98 init, 100 init
- Mimas, Mount, viii 34 fin
- Mindarus, sent from Lacedaemon to succeed Astyochus, viii 85 init, sails to the Hellespont, *ib* 99, escapes the Athenian watch, *ib* 101, captures four of the Athenian squadron in the Hellespont, *ib* 102, defeated by the Athenians off Cynossema, *ib* 104, 105
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- Molossians, Admetus, king of the Molossians, shelters Themistocles, *i* 136, 137, the Molossians assist in the Lacedaemonian invasion of Acarnania, *ii* 80 fin
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- Tilataeans, a Thracian tribe, ii 96 fin
- Timagoras, a Cyzicene exile at the court of Pharnabazus, viii 6 init, goes as envoy to Sparta, *ib*, *ib* 8 init, 39 init
- Timagoras, a Tegean ambassador to Persia, ii 67
- Timapor, a Corinthian commander, *i* 29 init
- Timanthes, father of Timanor, a Corinthian, *i* 29 init
- Timocrates, an Athenian, father of Aristoteles, iii 105 fin, swears to the Treaty of Peace and the Alliance, v 19 fin, 24 med
- Timocrates, a Spartan, sent out as adviser to Cnemus, ii 85 init, kills himself, *ib* 93 med
- Timociates, father of Timoxenus, a Corinthian, ii 33 init
- Timoxenus, a Corinthian commander, ii 33 init
- Tisamenus, a Tlachinian, envoy to Sparta, iii 92 init
- Tisandei, an Aetolian, envoy to Sparta, iii 100 init
- Tisias, an Athenian general at Melos, v 84 fin
- Tisimachus, father of Tisias, an Athenian, v 84 fin
- Tissapheines, governor of the provinces on the coast of Asia, viii 5 init, sends an envoy to ask the aid of Sparta, *ib*, negotiates a treaty between Sparta and the King, *ib* 17 fin, 18, demolishes a fort at Teos, *ib* 20 fin, present at an engagement before Miletus, *ib* 25 init, persuades the Peloponnesians to attack Iasus, *ib* 28 init, reduces the pay of the Peloponnesian fleet, *ib* 29, causes Cnidus to revolt, *ib* 35 init (cp *ib* 109), makes a second treaty with the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 37, enraged at Lichas for objecting to the treaties with the King, *ib* 43 fin, instructed by Alcibiades to balance the contending parties, *ib* 45, 46 [cp *ib* 87], persuaded by Alcibiades to offer impossible terms to Peisander, *ib* 56, makes a third treaty with the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 57, 58, now shows himself more ready to fulfil his engagements, *ib* 59, his dilatory conduct, *ib* 78, 80 init, becomes more and more hateful to the Lacedaemonian fleet, *ib* 83, puts a garrison in Miletus, which the Milesians drive out, *ib* 84 med, sends an envoy to Sparta, *ib* 85 init, his malignity against Hermocrates, *ib* fin, goes to fetch the Phoenician ships, *ib* 87, why he did not bring them, *ib*, marches towards Ionia, viii. 108 med, starts for the Hellespont to remonstrate with the Lacedaemonians, *ib* 109, goes to Ephesus

- and offers sacrifice to Artemis, *ib* fin
- Tlepolemus, an Athenian commander at Samos, *i* 117 med
- Tolmaeus, (i) father of Tolmides, an Athenian, *i* 108 fin, *ii* 113 init, (ii) another, father of Autocles, *iv* 53 init, *ii* 9 fin
- Tolmides, an Athenian, commands an expedition round Peloponnesus, *i* 108 fin, defeated at Coronea, *ib* 113
- Tolmides, father of Theaenetus, a Plataean, *iii* 20 init
- Tolophomians, an Ozolian Locrian tribe, *iii* 101 fin
- Tolophus, an Aetolian, ambassador to Corinth, *iii* 100 init
- Tomeus, Mount, in Laconia, *iv* 118, *iii*
- Toionè, in Chalcidicè, *iv* 120 med, 122 init, 129 init, captured by Brasidas, *iv* 110-114, entrusted by him to Pasitolidas, *ib* 132 fin, retaken by the Athenians, *v* 2, 3, provision respecting, in the treaty between Athens and Lacedaemon, *ib* 18, *x*
- Torylaus, a friend of Brasidas in Thessaly, *iv* 78 init
- Trachinians, one of the Malian tribes, *iii* 92 init [*See* Heraclea]
- Trade, no trade in ancient Hellas, *i* 2 init, ancient trade chiefly by land, *ib* 13 med, trade in corn at Athens, *viii* 4 init [cp *vi* 20 fin], trade between Egypt and Athens, *viii* 35 med, between Africa and Peloponnesus, *iv* 53 fin
- Tradition, Peloponnesian traditions, *i* 9 init, ancient traditions too readily received, *ib* 20 init
- Tragia, an island off Samos, Athenian victory there, *i* 116 med
- Treasury of the Athenian confederacy originally at Delos, *i* 96, contents of the Athenian treasury in the Acropolis, *ii* 13 med, treasures of Delphi and Olympia, *i* 121 med, 143 init
- Treaties, *see* Peace
- Treres, a Thracian tribe, *ii* 96 fin
- Trinalli, a Thracian tribe, *ii* 96 fin, *iv* 101 fin
- Tribute of the Athenian allies, its amount, *i* 96 fin, *ii* 13 med, its first imposition, *i* 96 init, its amount as fixed in the time of Aristides, *v* 18, *vi*, changed to a duty of 5 per cent, *vii* 28 fin, — tribute collected by the Odrysian Empire, *ii* 97 med
- Trierarchs, at Athens, *vi* 31 init, *vii* 69 init, 70 fin
- Trifles may involve important principles, *i* 140 fin
- Trinacria, the ancient name of Sicily, *vi* 2 init
- Triopium, promontory near Cnidus, *viii* 35, 60 fin, temple of Apollo there, *ib* 35 med
- Tripod, at Delphi, dedicated as a memorial of the Persian War, *i* 132 med, *iii* 57 med
- Tripodiscus, in Megara, *iv* 70
- Triremes, first built at Corinth, *i* 13 init [*See* Ships]
- Tritaeans, an Ozolian Locrian tribe, *iii* 101 fin
- Troezen, in Peloponnesus, restored by the Athenians under the Thirty Years' Peace, *i* 115 init, the Troezenians furnish a convoy to Corinth, *ib* 27 fin, the territory of Troezen ravaged by the Athenians, *ii* 56 fin, Cleon persuades the Athenians to demand the restitution of Troezen, *iv* 21 fin, the Athenians seize Methonè and ravage the territory of Troezen, *ib* 45 [cp *ib* 118, *iii*], the Troezenians furnish the Lacedaemonians with ships, *viii* 3 fin.
- Trogilus, near Syracuse, *vi* 99 init, *vii* 2 fin
- Trojan, colonists in Sicily, *vi* 2 med, took, together with the Sicilians, the name of Elymi, *ib*
- Trotilus, founded from Megara by Lamis, *vi* 4 init
- Troy, *see* War, Trojan
- Truce, for a year between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, *iv* 117-119, with ten days' notice, between the Athenians and the Boeotians, *v* 26 med, 32 med, between the Athenians and the Chalcidians, *vi* 7 fin [cp *ib* 10 med]

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 Twelve Gods, altar of the, in the Athenian Agora, vi 54 fin  
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" 3rd " " 103 fin

" 4th " 111 25 fin

" 5th " " 88 fin

" 6th " " 116 fin

" 7th " iv 51 fin

" 8th " " 116 fin

" 9th " " 135

" 10th " v 20 init

" 11th " " 39 fin

" 12th " " 51 fin

" 13th " " 56 fin

" 14th " " 81 fin

" 15th " " 83 fin

" 16th " vi 7 fin

" 17th " " 93 fin

" 18th " vii 18 fin

" 19th " viii 6 fin

" 20th " " 60 fin

" 21st " " 109 fin

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